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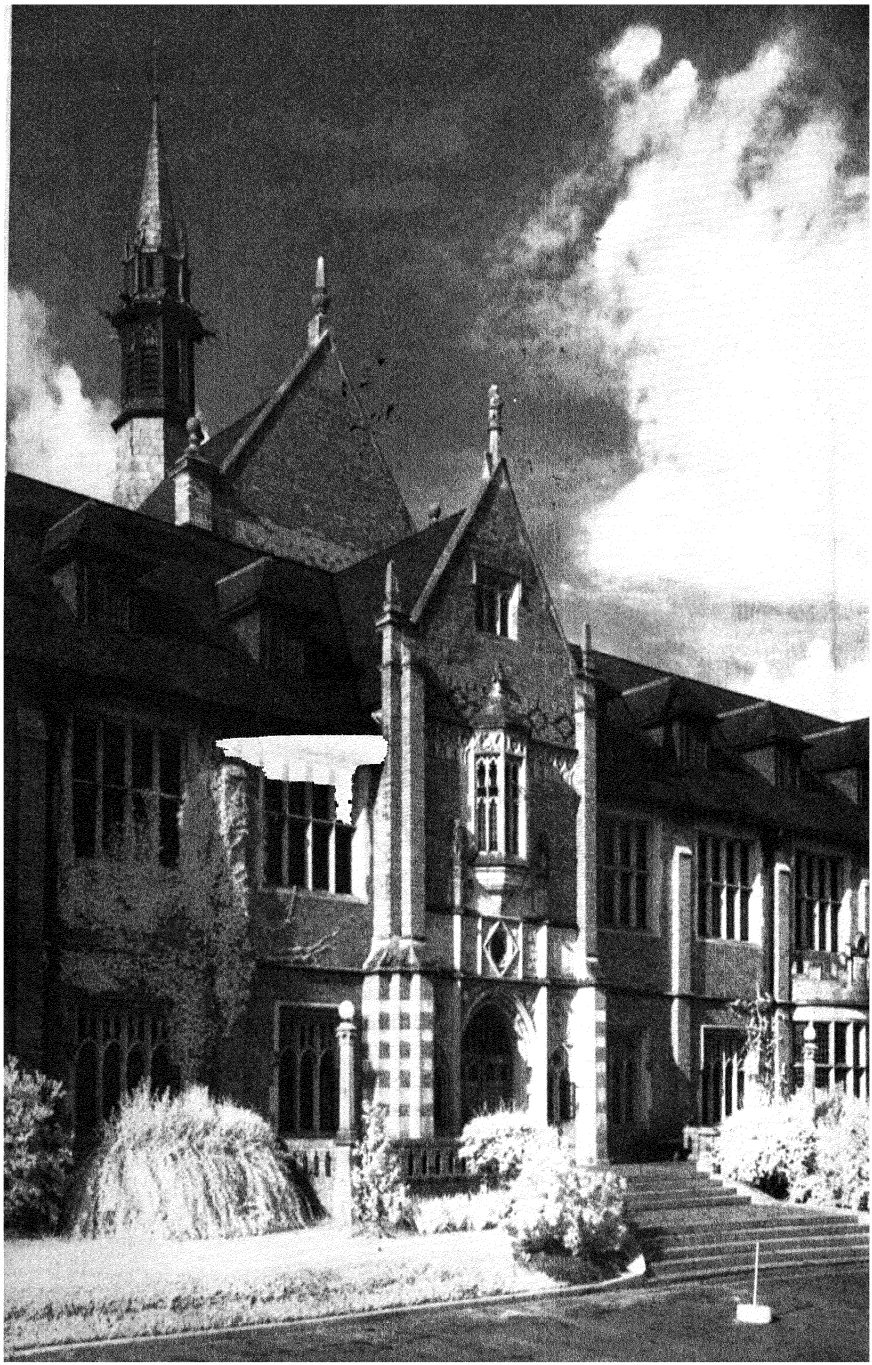
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1854 - 1954

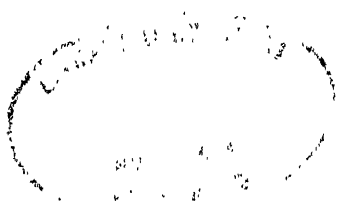


History of
HUNTINGDON COLLEGE
1854-1954

By RHODA COLEMAN ELLISON

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA PRESS, *University, Alabama*

Frontispiece: JOHN JEFFERSON FLOWERS MEMORIAL HALL
COMPLETED 1910



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To

PRESIDENT HUBERT SEARCY

WITH WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT
THIS BOOK WAS PLANNED
AND WRITTEN

Foreword

It seems most appropriate that publication of a history of Huntingdon College be a part of the Centennial program while we take this opportunity to review and to evaluate more thoroughly our spiritual heritage. We are encouraged to plan more courageously as we seek to strengthen and improve our educational program for a second century of service.

In reviewing the first one hundred years of our College, we are made more peculiarly aware of our great debt to those early leaders whose vision led to the granting of our charter on February 2, 1854. Their devotion to the cause of higher education, their intellectual and spiritual ideals, their determination to make a dream become a reality inspired succeeding generations to make possible the Huntingdon College of today.

We have great pride in the support we have received and the opportunity for service we have enjoyed as an institution of The Methodist Church. We are equally grateful that our College enjoys the respect, the patronage, and the support of friends and leaders in all of the major church, business, professional, and civic groups.

Church-related colleges have played a vital part in America, especially in the South. For many years in this region they were

the only institutions where women could get a higher education. Huntingdon is among those that have contributed greatly to raising the cultural level and to training Christian leaders. In Alabama and the adjoining states there is hardly a community, however small it may be, in which our graduates do not occupy positions of trust and leadership. The ideals of Huntingdon are reflected in the service of former students in more than forty states and twenty foreign countries.

The present volume traces the evolution of the College and reveals the development of the philosophies that have molded these students. By recording significant events in the past century and by showing the relationship between these college events and the social and economic forces of the times, the history points out that Huntingdon from its beginning has reflected regional trends and that its fortunes have risen and fallen with those of the South. The College began in an era of prosperity and flourished until the vicissitudes of war and Reconstruction imperiled its existence. Then with the advent of better times came the move to Montgomery and a new period of expansion which has continued into the present.

The history stresses the impact of vigorous personalities upon the institution. It was only through the unremitting efforts of the presidents that the College was able to survive during the poverty-stricken sixties and seventies. These devoted early presidents not only bore arduous financial burdens and formulated policies in education; they also exerted remarkable personal influence upon their students. For example, the scholarly Doctor Lipscomb imbued many of them with admiration for his own learning and broad vision, and Doctor Massey, with his strong patriarchal custodianship, remained a dominant figure in the memories of his girls long after they had left Tuskegee.

The choice of Doctor Rhoda C. Ellison to prepare the College history was a most appropriate one. Doctor Ellison, who for a number of years has been professor of English at Huntingdon, has given proof of her ability and loyalty in many

ways. She wrote her doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina on early Alabama publications and since then she has published books and articles dealing with Alabama life and literature. She has the background necessary to an understanding of the social and historic implications of the documents she has gathered through scholarly and painstaking research. She has traced sources with an accuracy which has enabled her to collect all available material, and she has enlivened her book by introducing entertaining details from students' diaries, letters, and personal interviews. There are frequent touches of humor and occasional bits of gentle satire. The result is a book of interest and value to alumni of Huntingdon and to everyone concerned with educational history in the South.

I am happy to have this opportunity of expressing sincere appreciation to Doctor Ellison for recreating the past of our College and for producing a work of genuine distinction. Hers has been a labor of love prompted by her devotion to Huntingdon and this volume represents well her excellence as teacher, scholar, writer, and valued member of our faculty.

HUBERT SEARCY

Preface

THIS HISTORY has been the work not of one person but of many friends of Huntingdon.

The loss of the official college records of the first half-century in the Hamner Hall fire of 1909 made it necessary to discover other sources for the story of the Tuskegee period. Without the enthusiastic assistance of graduates, students, and other friends, many of those sources would not have been made available. In addition to newspaper files, church conference minutes, and college catalogs, the early chapters have been based on manuscripts from private archives. Such family diaries as those graciously lent by Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie and Mr. Warren Andrews and such family letter collections as those generously opened to the author by Mrs. Catharine Adams Gorrie and Mrs. Carola Smith Hamrick have been invaluable in recreating the incidents and personalities of the Tuskegee campus. Information from Miss Elizabeth Price and Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb has been essential to the chapters describing their fathers' administrations. Many graduates, too numerous to name, have thoughtfully furnished documents concerning the Massey period.

Although the official records for the second half-century

are complete, it would have been difficult to write the story of the Montgomery years without the cooperation of ex-presidents W. E. Martin, M. W. Swartz, and Walter D. Agnew and of former dean L. E. Williams as well as that of present administrative heads. Montgomery citizens contributed important documents to the study; Mr. William H. Moore lent the original legal records concerning the purchase of the campus, and Mr. James H. Flowers donated an illuminating collection of letters written to his mother by the College building commission. Space is inadequate to acknowledge all the contributions of such former faculty and staff members as Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner and Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant, whose memories of the early years on the Montgomery campus enliven these pages, and of such alumnae as Mrs. Linnora Harvey Whitten and Mrs. Jamie Hamilton Barrow, who did research on special problems concerning Flowers Hall at Harvard University and at Cambridge University, England, respectively. These and many other graduates, faculty members, students, and friends have assisted in assembling the materials.

The history is the work, in another sense, of those who have been advisers during its composition. President Hubert Searcy, without whose vision this project would never have been undertaken, has read and given counsel on a large part of the manuscript. So also have Dean and Mrs. Paul T. Stone. Mrs. John T. Ellison and Miss Carolyn Voshell have read the entire manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. Mrs. Margaret Gillis Figh has been the colleague most often called upon for assistance and encouragement. From the beginning each problem in turn was submitted for her judicious consideration. She read and criticized each chapter as it was composed, and later helped to check both galley proofs and page proofs. It is difficult to imagine how the history could have been written without her.

Four Huntingdon students have done a great deal of the mechanical labor. Valleta Harlin, Class of 1953, and Mary Ann Oglesby, Class of 1954, assisted in copying source material,

while Mary Ruth Price and Helen Savage, both of the Class of 1954, typed the final manuscript for the press. Mary Ruth Price also assisted in reading proof.

Montgomery, Alabama
April 17, 1954 *R. C. E.*

Contents

	FOREWORD	vii
	PREFACE	xi
I	THE FOUNDING	1
II	THE FLOURISHING FIFTIES *President Lipscomb*	11
III	THE WAR OF THE SIXTIES *Presidents Price, Wood, and Elliott*	35
IV	RECONSTRUCTION *President Price*	64
V	PANIC OF THE SEVENTIES *Presidents Moore and Loveless*	79
VI	RECOVERY AND SECURITY *President Massey*	98
VII	NEW SCENES IN A NEW CENTURY *President Martin*	140
VIII	ECONOMY AND WORLD WAR I *President Swartz*	178
IX	EXPANSION AND DEPRESSION *President Agnew*	205
X	FINANCIAL STABILITY AND ACADEMIC ENRICHMENT *President Searcy*	241
	NOTES	273
	INDEX	296

Illustrations

	Facing Page
JOHN JEFFERSON FLOWERS MEMORIAL HALL	iii
DR. ANDREW ADGATE LIPSCOMB	78
DR. GEORGE WASHINGTON FERGUS PRICE	78
MAIN BUILDING ON TUSKEGEE CAMPUS	79
DR. HENRY D. MOORE	94
DR. JOHN MASSEY	94
FIRST CHEMISTRY LABORATORY	95
DR. WILLIAM EWING MARTIN	158
DR. MIFFLIN WYATT SWARTZ	158
FRONT GATES, 1918	159
FLOWERS HALL, SOUTH VIEW	174

PRATT HALL 175

HANSON HALL 175

DR. WALTER D. AGNEW 222

FRED MITCHELL JACKSON 223

MRS. W. A. BELLINGRATH 223

HOUGHTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY 238

BELLINGRATH HALL 239

DR. HUBERT SEARCY 254

ALFRED F. DELCHAMPS 255

BISHOP CLARE PURCELL 255

MASSEY HALL AND LIGON HALL 270

PRESIDENT'S HOME 271

I. *The Founding*

On FEBRUARY 2, 1854, Huntingdon College was chartered under the name of Tuskegee Female College, the first of four names it was to bear.

The 1850's were a happy, fortunate decade in which to begin a college in the state of Alabama. The frontier period was just passing, but the frontier spirit of optimism remained. There were reasons for optimism in the rapid expansion to be seen throughout the state. The cotton crop—the principal product of the region—was bringing in about twenty million dollars every year, and cotton gins were multiplying.[1] Though the roads, except for the new plank roads, were still poor, the steamboat era was at its height, and during the decade 610.66 miles of railroad were built in the state.[2] All of the development was not material, however. The humanitarian Dorothea Dix was, in the words of the state's distinguished doctor J. Marion Sims, "urging upon our poor picayune legislature the necessity of endowing a State Lunatic Asylum,"[3] a project which was adopted in the session of 1851-1852. Alabama boasted two novelists whose books were national best-sellers in the fifties —Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz and Miss Augusta Jane Evans (later Mrs. Wilson); and both Johnson Jones Hooper and Joseph G. Baldwin were publishing classics of Alabama humor.

More important than the humanitarian or literary achievements of the 1850's in Alabama was the educational progress. The same legislature that gave a charter to Tuskegee Female College passed an act one week later that initiated the public school system in the state. Alabamians were concerned to increase opportunities for education on more advanced levels also. The Federal Census, which had reported only five colleges in the state in 1850, was able in 1860 to increase the number to seventeen. Eight of the seventeen have endured to the middle of the twentieth century, four of them under their original names: University of Alabama, Spring Hill, Howard, Judson, Athens, Huntingdon, Birmingham-Southern, and Alabama Polytechnic Institute. Altogether the decade was one of rapid expansion, with little to impede its progress except the yellow fever scourge and the 1857 financial panic, and with no prophetic shadow of the war years yet upon it. Of all the decades of the nineteenth century it was probably the most prosperous and promising into which an Alabama college could have been born.

The College was fortunate also in the town of its origin. During the ante-bellum period the rural community was considered the ideal location for a school. Valley Creek (later renamed Summerfield) had been chosen as the proper setting for Centenary Institute because "it was sparsely populated, and was remote from thoroughfares and commercial enterprises."[4] Tuskegee, however, was a thriving county seat and cotton-growing center, accessible through nearby Chehaw by way of the Montgomery-Atlanta railroad. As early advertisements of the College said, "It is perfectly accessible, and yet retired sufficiently for the purposes of a moral, intellectual and womanly culture."[5] Tuskegee already had some pretensions to being an academic center because of its Baptist college, East Alabama Female College, erected late in 1851 at a cost of $40,000, and its several privately-owned preparatory schools. After the addition of the Methodist college the town was to be referred to as "the grand emporium of female education in Alabama."[6]

Tuskegee's business section was built around a pleasant town square and in the early 1850's was composed principally of wooden structures fronting the streets with the traditional sidewalk sheds. In October 1856 a fire laid a large portion of the business quarter in ruins, and the wooden buildings were replaced by well-constructed brick ones.[7] In the following year the local newspaper published these statistics:

Population near 3,000, 2 female colleges with 450 pupils, 1 male high school, 1 male and two mixed schools with an average of 40 pupils each, 30 teachers, 3 churches, 9 ministers, and 500 communicants, 2 hotels, 6 dry goods stores, 3 drug stores, 3 family grocery stores, 3 confectionery stores, 1 ice cream saloon, 2 jewellers, 3 tailor shops, 3 furniture shops, 2 carriage establishments, 1 Daguerran saloon, 4 dentists, 15 physicians, 17 lawyers, 1 steam mill, 2 livery stables, several millinery and mantua making establishments, 3 printing offices, 4 editors, and several devils.[8]

The idea of a Methodist college for women in Tuskegee was appropriately first conceived by a woman, Mrs. Martha E. Alexander, wife of Probate Judge Lewis Alexander, who was to be one of the original trustees.[9] Mrs. Alexander at the time was only twenty-eight years old.[10] Her suggestion immediately won support from Tuskegee Methodists. Reverend Joseph B. Cottrell, in a letter to the *Tuskegee Weekly News*, April 26, 1877, recalled that Reverend Clayton C. Gillespie "projected the College." Mr. Gillespie, pastor of the local Methodist church, was, according to Dr. Cottrell, "a man of power—of very rare power. I have never known any man in the ministry that could gather up a community as readily, and do just what he pleased with it." An entry from Dr. Cottrell's diary, quoted in the same letter, reveals that he gave Mr. Gillespie the only opposition that he met—opposition that Dr. Cottrell admitted some years later was quite wrong. In 1852 he was a young minister just graduating from his theological course and possessing burning convictions about the evils of denominationalism.

August 24, 1852: . . . After supper, went down to the Methodist church and attended a meeting called to consider the question of

building a Female College, Judge Doughtery presided over the meeting, and on motion of Hon. David Clopton I was requested to act as Secretary of the meeting. In a few remarks I declined the honor of doing so, as I did not approve of the enterprise. Another Secretary was then chosen, and after the question was formally put to the meeting, I made a declaration of my views in a short speech. I objected to the multiplication of expensive establishments, as inevitably enhansing [sic] the cost of education, putting it out of the reach of the poor—leaving them unprovided for. I objected to a sectarian rivalry in educational matters—to the one sidedness of character that is inevitable from the Onerous [Oneness?] incident to a separate, special religious, close corporation, organizing [insisting?] that in order to meet effectively the organized power we most feared, the Baptist church, it were best for the state to provide a scheme for educating her people—one that could unify the varied elements. . . . The arguments were attempted to be met by Judge Doughtery and Mr. Gillespie, but to my mind not one of them was shaken. It was to my interest to fall in with the movement, and by cooperation secure remunerative position in connection with the enterprise; but I prefer to follow my convictions.

A subsequent letter to the editor of the *Tuskegee Weekly News* says that where the author originally wrote Baptist church as the power most feared he meant to say Roman Catholic. Later readers, looking at pictures of the splendid East Alabama Female College recently built in Tuskegee by the Baptists, and reading the fiery theological debates that were being waged in the town between ministers of the two rival denominations, may wonder if Dr. Cottrell was correct in changing his wording of a quarter of a century earlier. As Dr. Cottrell had declared in his first letter: "The Baptists had just completed theirs [East Alabama Female College], and all the country was amazed with the idea that they would carry all before them, for at the time they had the agency of one of the most efficient, intelligent, and withal wise Baptist preachers I have ever known—Sam Henderson; and he was backed by a lay power rarely to be found in any local church." The antebellum period was undeniably an age of rampant sectarianism. People preferred not only schools but even physicians of their own denomination, as is clear from the letter of a Tuskegee

woman in 1855. Writing, during a temporary sojourn in Texas, to grant her daughter permission to withdraw from the Baptist college in order to enter the new Methodist institution, Mrs. J. W. Hunter commented: "But you must be very particular in every act now, because your Father does not want to give offense to any one as he will be before the Public but of course does not expect any patronage from the Baptist denomination as they already have their Physicians."[11]

In an atmosphere of such denominational loyalty Dr. Cottrell's objections to a Methodist college were quickly overridden, and, according to Anson West, the historian of Alabama Methodism, "the enterprise was pushed with vigor and with good success throughout 1853.[12] West gives Dr. Gillespie the principal credit for its success, declaring that he "operated the scheme for the anticipated college with great efficiency." By the time that the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in Tuscaloosa in December 1853 the College possessed two assets: a board of trustees and $26,000 in subscriptions. The board, composed chiefly of Methodist lawyers, planters, and business men of Macon County, was listed in the act of incorporation as having these members: David Clopton (chairman), Lewis Alexander, John B. Bilbro, Robert F. Ligon, James Dent, James M. Alexander, Richard H. Powell, Arnold Seals, D. E. Anthony, J. Bedell, Joshua W. Willis, Job Thompson, Dr. Robert H. Howard, Dr. William Holmes Ellison, and Reverend Dow Perry.[13] The $26,000 had been subscribed on the condition that the Alabama Conference would take the projected college under its patronage. The trustees, who assumed full financial responsibility, declared their intention of increasing the amount to $40,000. "The Annual Conference," in the words of West, "acceded to the proposition of the Trustees, and engaged to foster the college,"[14] and promptly appointed a "visiting committee" for it.[15]

In addition to the projected Tuskegee Female College, the conference was already "fostering" Centenary Institute, Macon Female Institute, Oak Bowery Female Institute, and LaGrange

College, and was appointing each year visiting committees of ministers to report the condition of these schools. After agreeing in 1853 to sponsor the Tuskegee Female College, the conference passed resolutions in 1854 to found a male college at Auburn (East Alabama Male College, now Alabama Polytechnic Institute) and in 1855 resolved to establish Southern University at Greensboro. The agents who went out to solicit funds for Tuskegee Female College were obviously to receive plenty of competition, but they had no lack of optimism.

The next step after securing the approval of the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church was to request the state legislature to pass a bill of incorporation. The trustees lost no time in presenting such a bill to the legislature meeting in January. This 1854 session of Alabama law-makers was much exercised over the question of whether to raise circuit judges' salaries to $2000; it passed a bill for the relief of the famous Indian half-breed William Weatherford "and others," as well as the Public School Bill "for a system of State common school education"; and it reported unfavorably on a bill to tax the sale of slaves. Among these more controversial matters, the bill to incorporate Tuskegee Female College seems to have been passed very quietly on January 23, 1854.[16] Not quite two weeks later—on February 2—Governor John Winston signed this bill, which became the charter, and, legally at least, the College came into existence.

With the charter safely in their hands, the trustees bestirred themselves to get a college building erected. Exactly one month after the signing of the charter they advertised in the Tuskegee *Macon Republican* for seven million bricks. The proposals, it was said, were to be closed by March 15. The same newspaper carried on September 21, 1854, a "Notice to Builders"—proposals for erecting the building. Meanwhile the collection of funds to pay for the building had evidently not been completed, for at the December session of the Alabama Conference Reverend Mark S. Andrews was appointed financial agent. Dr.

Andrews, then a young preacher stationed at Tuskegee, gives in his diary this account of his service to the College:

> The Trustees of the Tuskegee Female College—a contemplated Methodist school—asked the conference to detail me from the regular work and appoint me agent of the Institution to solicit funds to aid in its erection and equipment. With great reluctance I consented to the arrangement. The Bishop made the appointment and I was engaged during 1855 in the work specified above. It was a hard year in money matters—the crops being very short the previous year—yet by diligent labor I raised over eleven thousand dollars ($11,000) for the College which with amounts previously and subsequently raised enabled the Trustees to erect and furnish the most splendid College edifice in the State.[17]

Thus Dr. Andrews became the first of a line of ministers who have devoted themselves for certain periods to the labor of raising funds for Huntingdon.

During the winter of 1855, while Dr. Andrews was still in the midst of his canvass for money for the young college, the trustees planned the public laying of the cornerstone. The day for which this ceremony was originally scheduled was evidently February 22, for the great marble block that formed a part of the Tuskegee building during over half a century and that in 1916 was used again in the cornerstone-laying of Massey Hall on the Montgomery campus is carved: "Tuskegee Female College, February 22nd, 1855." During Dr. John Massey's administration February 22 was celebrated as Founders' Day. Actually, however, the cornerstone was laid about six weeks later, on April 9, 1855, according to contemporary newspaper accounts. There is no explanation of why the occasion was delayed, but it seems likely that the work on the building had proceeded more slowly than was expected.

As orator for the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone the trustees chose the most outstanding Alabama Methodist in public life at that time—Henry W. Hilliard. After a varied career as preacher, English professor at the University of Alabama, and leader of the Whig party in the state, Hilliard, until

recently a member of Congress, was now being mentioned prominently in Alabama for the vice presidency of the United States. In all his posts he had found a great asset in his gifts of oratory—gifts in which probably no one then in the state except William Lowndes Yancey could rival him. As the spokesman for opposing political factions in the 1850's, Yancey for the secessionist element and Hilliard for the unionists, the two orators were often contrasted. Three months after Hilliard's appearance at the laying of the Tuskegee Female College cornerstone the Yancey-supporting *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser* was to say, in part, "Yancey has more passion, Hilliard more art; Yancey is ardent, impulsive, rash; Hilliard cold, self-possessed, cautious."[18] In educational circles Hilliard was much more in demand than his rival, probably because of his literary achievements. Besides being one of the leading spirits of the Literary Club in the state capital, he published numerous essays, including one on "Milton's Eve" (Montgomery, 1860), and a few years later a novel in defense of Methodists, *De Vane: A Story of Plebeians and Patricians* (New York, 1865). When the cornerstone of the East Alabama Male College at Auburn was laid he was selected as the speaker for that occasion also.

Hilliard was undoubtedly a happy choice for the ceremony at Tuskegee Female College. The Tuskegee *Macon Republican* of April 12, after relating that the cornerstone was laid with imposing and solemn Masonic ceremonies, said: "An address was delivered by the Hon. Mr. Hilliard to the largest concourse of persons ever assembled in Tuskegee." A letter to the editors of the Montgomery *Alabama Weekly Journal* gives a more detailed account of the occasion:

> I have witnessed his [Hilliard's] efforts in many a field, and listened often to his burning eloquence, but on this occasion I do think he was more than himself. His chaste style and eloquent manner never impressed me so forcibly before.
>
> His theme was "Female Education." Surrounded by the fair daughters of Eastern Alabama, together with many of her noble

sons, he portrayed, in all his accustomed fervor, the inestimable advantages to social happiness, the public good, and the future advancement in greatness and renown of our fair Republic, by a thorough and comprehensive system of female education. He was listened to with deep interest and attention by the very large and delighted audience in attendance. . . .

Tuskegee is justly becoming celebrated as the grand emporium of female education of Alabama.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1855 the residents of Tuskegee watched with increasing interest the erection of the college building. The ten-acre lot that the trustees had bought for $2500 from Mr. and Mrs. William Hora was on Main Street between the homes of James Alexander and Mr. Hora, extending approximately 356 feet between their lots.[19] In this location the work of the contractors was under the daily scrutiny of the townspeople, whose delight in the whole proceeding is reflected in numerous items in the Tuskegee *Macon Republican*. On May 17 the editor noted: "The workmen have now got up the immense chapel windows and are walling in around them. These windows are very large, divided lengthwise into two compartments, are curiously carved at the top, and are intended to be glazed with stained glass. Altogether the college is progressing finely and already makes a most imposing appearance."

"That distinguished Architect Mr. Stewart of Philadelphia,"[20] whom the trustees had commissioned to design the building, had planned what the Tuskegee paper justifiably referred to as "an edifice." When completed, it cost over $50,000, a great sum for those days.[21] It possessed for its chapel the largest concert hall in the state, extending the width of the building, the height of two stories, and, according to one estimate, seating a thousand people.[22] The four stories were crowned by a cupola. Although later generations were to regard the height of the building as unfortunate because impractical, the founders of the 1850's gloried in the grandeur with which it towered over the town and declared it was the finest college building in the state.

The work was too ambitious to be completed in time for the fall opening as originally planned, and heavy rains delayed the workmen during the early winter. On February 7, 1856, just four days before the date set for the actual opening, the trustees announced: "A large and commodious building, planned by the best architectural talent and erected in the most substantial manner, is now nearly ready for the reception of the Pupils. Feeling the great importance of space and comfort for the educational and domestic interests of the Institution the Trustees have spared neither pains nor expense to meet the demands of utility and beauty in the construction of the edifice."

And so finally, after more than three years of planning, raising money, and building, the work of the founders was complete. The day had arrived for the opening of Tuskegee Female College—February 11, 1856.

II. *The Flourishing Fifties*

PRESIDENT LIPSCOMB

On its opening day the new college was in a position to be envied. It possessed one of the most admired academic buildings in the state, an enthusiastic board of trustees, and the paternal interest of the Methodist ministry in Alabama and of the citizens of Tuskegee. In addition it had secured as its first president Dr. Andrew Adgate Lipscomb.

Dr. Lipscomb was born September 5, 1816, in Georgetown, District of Columbia, and educated at the Georgetown Military Academy and a classical school, probably the Columbian Academy.[1] He had held pastorates in the Methodist Protestant Church at Baltimore, Alexandria, and Washington during the eight years before his removal to Montgomery in 1842. In Montgomery he made such a favorable impression on his fellow ministers that he was shortly elected president of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church for the Alabama District.[2] In 1845 he was offered the chair of English literature at the University of Alabama, but refused it.[3] He retired from the ministry in 1849 to found the Metropolitan Institute for Young Ladies in Montgomery and thereafter to devote his life to the cause of education. The University of Alabama awarded him the degree of D. D. in 1851, and Emory made him an LL. D. in 1853.

By 1856 Dr. Lipscomb had established a reputation as a teacher, lecturer, and writer. After his retirement from his Montgomery school for girls in 1852 he was mentioned for several important educational positions. In 1854 Henry W. Hilliard, in an open letter to A. B. Meek, chairman of the state legislature's Committee on Education, recommended "my valued friend, the Rev. A. A. Lipscomb, D. D., . . . to fill the place of Superintendent of the [new state] school system. Learned, accomplished, full of enthusiasm for all good and great objects, he is admirably qualified for the office, and would inaugurate the new system in the happiest manner."[4] In 1855, on the death of Dr. Basil Manly of the University of Alabama, a Wetumpka correspondent to the *Alabama Journal* felt "that the Literary and Scientific duties of the President might be well performed by our friend Dr. Lipscomb."[5] Fortunately for Tuskegee Female College, other aspirants were appointed to these posts.

Meanwhile Dr. Lipscomb's reputation as a speaker was extending throughout the state and his fame as a writer throughout the nation. He was the first speaker invited to address the Montgomery Literary Club, which he had been instrumental in establishing in 1854, and which was said to have been "maintained chiefly by his talents and exertions."[6] (The second and third speakers were Henry W. Hilliard and William Lowndes Yancey, respectively.) Probably Dr. Lipscomb served as moderator in the club debates, held on such topics as: Is duelling ever justifiable? Do the advantages of reading light literature outweigh the disadvantages? Besides commencement addresses in nearby towns like Tuskegee, he delivered a lecture in the series sponsored by the Franklin Society in Mobile, where he was advertised as "a pulpit orator" and "a thoughtful and elegant writer."[7]

The writer was already transcending the speaker, however. Dr. Lipscomb had become editor of a weekly Whig newspaper, the *Montgomery Times,* published by his friend Henry W. Hilliard.[8] More important, he was becoming a contributor to

many religious and literary magazines that had a national circulation—an avocation which he was to continue for the rest of his life. He wrote regularly for the *Christian World, Methodist Protestant, Independent Methodist Recorder, DeBow's Review*, and above all for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* in which he was eventually to publish fifty-one articles and one poem. In these *Harper's* articles Dr. Lipscomb gave his views on a variety of subjects—from the current war in Europe to "Winter—How to Enjoy It." It is indicative of the breadth of his mind that, in that decade of intense sectionalism and in a magazine known for its "true and unswerving attachment to the South,"[9] the word most frequently recurrent in his titles is "American": "Glimpses of the American Future," "Providence in American History," "American Influence," "Cultivation of the American Mind," "The American Pulpit," "American Inventions," "The Education of American Women." These century-old essays reveal many elements in that personality that dominated the Tuskegee college in its formative years: unfailing good humor and occasional wit, as in the suggestion that the current imitation of Goethe in the United States "was easier even than Byronism—requiring no scowls, no cursing and swearing, no increased expenditure for cravats and gin";[10] a remarkable historical and literary allusiveness; the reiterated philosophy of the golden mean; and, above all, a zest for living.

With such a reputation as an educator, a speaker, and a writer, it is little wonder that Dr. Lipscomb was called to the presidency of the new woman's college at Tuskegee. Half a century later the Alabama historian Thomas M. Owen said, "He was a profound Shakespearian scholar and critic and was esteemed as one of the most learned men of his generation,"[11] and the Georgia historian Merton Coulter has called him "a scholar of great erudition and a minister of outstanding power."[12] Even in 1856 the *South Western Baptist* could say, "Dr. Lipscomb's fame is co-extensive with the Union,"[13] and the *Macon Republican* felt that Dr. Lipscomb's name "will

alone give the college a high reputation."[14] The Tuskegee people welcomed him with pride and perhaps even a touch of awe on the opening day.

That opening day was, in the words of the historian of early Alabama Methodism, "a coronation day in which a dispensation of letters, refinement, grace, elegance, and moral beauty was inaugurated for the fair daughters of Alabama."[15] But it was a very wet coronation day. In the early morning the rain poured, greatly to the disappointment of the Tuskegee citizens. Then, according to one visitor, "in our sorrow stern nature relented; a cold blast drove away the overhanging darkness, and the shining heavens bade us be of good cheer."[16] This same anonymous spectator, who gives the only account of the day now extant, continued dramatically:

> Now from many points began the quick tramp of little feet and the statelier march of unfolding loveliness, all moving to one point —the College—thither we followed, a goodly number had assembled. In the Chemical room at a table stood Dr. Lipscomb—the walls on all sides around lined with attentive listeners. The Bible was read, solemn prayer offered invoking the Divine blessings upon the founders, the faculty, the pupils, and the patrons of the College, and upon the instructions to be given to the many youthful spirits to be there assembled; then followed an address from the president delivered with winning sweetness, so characteristic of Dr. Lipscomb, and with touching simplicity. It is important said the Dr. that we have a glorious launch. But you may conceive better than I can describe how the Dr. expatiated upon the idea of a gallant Ship, gloriously rigged, manned by energetic and harmonious mariners, and freighted with a multitude of sunny hearted passengers bent upon a voyage of rich discovery. Of one fact we felt assured as we heard him—that the Captain of this noble vessel knew every rope in the Ship . . . we were sure that (I shall keep up the Dr's figure) the Exploring Expedition of the Tuskegee Female College under such command will make priceless discoveries in the regions of truth and wisdom.

In the afternoon, according to the same reporter, additional students, delayed by the rain, arrived in "omnibuses, carriages, and buggies," and "the cry of the happy scholars, as they eagerly watched for new faces, was 'and still they come.' " Vis-

itors made a tour of the "vast edifice," admired the comfortable arrangements in the "dormitories," and marveled at the unfinished chapel whose great bay window was to have "side lights of stained glass through which a purple radiance shall stream upon the rostrum." In the afternoon, too, the Board of Trustees met, in triumph over the success of their enterprise so far, and with high hopes for the future. It was predicted that before the end of the year Tuskegee Female College would number 175 students.

The trustees congratulated themselves not only on "the far-famed president" but also on "the very able corps of Professors": Reverend Mark S. Andrews, M.A., professor of ancient languages and mathematics; Reverend George Washington Fergus Price, M.A., professor of English literature; F. L. Funk, professor of music; Mrs. Adella J. Bass, assistant teacher of music; Mrs. Charlotte M. Reed, principal of the primary department; and Mrs. Octavia B. Bailey, head of the boarding department.[17] By the fall semester this group was augmented by several additional teachers, representing the departments of natural science, modern languages, and art. William Henry Clay Price, M.A., brother of George W. F. Price, was the College's first science teacher; he presided over "a new and valuable Apparatus," and "Cabinets of Minerals, Fossils and Curiosities." I. J. Krzecrkowski instructed in the modern languages, and two ladies from Baltimore initiated the art department—Miss Julia Spear teaching drawing and painting, and Miss M. E. Fairweather instructing in embroidery. Misses Sallie Lipscomb and A. E. Chisolm had been added as assistant teachers.[18] In all of the members of this faculty the trustees were fortunate, especially in Professor George W. F. Price, who was to be Dr. Lipscomb's right-hand man and eventually his successor. Of the other teachers, Miss Julia Spear was to make the greatest reputation for the College in her courses in commercial art and design, a field in which she was evidently far ahead of her day.

The August announcement gives an account of the curriculum and expenses.[19] The course of study, which was said to embrace four years on the college level, was listed as elocutionary reading, penmanship, grammar, analysis, composition, arithmetic, philosophy, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, rhetoric, physical geography, mineralogy, geology, botany, chemistry, physiology, criticism, ancient and modern languages, history, intellectual and moral philosophy, evidences of Christianity, music, arts of design. "A full apparatus for illustrative teaching in Philosophy and Chemistry, valuable Cabinets, and an excellent Library" were said to have been provided. The tuition for the regular course was $50 for the scholastic year of nine months, with these "optional expenses": $50 for instruction in music, $5 for use of a piano, $30 for instruction in French, $50 for oil painting, and $30 for embroidery. Board, including washing, fuel, and lights, was provided at the college for $12.50 per month.

It was advertised that the president and several members of the faculty resided in the College, where they exercised personal supervision over the habits and manners of the students. Half a century later a large room on the second floor of the building, occupied by four students, was still known as the Lipscomb room.[20] Discipline, Dr. Lipscomb said, "will be kind and tender, but firm and rigid." Later reports indicate that the discipline of President Lipscomb was inclined to be "kind and tender" rather than "firm and rigid." Dr. John Massey, the College's far more rigid disciplinarian of a later day, said, perhaps a little skeptically, "The Doctor had some of the elements of a great teacher. He ruled altogether by moral suasion, which is a fine method as long as it effectively persuades." He added, however, that Dr. Lipscomb's "fine sense and fascinating personality made this method of discipline effective."[21]

In an age of college regimentation and disorders, especially among the men's schools, such a philosophy was remarkable. The newspapers of the 1850's were full of stories of rebellions and attempted disciplinary action in American colleges. Only

a month after Tuskegee Female College was chartered a citizen of New Haven was shot dead in a riot at Yale, and to prevent retaliation the students planted a cannon, fully charged, in front of the college building.[22] In the same year a rebellion at the University of Alabama over the expulsion of some recalcitrant students culminated in a "riotous disturbance in which the glass in the windows of Jefferson College [Hall] and the rotunda was broken and desks and other property in the recitation rooms were demolished," and "a horse belonging to one of the professors was placed in the prayer room, disfigured and mutilated."[23] Such demonstrations did not encourage confidence in the college students of the period; yet even when Dr. Lipscomb later took charge of a university he was to continue his appeals to "suasion." "The theory of university life," he informed the surprised trustees of the University of Georgia,

> is founded on the opinion that Students are competent in ordinary matters of conduct to take care of themselves. Supposedly they have reached an age when their intellects and sensibilities are sufficiently mature to give them the capacity of Self-direction, and hence to set aside the necessity for minute supervision on the part of University officers. . . . All of my experience here has satisfied me that the only true scheme of government for a University is the one which avoids needless interference with the student, which aims to form his character more by calling out his good qualities than by antagonizing the bad; and builds up its strength by intellectual and moral considerations, instead of those selfish inducements that pertain to government.[24]

At Tuskegee Female College Dr. Lipscomb expected attention to duty and promptness in the classroom and the dining room, but preferred to correct offenders by a good-humored and indirect rebuke or an appeal to their self-respect rather than by any system of penalties. At least one incident of this sort is on record in the diary of an early graduate of the College, Carrie Hunter: "How often have I strove against my habitual reluctance to rising early in the morning &, fault remaining, I came down too late for breakfast thereby encountering Dr. Lipscomb's inquiries as to the state of my health (which was never better) & of course I had to put down my

late-rising to the score of laziness. What a blessing it is to have such a good & learned man as he is constantly with you in the freedom of daily intercourse, to lead family prayer, instruct in his conversations, & by his affability winning the regard of every one."[25] Earlier that year she had written to a friend, "Perhaps you have heard where you live of Dr. Lipscomb and the Methodist College at Tuskegee. We think our President has not an equal for wisdom, benevolence, goodness and indeed all the good qualities you can think of combined in one."[26] Just before commencement of the following year, she gave evidence in her diary of the president's influence over her. Planning certain self-improvements, she added, "Dr. Lipscomb says every woman & every man too ought to make themselves as great and as good as they can."[27]

As Dr. Lipscomb's insistence on discipline through moral suasion was in advance of his day, so also was his conception of "female education." According to a twentieth-century commentator, "Lipscomb was devoted to the crusade for giving women 'a Magna Charta for their brains' and liberating them from 'intellectual degradation.' "[28] Of the thirty-nine *Harper's* articles written while he was at Tuskegee Female College, several are concerned entirely with the education of women and several others with education in general, but even in essays on quite different topics President Lipscomb often reflected his current interest in the problems of women, both as college students and as college graduates.

The proper education for woman, he insisted, was in the arts and sciences, not in home economics. Though she was to find her proper sphere in the home, she was to be an intellectual and moral force there, not a domestic drudge. For this reason Dr. Lipscomb ridiculed the purely practical education for women that was then being urged in some circles. "To help on the furor in behalf of domestic drudgery," he commented, "we have an interminable list of books, teaching the theory of keeping house and the practice of driving everybody out of it."[29] He lamented that he had "known many gifted and

noble women 'settle down' after marriage in the routine of domestic drudgery, abandon all literature, neglect personal study and culture, lest they should be suspected of the tastes and refinements of elegant scholarship." The president had his moments of honest doubt as to whether college women were being properly prepared for life. In June 1859 he was afraid "we make poor scholars and poorer women by superficializing their intellectual pursuits over a surface that it would take a young Methuselah's lifetime to measure; and then dismiss them into life with a taste for everything except the domestic fireside and its homely duties."[30] Yet he never wavered in his faith in a well-administered liberal arts training for women.

In his conception of women's role in society after their graduation Dr. Lipscomb did obviously change and grow, especially during his four years at Tuskegee. Throughout his *Harper's* articles of these years he shows a growing appreciation of women's possibilities in the world. Nearly two years before coming to the College Dr. Lipscomb had revealed a strictly conventional attitude on the subject. Writing on "The Rights and Wrongs of Women," he had decried the "Public Functionists" who advocated women in the professions, declaring that the wife who called a "doctoress" for her sick husband would surely endanger her marriage. The appropriate occupations for a woman, Dr. Lipscomb then thought, were disciplining the home, dressing well, speaking "low and not much," caring for the poor and sick near her home and lecturing drunkards, attending school committees and clothing clubs, "organizing ragged schools," reading books and discussing them with her husband, doing copy work for her husband and perhaps—if he were a minister—correcting his sermon.[31]

When he had had charge of the young women of Tuskegee Female College for almost two years he still felt that women's chief place was in the home rather than, like his contemporary, Harriet Beecher Stowe, in the field of social reform. But he asked, "Who can doubt that women have largely augmented the world's most valuable stock of ideas?"[32] By his third year

as president he had become genuinely concerned about the role his graduates would be allowed to play in society. Now on the defensive for them, he contended: "Women have competed successfully with men in some of their own callings, and at the bar of public opinion have had judgment in their favor. . . . Women are now needed for many sorts of work that they perform better than men."[33] He seems to have been looking about for employment for his own alumnae when he says that women surpass men as teachers, writers of fiction, dry goods clerks, and designers of patterns for wall paper and dress goods. By December 1858 he was declaring that the civilization of the future would be characterized by a greater prominence of womanly mind and activity, and that "there is nothing to be feared, we think, from womanly activity in the open walks of life, if she have a happy domestic position, an educated mind, and the generous sympathies of men."[34]

Shortly before he departed from his woman's college he raised again the unsolved question of finding satisfying employment for college women like his own graduates: "They are abroad in society with developed intellects, with scholarly sensibilities, with lofty ideals; and yet as if blindfolded and bewildered, not knowing whither to turn, where to find occupation, in some instances needing bread, in many instances their souls feeding on themselves for want of tasteful and refined employment. . . . What can be done for our educated women?" The man who demanded that the world give the college woman "work as a means of farther culture and of daily sustenance" had come a long way since consigning her simply to her own fireside. He achieved that broader view during his four years at Tuskegee Female College and undoubtedly left its impression on both the faculty and the students of the young college.

While he was expressing his theories of female education and vocation in *Harper's,* President Lipscomb was busy putting them into practice at Tuskegee, where, under the motto "Excelsior," he was rapidly building up one of the largest and

most popular colleges in the state. As the *Tuskegee Weekly News* was to say later, "With Rev. A. A. Lipscomb, D. D., as its president, this institution launched upon the flood-tide of popular favor in 1856."[35] This short period of Dr. Lipscomb's administration in the 1850's was the golden age to which the College was to look back with nostalgic pride through the rest of the century.

Reports of enrollment figures at this time vary considerably. On the opening day, it will be remembered, the trustees had predicted a total of 175 pupils by the end of the year. A circular of the College, dated September 17, 1857, and signed by W. F. Samford, General Agent, T. F. C., quotes the 1856-1857 catalog as claiming 246 students, eighteen of whom were from Georgia, Virginia and Texas.[36] The *Tuskegee Republican*, September 15, 1859, recalled that by the end of its first year the College had enrolled over 260 young women. The Alabama Conference minutes of December 1856, however, declared 190 to be on the College roll at that time. A letter from one of the first graduates, written in November 1857, says, "We have in attendance about 160 pupils, which exceeds the number by 25 or 30 with which Dr. Lipscomb said he would be satisfied,"[37] and her diary the following October declares, "Our school has opened very prosperously. We have 152 pupils in attendance."[38] The discrepancy between the statistics at the end of the session, listed only for 1856-1857, and for its beginning in 1856, 1857, and 1858 may be explained partly by the nineteenth-century custom of entering college at almost any time during the year. As a result the total enrollment figure was probably much higher than it was in the fall, or possibly at any one time during the year. At any rate, in September 1859 the College claimed an "average patronage" of 216 during the past three years,[39] and, according to the minutes of the Methodist Conference that fall, it had graduated fifty young women.

Regardless of what the exact enrollment figures were during Dr. Lipscomb's administration, the College was well filled

from its beginning and at times even crowded. Judson Female Institute had opened in Marion seventeen years earlier with only nine pupils, three of whom were boys.[40] At the same time that the conference reported 190 students (both collegiate and preparatory) in attendance at Tuskegee Female College in December 1856, it listed only ninety in the "female collegiate department" and forty in the male and female "primary" department at the well-established Centenary Institute in Summerfield, spoken of as the favorite protegé of the conference.[41] In fact, these conference minutes show that the Tuskegee college within its first year attained the largest enrollment among all the Methodist-sponsored schools in Alabama. The prospects for future growth were promising, especially since, as the circular of 1857 declares, "many applications for admission were declined, for the want of room in the College."

Inspired by such prospects, the Board of Trustees determined in the fall of 1857 to launch a campaign for more funds. Since the trustees had not yet entirely paid the original debt for the ambitious building, they had continued to employ a conference-appointed agent for soliciting financial aid. At the Alabama Conference of 1856, which met in the College chapel at Tuskegee, Dr. Thomas O. Summers, publishing agent for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and an enthusiastic friend of the College, had raised $3000 to apply on the building debt.[42] Now, however, the need for more dormitory space was so urgent that the authorities determined to seek a far greater sum—$35,000. William F. Samford, prominent lawyer and politician and editor of the projected pro-slavery magazine *Southern Dial,* who consented to head the campaign, described the Tuskegee Female College dream of the 1850's in his circular of September 1857:

> What use have we for such an amount? To build large, well ventilated comfortable wooden dormitories, for the students in the College. We need the room in the old building for boarding purposes—residence of Steward—recitation rooms—labratory [sic] rooms—music and the art departments. We have not half the room we ought to have to accommodate the four or five hundred stu-

dents we certainly should have in our halls, if we could invite them to adequate accommodations. To enlarge our buildings, therefore, is a part of our necessities. We need besides to extend our Library—to complete the Apparatus—and to pay off the balance of a debt, which a generous community ought not to allow the Trustees to struggle with another hour.

In order to realize this dream Mr. Samford addressed an eloquent and somewhat oratorical plea to his fellow-citizens: "East Alabama making common cause with us could send up this amount from the price of the fruits which perish in her fields —the rags which her slaves throw away—the substance which her dogs consume!"

So it seemed, for at this time Alabama was at the height of her ante-bellum prosperity. One indication of this prosperity appears in a *Tuskegee Republican* news item of January 15, 1857, facetiously headed "Negro Rising," which declares: "Big rise amongst them in Montgomery—common field hands brought from $1600 to $1800." No one could suspect that the rapidly increasing slave wealth of the state would be swept away in the next decade. Not even the current financial panic, which was general throughout the country, could dim the visions that Tuskegee Female College had conjured up for the future. Nor were these visions affected by the decision in the famous Dred Scott case of 1857, which was throwing long shadows, unseen by Alabamians, into that same future. The College was committed to a program of expansion that only the war of the next decade could stop.

While the president was championing his girls' rights to a liberal arts education and a subsequent career, and the trustees were ambitiously planning a larger academic plant for them, the girls themselves were leading what seems even today a normal and typical campus existence. Some of the entering students suffered from the age-old malady of homesickness, but after a few weeks their fathers were able to write them, as Tilman Leak of Wetumpka wrote his daughter Fannie: "Your kind letter to your mother came safe to hand by the last nightly mail and all hands was anxious to see it. I was very glad indeed

to learn that you was becoming better satisfied, I know you and Pink & Jane will all be well pleased before you are there three months—and the girls and the people generally will begin to look much better to you than they do now."[43] Fathers wrote their daughters at college the same cheerful nonsense that they have always written ("Everything is moving on in the usual way—nobody dead or married and the Coosa River is still going down stream."[44]) And mothers dispatched boxes of dresses,[45] and other essentials ("I sent you a box yesterday to [in] the care of Mr. Davidson of Montgomery containing 12 Shemies & Handkerchiefs &c."[46]) Tilman Leak refused his daughter Fannie's request for postage stamps, declaring, "You can get them just as well in Tuskegee as here," but offered to furnish stationery. New students then, as now, found the college schedule too full. Fannie Leak sent home to her family a box of her hair, apparently with the excuse that at college she did not have time to arrange long hair. In reply, her older sister lamented: "I was so sorry you had it cut off, I would have got up an hour before day rather than have it cut off, I don't think I would hardly know you with your hair short, it will take years to grow to be as pretty as it was."[47]

Although there is no mention of food from home in these letters, some Tuskegee merchants' account books that have survived a century indicate that the College furnished its students certain delicacies.[48] Charged to Dr. Lipscomb or his right-hand man, Professor George Price, or to Dr. or Mrs. J. W. Hunter, who presided over the boarding department for the years 1857-1859, are such entries as: 150 "oysters can," $1.50; 7¾ pounds of "spunge" cake, $1.70; 6 dozen teacakes, .60; 15 cakes of gingerbread, .75; 12 "loves" of bread, $1.00; 6¼ pounds of pound cake, $1.88. These are the most recurrent college purchases, but in addition there are occasionally orders of "biskets" or "bisquits," according to the humor of the merchant, "sheese," yeast, papers of pepper, "gulley cake," fruit cake, rusks, and "pyes." Even if there were no boxes of food from home, the girls at Tuskegee Female College probably

did not fare badly during this decade of good living in Alabama.

The students had various types of recreations. They devoured such popular books as Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz's *Ernest Linwood* and Thomas Moore's *Lallah Rookh,* and especially enjoyed reading aloud.[49] Dr. Lipscomb was not one to discourage, much less forbid, "light reading" among his girls. In an essay in *Harper's* this student of the classics and lover of Milton had written:

> Cheap literature proper, such as the million crave and enjoy—literature that panders to no vice and intensifies no depraved passions—even if it is intellectually inferior to the best, deserves our hearty support. . . . "Trash"—say you—and "trash" it may be to your college learning and elegant culture. But it does not follow because it is "trash" to you that therefore it is "trash" to them. It may be the best they could possibly appreciate. . . .
>
> Readers of "trash" will rarely remain readers of "trash." It will educate them beyond itself. An appetite will be created that something better will be needed to supply. . . . It is out of this body of readers—the million—that the widening circle of those who enjoy the masters in English literature is supplied.[50]

Besides popular books, there were occasionally interesting lectures for entertainment. It is doubtful that any of the girls got to nearby Columbus, Georgia, to hear the famous English novelist Thackeray lecture two weeks after the College opened,[51] but many of them surely traveled to the annual fair at Chunnenuggee Ridge when their own college president spoke on agriculture in May of that same year.[52] They probably knew already, as the readers of *Harper's* were to learn the following year, that Dr. Lipscomb in his rebellion against its materialistic effects on character thought "all this hubbub at agricultural fairs over pots of preserves and nice quilts . . . have [sic] been carried to a ridiculous extreme," and was grieved "to hear intelligent men speak of their wives simply as 'good housekeepers.' "[53] On this occasion the topic of agriculture led this anti-secessionist, in an address of an hour and a half that seemed no more than forty minutes to the Tuskegee editor, to compare the civilizations of the North and the South,

and to conclude that the South was destined to be the governing power. With supper and a concert each evening, and with events in which girls rode horseback in competition for a silver cup, this two-day fair at Chunnenuggee should have been one of the best entertainments in the Tuskegee section.

Much of the students' social life was church-sponsored. Some of the girls attended choir practice, sat in on sessions of the Annual Conference over which Bishop Lovick Pierce presided in the College chapel in December 1856, and, perhaps most entertaining of all, went to the "Hardshell church" to see the "feet-washing."[54] On Sundays the girls of both the Methodist and Baptist colleges attended church in Tuskegee. One such Sunday in the spring of 1858, when Dr. Lipscomb was to preach, found the Methodist church so crowded with college girls that it was necessary to adjourn to the Presbyterian church for adequate room. The local editor said: "Both colleges had turned out a host—not less than three hundred girls were decorously seated along the aisles. It looked like a sea of heads—wave after wave of flowers, feathers, velvet and laces. Luckily for our own head we could not see the bright faces in front of those bonnets. A witty young friend at our elbow remarked that the whole church had been turned into a gall-ery."[55] So wrote the editor of the *Tuskegee Republican,* who implied that under the circumstances he heard very little of Dr. Lipscomb's sermon on the text "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

The holidays most beloved on the campus were Christmas, New Year's Day, and St. Valentine's Day. At this period in the college history, the Christmas vacation included about ten days, though a later and more rigorous regime was to shorten it to one day. Most of the students went to their homes for the Christmas holidays, usually conveyed in a stage coach four and a half miles to Chehaw, where they took the train. Because of the difficulties of travel there was always a group who remained on the campus. During Christmas of 1858 there were fourteen girls who frolicked over the College building: Mag and Maria

Ulmer, Lizzie Hancock, Mary Baker, Laura Porter, Jinnie Remington, Lizzie and Leonora Phillips, Lou Coleman, Georgia Wade, Alice Savage, Ellen Craig, and Caroline Rone, as well as Carrie Hunter, whose parents were in charge of the boarding department at this time. "I expect we will have a nice time," Carrie Hunter confided to her diary on Christmas Eve. They held two watchnights, one on Christmas Eve until two in the morning and another on New Year's Eve, which, according to Carrie's account, seems to have been even gayer.

New Year's Eve—This is the last night of the old year but not a vestige of it remains. It is now half past one o'clock. We girls have been sitting up watching for the new year and a jolly time we have had of it. Mr. Corbin and Mr. Anderson [professors of music and modern languages, respectively] treated us to cake and eggnog. Just as the minute and hour hand pointed exactly to twelve Lizzie Phillips (a dear girl) called my attention to Mr. Corbin's candle (which we could see through the partly open door). It had been in seeming sympathy with the expiring year and waning, until just at that instant it sunk in its socket and left the room in total darkness.

On New Year's Day, 1859, the girls witnessed a tournament in Tuskegee. "The fantastics rode today," Carrie Hunter reported, "and they had a real and burlesque tournament. Mr. Robert Scipio Ridley won the immortal prize of a gourd." According to the Tuskegee newspaper about thirty horsemen in odd costumes took part in the "Fantastics." Each contestant made five tilts at the ring in the hope of winning the prize, a handsome set of jewelry.[56] Perhaps the gourd Carrie mentioned was the booby prize. That evening four of the girls, accompanied by Carrie's older brother, went serenading. "We started in the carriage," she wrote, "but the horses became restive and broke the dashboard so we took it afoot but not so extensively as we at first anticipated. We serenaded Mrs. Bob Johnston, Mrs. Alexander [probably Mrs. Lewis Alexander, who is said to have first conceived the idea of the College] & Dr. Lipscomb."

Although St. Valentine's Day was not a holiday from classes, it was regularly observed by the sending and receiving of val-

entines, all hand-made. It seems to have been customary to spend the evening of February 13 preparing them.[57]

Besides the observance of such holidays, the students found excitement in the doings of their classmates. On the day before Christmas holidays, 1858, a fifteen-year-old day student ran away to Columbus where "she married a characterless fellow, and her mother is almost distracted."[58] In her diary on December 21 Carrie Hunter explained that the poor girl's "silly brain imagined that there was nothing so terrible in the universe as the school-room." Sometimes tragedy struck the College, as when, in a spring epidemic that took thirty-nine lives in Tuskegee, three college students died. "These have been laid away in the silent church yard," lamented Carrie Hunter on June 14, 1857, "nevermore to join in the arduous, but delightful, because cheerfully performed, labors of the schoolroom, or join in the gleeful laugh, & social converse of mutual friends in the happy playtime." The Tuskegee newspaper records that the town had suffered between 500 and 1000 cases of measles succeeded by diarrhea. For fear of further casualties among the students, Tuskegee Female College was closed abruptly in June.[59] Sometimes the tragedy struck even more swiftly, as when Carrie Colbert, apparently another day student, caught fire and died of her burns, just three months before she was to have graduated. Her classmates wore crepe for her during the thirty days following her death.[60]

But the students could not always read romances, go to fairs, or even attend church, and both holidays and tragedies were the exception rather than the rule in their campus lives. The largest part of each week day they supposedly devoted to preparing for and attending classes. The essays of one of the teachers and the diary of one of the students tell something about both the theory and practice of teaching in some of those classes.

Dr. Lipscomb, in his capacity of teacher as well as president, stated his theory of teaching in some of his published articles of this period. "The teaching mind," he declared, "is eminently

suggestive. . . . No thought is old, no image commonplace, no argument trite, to its ever-quickening activity. There is always something in its original resources to impart a brightening glow to familiar facts and oft-handled topics. It is consequently a creative intellect."[61] Great teachers, he felt, are those "who could be scientific in statement, in argument, in detail, and yet carry the fervor of a glowing soul into all their efforts."[62] He had a horror of "scholars, mere scholars, chained down to their college-chairs," thinking machines rather than thinking souls. His own memories of college days were brightened by "the hereditary anecdotes of the college—the dry humor of some old professor—the fun of classmates." He advocated a colloquial manner in teaching—"a talking style . . . a little more of elegant dishabille; a free, bold, Anglo-Saxon hittingness." "Hobbies," he warned the teacher who might allow them to intrude in his lectures, "are to be locked up at home . . . If you have any little crotchet, any private fondling—caress it in your library, but intellectual poodles are abominable in public."[63] Finally, he insisted, the course of study in the colleges should not be adapted to the utilitarian view of the people, but should be vitalized—perhaps by such a lively, creative approach as he had described.

From the other side of the classroom desk comes word about the practice rather than the theory of teaching. Carrie Hunter left in her diary some actual class notes that reflect to some extent the teaching methods of both Dr. Lipscomb and Dr. Price. The first class of Dr. Lipscomb's on which Carrie Hunter reported is one in which the eighteenth-century poet James Thomson's "The Seasons" was being studied intensively. Her notes suggest that Dr. Lipscomb taught poetry by the then-popular Latin method of analyzing the construction of each sentence, and that he gave careful attention to the connotation of diction.

June 4th 1856—What did I learn in the Thomson's seasons class today? Summer evening page 186—A sentiment is a combination of thought and feeling. "The shepherd goes home." Home

is governed by *to* understood, which is the origin of the yankee expression "He goes to home."

A neuter verb can never have an adverb qualifying it. Difference between rosy, ruby, ruddy. Rosy is a delicate tint, the color of that flower, ruby is a little deeper warmer color, and ruddy is a deep fiery red.

Yet these otherwise dull notes occasionally reflect humorous moments. "*Brimming,* full to the brim. A very laughable way in which we were caught. Dr. Lipscomb asked us where was the brim on his hat, we told him but mistook rim for brim."

Besides English literature, Dr. Lipscomb taught courses in philosophy, from one of which Carrie Hunter left notes in her diary suggesting that his approach in this class may at times have been more creative. "Jan. 13th [1859]. Dr. Lipscomb had us reciting today in Isaac Taylor's Elements of Thought. Invention & Abstraction was the particular portion of it that we were reading. In treating of it one of its branches led out into what he called self-consciousness." The discussion that Dr. Lipscomb gave on this topic was so interesting to Carrie Hunter that she filled a page of her diary with it, making an application of it to herself.

The other class on which Carrie Hunter reported to posterity was another English class, in which Professor George Price discussed the contemporary novelist Charles Dickens. (Dickens' *Little Dorrit* was appearing serially in the same issues of *Harper's* in which Dr. Lipscomb's essays were being published.)

May 26, 1856— . . . Today I learnt in what consisted the accurate delineation of character, and in explanation Mr. Price directed our attention to the works of Charles Dickens and particularly to David Copperfield as possessing this to an eminent degree. He showed us that the accurate delineation of character consisted not in dwelling on the minor points of character, but with a few master strokes of the pen he brought vividly before the mind the distinguishing and striking points of character, and in support of this brought forward some of the most prominent characters in the work mentioned, which once having been read can never be forgotten, viz: Creakle, James Steerforth, Peggoty, Barkis, Mr. &

Mrs. Micawber, the lovely characters of Agnes & Dora and lastly Betsey Trotwood.

The records do not reveal what extracurricular activities, if any, grew out of the class work at Tuskegee Female College. Under Dr. Lipscomb's encouragement the girls at his Montgomery Metropolitan Institute, which apparently had only academy rather than college rank, had produced "a monthly paper" called *The Young Metropolite* during his last two years there.[64] It seems likely that in a larger and more mature student body the president would have considered such an enterprise even more feasible, but, if so, no word about it survives.

Of course the chief activity toward which these classes were directed was the final examination and commencement each year. At this time in the history of the College it was customary to have the examinations conducted privately before committees of citizens selected for the purpose,[65] but the commencement exercises were elaborate, extended, and each year viewed by large crowds. With the passing years they came to extend over an even longer period, though they were probably never better attended in Tuskegee than in the 1850's.

The usual plan was to have the commencement sermon in the College chapel on Sunday morning, the public exhibition of the art department on Monday, the literary address on Monday evening, the public concert on Tuesday evening, and the commencement exercises on Wednesday. The favorite commencement preacher during this first administration was Dr. T. O. Summers of Nashville, the Methodist publishing agent who had raised $3000 for the college at the Annual Conference of 1856. He was invited to deliver the commencement sermon in both 1858 and 1859. After the first commencement in 1856, when there were only four graduates—Misses M. J. (Jo) Alexander, Carrie Hunter, C. J. Holt, and P. E. Mitchell—the seniors were usually too numerous for all of their graduating essays to be heard at the final exercises. (There were eight graduates in 1857, sixteen in 1858, and twenty-nine in 1859). For this reason both Tuesday and Wednesday mornings were

set aside for the reading, and sometimes Tuesday evening besides. In the 1850's it was the custom to have these essays read to the audience by gentlemen of Tuskegee, rather than by the young authors themselves. According to the Tuskegee editor in 1859:

> The character of these compositions was of the most enobling and elevating in kind, and chaste and elegant in style . . . All seemed to be pervaded with a spirit of high religious culture and a thorough appreciation of the position of educated womanhood. So customary has it become for compositions of young ladies purporting to be original to be prepared by other hands . . . that we deem it our duty to say that we are fully satisfied that these essays were written under the immediate supervision of the President by the young ladies.[66]

The exhibition of the art department was always an event of special interest at commencement, and never more so than while it was headed by Miss Julia Spear. As the minutes of the Alabama Conference were to observe in the fall of 1859, "The Art department of this Seminary is unsurpassed, in the facilities which it affords, and in the refining and elevating power which it wields over the intellectual and moral nature of the inmates of the institution." The exhibition of commencement in 1859 began ambitiously with "a trialogical criticism on Beauty and Art between Dr. Lipscomb and two of the graduating class, Miss M. Tarver of Montgomery and Miss L. Stoudemire of Tuskegee," which was read by Professor W. H. C. Price, brother of Professor George Price and lecturer on geology at the College.[67] According to Dr. Lipscomb, "the most rejoicing progress" had been made in the classes in arts of design, in which the girls had produced designs for carpets, wall paper, dress patterns, piano covers, table covers, and other useful things. As a result of this training two students had been able to win prizes for the best designs for a bottle wrapper and an ornamental business envelope for Darby's Prophylactic Fluid.[68] Commencement visitors were invited into the large hall below the chapel, where there was an exhibit of one hundred pictures

"from the simplest crayon drawing to the most finely finished oil painting," so the enthusiastic Tuskegee editor said.

On the final day of commencement twenty-nine "noble and beautiful women received the parchment," according to the same editor. They represented the states of Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida, besides Alabama. A dramatic event concluded the exercises: "Just as the graduates had sung their farewell hymn, an elegant and luxurious library chair was suddenly wheeled upon the rostrum, and the newly elected president, Rev. G. W. F. Price, in behalf of the class just leaving the school, presented it to the retiring President, Dr. Lipscomb, in an earnest and affectionate speech. It was a beautiful and fitting emblem of rest to the weary and care-worn President, who, although unexpected to him, received [it] in the same kind spirit which prompted the gift."[69]

After three and a half years as president Dr. Lipscomb was retiring, but with the understanding that he would continue at Tuskegee Female College as "Lecturer on Art and Literature." His financial responsibilities there had probably always been somewhat onerous to him. He had delegated them more and more to his senior professor, George Price, whom he had appointed treasurer of the college, and now it was undoubtedly his wish that the trustees transfer all of those duties to Mr. (later Dr.) Price. According to the historian of Alabama Methodism, Dr. Lipscomb "was of a soft mold, a gentle disposition, and more docile than vigorous."[70] As a lecturer, he would be able to continue living in the pleasant college environment and yet have far more time to indulge in his writing. It is possible, too, that at this time he was suffering an attack of the ill health that about a decade later was to end his work at the University of Georgia. It was a year before he was to be prevailed upon to go to Athens. During that year he and his second wife, the former Susan Dowdell, whom he had married in Auburn in the fall of 1857, must have found a great deal of satisfaction in watching the young man he had trained as his

assistant take charge of Tuskegee Female College. Through the year of his lectureship Dr. Lipscomb was to see the College continue to progress. It was the last year of the prosperous 1850's, the last year before the Tragic Decade.

III. *The War of the Sixties*

PRESIDENTS PRICE, WOOD AND ELLIOTT

THE MAN who succeeded to the presidency of Tuskegee Female College in 1859 was to be its leading spirit during the thirteen critical years to follow. Dr. Price could not know, in these last months of the flourishing fifties, what lay ahead for him and the College. It is true that in 1859 the abolitionist John Brown attempted a raid on Harper's Ferry, and the citizens of various Alabama towns were burning him in effigy, but most people were not disturbed about the future. On the contrary, it seemed an auspicious time to become the head of a growing college, especially a college with which one had been prominently connected since its establishment.

Early in Dr. Lipscomb's administration it had become obvious that Dr. Price was second in command. Recognizing his business ability, Dr. Lipscomb had made him treasurer by the 1857-1858 session, if not earlier. A receipt in Dr. Price's handwriting for tuition from Colonel William T. Minter for his daughter, "Miss R. I. Minter," dated January 8, 1858, is signed "George W. F. Price, Treas. T. F. College."[1] Apparently he also assumed responsibilities in student registration, for Tilman Leak of Wetumpka wrote his niece and ward, Pinkie, on Nov. 1, 1858: "I thought I explained the reasons to Mr. Price

why your Aunt wishes you to take [music] lessons under a Gentleman. . . . See Mr. Price & Dr. L. again and say to them that they will oblige me very much by changing you."[2] Besides serving as both treasurer and registrar, Dr. Price was acting president for a short period in the fall of 1857 when Dr. Lipscomb and his second wife went on their honeymoon. Carrie Hunter wrote to her brother on November 17: "Mr. Price makes a fine president, and every thing goes on as easily almost as if Dr. Lipscomb were here. I received a letter from him a few days ago in which he said he would be in Tuskegee by the 28th or 29th which will be the last of next week. He writes very naturally and matter-of-course about his wife. Dr. Lipscomb says she has been in a whirl of visiting and sight seeing ever since she has been in the city, and has improved her opportunities of seeing the curiosities and wonders of the great metropolis."[3]

Dr. Price assumed many other duties during Dr. Lipscomb's administration. It was he who sent out the catalogs and asked the local newspaper to make the announcements about commencement,[4] and it was he who was called upon to preside and speak at such campus occasions as the presentation of the "premiums" for the Darby Prophylactic Fluid designs.[5] In addition, as has already been observed, he was commissioned to make some of the purchases for the college dining room. Having performed all these administrative duties during Dr. Lipscomb's term in office, he was well trained to step into the presidency on Dr. Lipscomb's retirement.

He was young to assume such responsibilities, for he did not celebrate his twenty-ninth birthday until the twenty-sixth of September, 1859, the very month in which he began his first term as president. During most of his twenty-nine years Dr. Price had lived in the neighborhood of Tuskegee. Born on his father's plantation in Butler County, he had spent his boyhood in Tuskegee. His playmate of those years, J. C. Smith, was later quoted by Dr. Massey as describing "his fine, genial qualities and his fondness of outdoor sports." According to

Dr. Massey, "He said that he and young Price used to go barefooted along the branches around Tuskegee and that he could always tell George's tracks wherever seen by the peculiar shape which his square-toed foot left on the sand. George was destined to leave a more durable impress on his generation than he had left on the sands around Tuskegee."[6]

After being prepared for college along with W. M. Motley and J. W. Rush, young George Price entered the University of Alabama at the age of fifteen, took the ministerial course, and helped to pay his expenses by ringing the college bell that called the students to classes and chapel. The University historian says: "The bell-ringer had a room on the second floor of the laboratory and the bell-rope terminated in his room. For punctually signalling for his schoolmates each required move of their day, he received sixteen dollars a month."[7] Three years after his entrance, when not yet eighteen, George Price graduated with the highest honors in his class.[8] The University of Alabama in 1914 reported that up to that time George Price was the youngest student ever to enter or to graduate from the University.[9] Thus he had already established a reputation for precocity before being made a college president while still in his twenties. He secured experience in teaching at Montgomery and Eufaula and in the Auburn Female College before joining the faculty of Tuskegee Female College at its opening in 1856.[10] In addition to this professional experience, he brought home to Tuskegee the degrees of B.A. and M.A., to which his alma mater was to add the honorary degree of D.D. some years later.[11]

Besides the best university training that his state afforded and varied professional experience both before and after coming to Tuskegee Female College, this native son brought important personal gifts to the presidency. Chief among these, in the eyes of his contemporaries, were his gifts in public speaking. "As a speaker," the University of Alabama yearbook was to say later, "he is endowed with talents of a high order, and is considered fluent, brilliant, and impressive. He is always in

demand on public occasions where impromptu oratory is required to meet the emergency."[12] In the sixties, when he addressed the first meeting of the Judson Female Institute alumnae, an Atlanta newspaper declared that he "held his audience in rapt attention for the space of one hour and a half."[13] In the seventies, when he lectured in Mobile on the subject "Woman," the *Mobile Register* was moved to say, "We never listened to a more scholarly address. So fine was the language, and so nicely rounded the periods, that it constantly reminded one of the best efforts of Hawthorne or Holmes."[14] But it was the *Selma Times* in the eighties that paid him the highest compliment: "We have heard many of the greatest orators of the day; . . . but we believe we speak the sentiment of this community in placing Dr. Price above any and all of them as a public speaker. Easy, self-possessed, graceful, with a fine, rich, though rather feeble voice, with admirable powers of elocution, he has a felicity of verbal expression, a copiousness of vocabulary, a richness and strength of imagination, a variety, brilliancy and sparkle of fancy, joined with a singularly lucid, simple and fervid eloquence, which we have never heard surpassed nor even equalled."[15]

Although his platform performances dazzled the public and extended his reputation and that of his college, his success as an educator probably depended even more upon his life-long capacity for study, especially in the fields of literature, foreign languages, and music. While he was still a boy he had begun to accumulate his private library, later one of the best in Tuskegee, which his friends seem to have used like a modern lending library.[16] According to his daughter, "He was familiar with every page. He always had a most engaging way of referring to some favorite passage, never the least bit pedantic, but always inspiring and illuminating."[17] His daughter is authority also for the statement that all his life Dr. Price continued to study foreign languages: "Well versed in Greek and Latin, he had a keen ear and a very accurate ability to get the proper pronunciation of French, German and Spanish, in

which he took lessons wherever he found a teacher. In every one of his colleges he had teachers of modern languages and had private lessons with them, studying as earnestly as any ambitious pupil in the school." In the mastery of German, she added, he was greatly assisted by the German jeweller in Tuskegee, Mr. Sternau. Dr. Price was a devoted lover of music, too. His chosen instrument was the flute, on which he began taking lessons early. He and Mr. Kessee, proprietor of the Tuskegee book and music store, used to practice faithfully on their flutes, and, according to Carrie Hunter, made "delicious music."[18] Not only then but throughout the rest of his life he turned to playing his flute as the most enjoyable recreation he knew. After the war of the sixties, when he went up from Tuskegee to pay summer visits to his brother in New York, he always took flute lessons, eventually buying one of the Boehm silver flutes when they were introduced in this country.

In addition to his capacity as both a speaker and a student, Dr. Price seems to have been endowed with a great deal of personal charm. Carrie Hunter's admiration and affection for him runs like a bright thread through the diary of both her college and her after-college years. Letters written both to and by Dr. Price bear out the impression of his gracious personality, his delightful sense of humor, and his happy relationship with his students.

The *Tuskegee Republican* of July 14, 1859, summed up Dr. Price's qualifications for the presidency of the College in this manner: "He brings to his new position that ripe scholarship, great energy and long experience which, with the deep affection entertained for him by the pupils of the school, give an earnest of his full success, and of the maintenance of the high position which the College occupies."

In his first published statement after becoming the head of the College Dr. Price made it clear that the change of presidents involved no change of policy.

> It is not contemplated to introduce any important changes, either in the plans of Education, which have already approved

themselves as admirable and excellent in the highest degree, or in the administration of the disciplinary regulations of the College. Reaffirming the elevated aim of a genuine and thorough culture both of the heart and intellect as the basis on which the Institution was originally organized . . . Tuskegee Female College will still labor to give to its pupils such training as shall fit them alike for the silent sanctities of domestic life, for the painful alternations of human experience, and for the beautiful ministries of sympathy and love.[19]

It was natural that Dr. Price would continue to carry out the program set up by the man with whom he had worked so closely ever since the opening of the College, and whom he now had with him as his mentor on the campus. One strength of the College during its more than half-century in Tuskegee was to lie in this seldom-broken continuity of administrative tradition.

While there were no real changes, there were certain promising developments during this first year of Dr. Price's administration—this year which also ushered in the ominous 1860's. One of these advances was financial. In spite of the ambitious campaign for funds in 1857, the Alabama Conference, meeting in Marion from November 24 to December 3, 1858, had learned "with regret that the Trustees labor under pecuniary liabilities," and "also that there is a pressing need of larger room in the boarding department."[20] According to Dr. Massey, Dr. Price was a better financier than his predecessor, and succeeded in reducing the College debt during his first year in office.[21]

The new president was assisted in increasing the financial resources of the institution through a bequest from the Thompson Fund. This Thompson Fund was a gift willed to the Alabama Conference by a devoted young Methodist woman, Mrs. Sarah Altona Thompson, at her death, July 6, 1856. During a period of six months—December 1853 through May 1854—Mrs. Thompson had lost her two children and her husband, William Dade Thompson, a generous layman of Dayton, Alabama, who was described as "a young man of property,

education, and piety."[22] Although her obituary names $12,000 as the amount of the Thompson Fund Dr. Massey declared it to be $16,000,[23] a figure that seems to be confirmed by the following committee resolution in the Alabama Conference of 1859, which made Tuskegee Female College a beneficiary of the Fund:

> *Resolved,* That this Conference direct the Treasurer of the Legal Conference to pay over to the Trustees of The Tuskaloosa Female College, the Centenary Institute at Summerfield, and Tuskegee Female College, the whole of the Thompson Fund, as it shall be collected according to the following proportions: $4,000 to the Tuskaloosa Female College; $7,000 to the Centenary Institute; $5,000 to the Tuskegee Female College; provided that the respective Boards of these Colleges guarantee to this Conference a sum equal to the annual interest of the above named amounts, to be paid in the boarding of the daughters of the members of the Alabama Conference—which, after considerable discussion, was adopted.[24]

This gift of $5000 relieved to some extent the financial strain under which the College was still laboring as a result of the expensive "edifice" the trustees had authorized. With Dr. Price's careful management the whole of the debt might have been paid within a few years, had war not intervened. Meanwhile, however, the conference had more reason than ever for making its annual satisfied reference to the "flattering and flourishing condition" of the College.

Another advance made during the first year of Dr. Price's presidency was in the course of study. From the opening of the College there had been frank admissions that the level of "female education" in the section needed raising. According to the report of the T. F. C. visiting committee made to the Alabama Conference of 1858, "The Professors are laboring hard and earnestly to improve the quality of female education and make it of the best order."[25] The editor of the *Tuskegee Republican* remarked on September 15, 1859, that there had been a steady advance towards the ideal the College had set for itself at its founding. "The standard of scholarship," he said, "has

been elevated as rapidly as was practicable to its present exalted range of culture and acquirement." "The present exalted range" probably meant the addition that fall to the four-year college course of a "resident graduate course . . . open not only to graduates of this College, but also to young ladies graduates of other Institutions."[26] This course, according to the newspaper announcement, embraced "Reading, Criticisms, Lectures, &c, employing as a basis such eminent Literary and Philosophical works as 'Taylor's World of Mind,' 'Coleridge's Aids to Reflections,' 'Sir William Hamilton's Metaphysics,' etc." When a course for graduates was introduced the following fall at Alabama Central Female College in Tuscaloosa, it was said that such a course "has been adopted in one or two Female Colleges."[27] It is probable that Dr. Lipscomb had entire charge of the graduate work at Tuskegee Female College, as criticism and philosophy were his specialties, and as the course is not mentioned after his departure at the end of the 1859-1860 session.

In the faculty of twelve (five with advanced degrees) listed by President Price in the fall of 1859,[28] lectureships were named for his brother, Professor W. H. C. Price, and for Professor Price's father-in-law, Professor John Darby, as well as for Dr. Lipscomb. Whether they participated in the graduate program or not, they undoubtedly contributed toward raising the academic standards of the College. Professor William Henry Clay Price had been the first science teacher at Tuskegee Female College, but had followed his father-in-law to Auburn, where both were now members of the new East Alabama Male College faculty. Professor Price came regularly to lecture in his brother's college on geology, and Professor Darby lectured on chemistry. Professor Price was to become well known in the state a few years later as superintendent of the Nitre and Mining Bureau of the Confederacy and after the war as editor of a trade journal, *The American Grocer,* in New York City. Professor Darby, however, was already famous as the originator of a nationally advertised disinfectant, Darby's Prophylactic

Fluid, recommended by many doctors, including Alabama's own J. Marion Sims.[29]

Another division of the College that was making progress during Dr. Price's first year in the presidency was the art department. The "arts of design" were still under the direction of the remarkable Miss Julia Spear. According to the same College announcement, Miss Spear's students were being resupplied with casts, models, drawings, and studies. An order had been sent to London for a full set of drawing models, "such as are furnished by the British Government to the National Schools of Design." Miss Fairweather continued to train young fingers in the intricacies of embroidery, wax work, and fancy work, but her subjects were now referred to as the "ornamental branches."

Other members of the faculty listed for 1859-1860 were James M. Anderson, M. A., professor of modern languages and vocal music; Reverend John W. Rush, M. A., professor of mathematics; Frederick Corben, professor of music; Mrs. Lucinda Hale Ferguson, assistant in music; Miss Augusta Thompson, "governess of the hall"; and Mrs. C. M. M. Reed, instructor in the preparatory department. Reverend John W. Rush also had charge of the steward's department. This roster remained unchanged at least through the session of 1860-1861, except for the discontinuing of the lectureships and the adding of Professor Edward R. Dickson as professor of ancient languages and sciences and of Mrs. Dickson as assistant in the music department.

Commencement in 1860 was a happy occasion. The enrollment of 204 students (63 in the preparatory department and 141 in the college, including ten "resident graduates") was larger than it had been for several years.[30] At the end of four days filled with art exhibits, introductory and final concerts, a sermon and graduating exercises, the visitors "were pleased to observe that the institution is still in a flourishing condition." They were pleased also to report the tribute paid to the president by his seniors: "He was presented with a magnificent

service of silver by the graduating class, on Wednesday morning, as a testimonial of their friendship and kind regard. The articles were presented through Rev. Dr. Lipscomb, in a few remarks full of pathos and beauty."[31] In 1860 silver services were popular gifts in Alabama. In December of that year a silver service was given to Dr. T. O. Summers by the Alabama Conference for his work as conference secretary, and another was presented to Actor Canning of the stock company playing in Montgomery, of which, incidentally, another member was Maggie Mitchell, who was to be the first to sing "Dixie" there.[32]

After this particularly serene and prosperous school year, the students who reassembled in the fall of 1860 must have become only gradually conscious of the political thunder beginning to reverberate around them. William Lowndes Yancey's defiant speech in Memphis on August 14 had been published as an extra in many cities, including Montgomery. On September 19, the very day on which Tuskegee Female College opened for its fall term, the *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser* reported, under the head "Great Time in Tuskegee," an account of the current political rallies. After listening to a three-hour speech for the presidential candidate Breckinridge in the afternoon, Tuskegee citizens held torchlight processions and transparencies in the evening, and listened to six more speeches. Among these one was delivered by Thomas H. Watts in support of the "Constitutional Unionists," Bell and Everett, and another in reply by Yancey, who was campaigning for the secessionists, Breckenridge and Lane. After the election of Lincoln in November the tension undoubtedly grew, but the first evidence of the political interest of the young people at Tuskegee was a Southern Rights Leap Year party on New Year's Eve. The young women came in homespun and the young men in coarse jerseys, inspiring one of the visitors to remark that he was strongly tempted to ask them for their passes (always carried by Negro slaves when away from home).[33]

From this time, events moved more rapidly. A few days later the Tuskegee light infantry set out to man the forts at Mobile, leaving "many a sad heart in Tuskegee tonight."[34] His friends at the College and in town evidently found reassurance and encouragement in a visit just at this time from Dr. Lipscomb, who had been called in the preceding September to become the first chancellor of the University of Georgia.[35] The inauguration of Jefferson Davis on February 18 took many of the young people of Tuskegee to the capital, where they enjoyed watching the inaugural procession, attending the President's levee, and visiting the theater. So far the political revolution had brought only gaiety; the only cannons that had been fired were those honoring the new president at his inauguration.

But war was closer than the college girls could know. On April 13 they heard "seven cannon shots" and saw "rockets and roman candles sent up in quantities."[36] The town was rejoicing over the news of the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Five days later, as Miss Julia Spear and Miss Sallie Lipscomb were sitting down to supper with friends, they were startled by a prolonged whistle from the mill, the usual way of announcing important news, and, rushing out to the street, learned that Virginia had seceded.[37] On the following afternoon a group of Tuskegee girls, Carrie Hunter relates, went out to practice their marksmanship, under the leadership of a Captain Jones who "couldn't even hit the plank."

The war was now coming home to the T. F. C. girls in other ways than through the announcements of whistle and cannon. For some weeks the Macon Cavalry had been marching up and down the street, sometimes stopping in front of the College to drill.[38] As one of the art graduates, Carrie Hunter was requested to design and make a flag for the cavalry. The students watched her work on it almost daily in the College art rooms, especially fascinated by her final task of embroidering on the stars,[39] and they were probably on hand when, on horseback, she presented it on March 20 in a ceremony attended by most of Tuskegee.[40] By the end of April, according to Carrie

Hunter's diary, the girls had an opportunity to make something even more necessary to war than were flags. "Wednesday May the 1st. Friday & Saturday every lady in town was busily engaged in making suits for the two companies, who left, one on Saturday evening, the other on Sunday morning. Two of my brothers have gone to fight the fanatical horde that would crush us. They have enlisted in a noble cause. God grant that they may be successful. Last Sunday was a strange sad day. Some went to church, and some went up to the Hall to finish the remaining suits that had to go off that night. . . . "

Shortly after the departure of these troops for the front, there was recruited a third Tuskegee company, in which Tuskegee Female College was to feel a more personal interest. A notice signed by C. E. Chambers and B. H. Kieser appeared in the newspapers in June: "Ho for the War!—We are desirous of filling up a company immediately to go to the seat of war. All those who are willing to join us will call at the store of Col. A. B. Fannin, Tuskegee, where they will find a muster roll to sign their names upon. . . . We can be well equipped in two or three weeks and ready for marching orders."[41] Within a few days this company, known as the Macon Confederates, was recruited and sent to a camp in Virginia. Probably by virtue of his service in the Mexican War, the company was commanded by Captain Robert F. Ligon, member of the College Board of Trustees and state senator from Macon County, who was later president of the trustees for several decades. Enlisted in the company as a private was Judge David Clopton, president of the Board of Trustees and, until secession, United States congressman from Alabama. "Its officers and men," said Reverend Sam Henderson, "are composed of the choice material of the county."[42] In honor of the departure of this company, with whom it had such important ties, the College gave a benefit concert on June 25 and raised $216 to help outfit its men for the front.[43]

Besides assisting to make suits and raising money to buy equipment for Confederate soldiers, the students at Tuskegee

Female College went to church with the townspeople to pray for these soldiers. They must have been as much awed as Carrie Hunter was by the experience of June 13, 1861. "Today has been one of the most solemn days I ever spent in my life," she wrote in her diary. "As we all know it was the day set apart for fasting and prayer by Pres. Davis. I never fasted before. We had Divine Services in the Methodist Church." The College made its own contribution to such patriotic services, for on July 13 President Price preached a sermon from the first verse of Psalm 144: "Blessed is the Lord my strength which hath taught my hands to war and my fingers to fight." "It was a delightful sermon," Carrie Hunter wrote in her diary that night, "and I listened to it with great interest."

The college girls at Tuskegee, like those everywhere else in the Confederacy, had a personal as well as a patriotic interest in the army, for they had brothers and sweethearts in the muddy camps in Virginia. Gifts to and from their soldiers became an all-important topic in letters and diaries. Sleeping caps seem to have been popular gifts for the young women to make for the soldiers,[44] and in return came such objects as their sweethearts could manufacture for them in the army, for example a wooden ring cut out of ivy from the banks of Bull Run.[45] Meanwhile, in response to the glamour of the uniform and the drum, girls were seeking advice concerning etiquette when in the company of military men, and were learning from Madame Colvert's *Book of Politeness:* "If we are acquainted with military men, in addressing them we call them only *General* or *Captain*, for it would be uncivil to give them titles of inferior grade; thus we should not say Lieutenant."[46]

Against this background of the first year of the war, the events of Dr. Price's third year in the presidency seem to have been enacted with a minimum of disorder and change. Although the enrollment had decreased as a result of the war and there were to be only five graduates at the end of June, (Judson had nine and the University of Alabama five[47]) the students serenely pursued their "ornamental branches," trans-

lated their Latin, and worked with what they called their scientific apparatus. Their daily schedule at this time was probably very similar to that followed by their neighbors, the students at East Alabama Female College in Tuskegee. This Baptist college, whose curriculum paralleled that of Tuskegee Female College fairly closely, announced in the advertisement for its 1861-1862 session:

> The Exercises of the College, during five days of the week, occupy each day six hours and thirty minutes. Commencing at fifteen minutes after eight A. M., and allowing for recreation two hours and fifteen minutes, they close at five P. M. Two hours at night are also devoted to study. . . .
>
> At the appointed time, (8¼ A. M.) all the pupils assemble in the Chapel. The exercises of the day are then introduced by reading a portion of Scripture, singing and prayer. At the expiration of this time commences the regular routine of Recitations, Music Lessons, Practice, Ornamental Work, etc.
>
> The sound of the bell indicates when the time of those engaged in recitation has expired. In two minutes they are seated in the study room, while others occupy their places in the recitation rooms. Thus, through the day, continues the labor of teacher and pupil, regulated to a minute by the clock, and conducted, for the most part, under the immediate eye of the President himself. . . .[48]

If the boarding students shared the pastimes of the Tuskegee girls, they spent their two hours and fifteen minutes of recreation not only in practising the timely art of shooting but also in playing backgammon, "partridge-driving," playing the melodeon, singing "Someone to Love," and reading such books as *Tom Brown's School Days*, *Scottish Chiefs*, and *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*.[49]

With the guns of Shiloh booming in neighboring Mississippi and Federal troops occupying the Tennessee Valley, Tuskegee Female College drew to the end of its 1861-1862 school term. According to the *South Western Baptist*, published in Tuskegee, a large and responsive crowd filled the "spacious public hall" of the College at commencement. It listened with interest to the essays of the graduating class, read, as usual, by "gentlemen of Tuskegee selected for the purpose," and after-

wards heard President Price's commencement address, "skillfully adapted to the occasion and the times."[50] In comparison with the four-day commencements of the past, however, the program was brief and unostentatious. "How different this year from all the preceding years," commented alumna Carrie Hunter wistfully. "There was a quiet pleasant hour spent in hearing the essays read, a short baccalaureate address very appropriate, then we all came home."[51] This 1862 commencement was only an echo of the gaiety of the occasion in past years, but the audience declared itself "under obligations to the President and his class, for so pleasing a divertissement in the midst of the grave monotone of revolution."[52] Although Memphis had fallen earlier in this month of June and the Federals were now in control as far south as Vicksburg, the trustees announced that the College would re-open as usual in September.

When classes reconvened in the fall of 1862, it was in an atmosphere charged with anxiety because of the rumors about the battle of Sharpsburg, in which many Tuskegee boys were involved.[53] The College enrollment had probably dropped further, although there is no record of the exact figure. During the rest of the war, however, the number of students was occasionally augmented by refugees from both the northern and the southern parts of the state.

One of the most interesting of those refugees registered at Tuskegee Female College in September 1862 and remained a member of its student body until her graduation at the end of the war. She was Howard Weeden of Huntsville, later to be distinguished as both artist and poet. When the Federal troops occupied Huntsville in June 1862, Major General O. M. Mitchell requisitioned the Weeden home[54] and banished Mrs. Weeden and her two daughters, Kate and Howard, to the servants' quarters in the back yard.[55] The Weedens fled to Tuskegee to live with an older Weeden daughter, Mrs. Reed, whose husband, like the three Weeden boys, was in the Confederate army. When the College opened in the fall, Howard

Weeden, then only fifteen, was enrolled, and there under Miss Julia Spear she received some of her early training in art. Miss Elizabeth Price tells the story as she later heard it from both her father and Miss Weeden:

> When Mrs. Weeden put her young daughter in school there, some one told my father, "The little Weeden girl is very gifted in painting and drawing—I have seen some lovely little things, very dainty little scenes, and roses and all sorts of flowers, but she is not taking art lessons now." My father sent for Howard to come to his office and questioned her as to why she was not studying art there. She said, "My mother was not able to pay for it." My father said, "You go straight to the art room and tell Miss Julia Spear I sent you, and you must take every thing there is to study with Miss Julia."[56]

Many years later Miss Weeden was to become well known for her sympathetic interpretation of the old Southern darky —"the old-fashioned Negro of Quality," as she herself said[57]— through both her paintings of Negro heads and her dialect poems accompanying the pictures in the volumes *Shadows on the Wall* (1898), *Bandana Ballads* (1899), *Songs of the Old South* (1901), and *Old Voices* (1904). Joel Chandler Harris wrote an appreciative introduction for *Bandana Ballads*, and Thomas Nelson Page requested copies of her water-color illustrations for his "Marse Chan" and "Unc' Edinburgh's Drowndin." A present-day tribute to this Tuskegee Female College alumna appears in the famous Negro college now standing a few miles from the old T. F. C. campus. In the Tuskegee Institute Library hang four pastels of Miss Weeden's Negro heads, presented by the Class of 1930.

The school year that brought Miss Weeden as a refugee student to Tuskegee Female College was by far the most difficult one yet for the College, as it was for the residents of Tuskegee and the section generally. Carrie Hunter's diary of 1862-1863 preserves numerous mentions of "hard times," including the problem of shirts for the Southern gentlemen. When her oldest brother came home on furlough, she made him a new shirt. "Linen bosoms are getting scarce among us southerners," she

wrote, "but if we can't get linen we'll take cotton and if we can't get cotton we will take what we can get. Anything until our independence is won."[58]

Miss Julia Spear, who by February 1863 had gone to teach for a year in Tuscaloosa Female College, wrote her former student Carrie a lively account of the deprivations most Alabamians, academic and otherwise, were becoming accustomed to at this time.

> Your pine knot fires I should enjoy at night. One great privation of the war to us is the absence of good light. . . . We have bidden goodby to buscuit until new wheat shall come, and Lizzy paid $15 for a pair of shoes the other day, the soles are a half inch thick, and they (the shocs) arc the admiration of every one. The usual topic among ladies aside from the war is to catalogue their possessions. With what gusto people tell of their toilet soap, pins, shoes, &c, where they have the good luck to possess such things. . . . When the blockade is over I will write on better paper with I hope a better pen.[59]

Even though students had to struggle with poor light, poor paper, and poor pens, Miss Spear insisted in this letter on the imperative need of woman's colleges during the war.

> The importance of female culture never impressed me so strongly as now. The standing in civilization which our new country takes during the next quarter of a century will depend on our young women. The general effect of war is demoralizing upon man, then the education of young men is to a great degree arrested. Even if we have peace soon the two years spent in service will have given them a distaste for school books and restraints. It would be like going back to a state of juvenility. To the cause of education that time is lost irretrievably. The more need then that ladies should be cultivated to supply this deficiency—but I need not write you a lecture.

The difficulties faced by both the president and the students of Tuskegee Female College during the school year 1862-1863 are implied in the stories of current deprivations and also in the fact of Miss Spear's temporary transfer to the faculty of the Tuscaloosa school. Actual records of the College that year, however, are so scarce as to raise two questions. The first has

to do with the identity of the president. No newspapers giving college announcements, always signed by the president, have survived from this year of the war. Dr. John Massey, who came to Tuskegee as president of the College in 1876, stated many years later that Reverend Jesse Wood was in charge for the one year 1862-1863.[60] The minutes of the Alabama Conference of December 1862, however, say that Reverend Jesse Wood was assigned for the year 1863 to the pastorate at Chunnenuggee in the Eufaula District, the same pastorate he had filled in 1862.[61] Not until December 1863 do the conference minutes connect him with the College.

The answer to the second question is one for which only conjectures rather than evidence may be produced. Why were there no graduates in 1863—the only year in the history of the college at Tuskegee except 1876 in which none are recorded on the roll of alumnae? Dr. Massey's cryptic explanation was: "War interfered with institution."[62] That loyal alumna Carrie Hunter does not mention any commencement exercises for that spring, but she does record in some detail her impressions of the exercises at East Alabama Female College. The ceremony, which she attended in company with Dr. Price, his sister-in-law, and her brother, who was home on furlough, "looked as if old times had come back again."[63] If war conditions did not interfere with one Tuskegee college's graduating girls in 1863, how did they interfere with the other? Did the financial status of Tuskegee Female College, over which the debt for the building still hung heavy, sink so low as to require a temporary closure in the spring of 1863? Or did the reduced enrollment incidental to the war happen to eliminate the senior class, as the economic depression in 1876 was to eliminate it? Not even the minutes of the following session of the Alabama Conference suggest any answer to these questions, for they record complacently, "Our schools are in a healthy and prosperous condition notwithstanding the war."[64]

Even though the conference was indulging in an over-statement, it probably felt new hope for Tuskegee Female College

in December 1863 when it thus recorded its unqualified sati faction with the condition of Alabama Methodist schools. Th College was now experiencing a brief interregnum in D Price's administration in which it was hoped—though in vai —that other shoulders could lift the load of debt under whic he was still struggling. According to Dr. Massey, "On accour of the embarrassment caused by the war the Board sold th property to Reverend Jesse Wood, who had inherited som money with which it was hoped he could relieve the critica situation."[65] How much of his legacy Mr. Wood sank in th College is not known, but the general financial situation du ing his administration was more acute than ever.

Inflation was making many problems in the Confederacy Board and tuition at Tuskegee Female College had jumpe from $200 in the fall of 1860 to $390 by the spring of 1864.[6 Calico was said to be selling at $400 a yard in those Tuskege stores that could get it at all. Most of the girls at the College as elsewhere in the Confederacy, wore homespun dresses, an they made their hats from the palmetto they gathered in th swamps around Tuskegee.[67] Both coffee and sugar were prac tically unobtainable. Recipes for coffee substitutes made fron sweet potatoes or English peas were in great demand. One suc recipe sent home by a Tuskegee soldier gave these direction for converting sweet potatoes: "Cut the potatoe [sic] into smal pieces—not too large to parch easily, and as near the same thick ness as possible, so that all will parch alike—and brown an grind it just as you do coffee. Two-thirds potato and one-thir coffee can hardly be distinguished from genuine Java. It i certainly an economical drink, when coffee is so scarce an dear."[68] Such coffee substitutes were probably used in Tus kegee Female College, and into them was probably poured th usual sugar substitute, molasses—often sorghum.[69] More im portant than coffee and sugar to the College was fuel. In th winter of 1863-1864 wood was selling at $40 a load ir Montgomery, and, if rumors were true, at $150 in Augusta

In spite of all these high prices and shortages Mr. Wood kept the College open throughout 1863-1864. He had at least two invaluable aides in doing so. First and most important of all was Dr. Price, who, as Dr. Massey indicated, remained president in almost everything except name.[71] Carrie Hunter makes no reference to Mr. Wood in her diary, but her account of a tribute paid by the junior class to Dr. Price suggests that he was still central in the students' minds. "April 1st [1864]. This is All fool's day. The day when luckless unsuspecting wights get pranks played off upon them to the no small merriment of disinterested spectators. I suppose the pleasantest April fool that has occurred today has been the presentation by the Junior Class of a handsome cake to Mr. Price. It was quite unexpected to him and his answering speech was quite enjoyable to the seniors." The other colleague who especially strengthened the hand of President Wood was Miss Julia Spear, who had returned to Tuskegee by the second term, as advertised in the College announcement of February 1864: "Miss Julia A. Spear, the accomplished Teacher of ART, will reopen the Department."[72] With their help, Mr. Wood struggled through to an old-time four-day commencement in June. Dr. William H. Ellison preached the commencement sermon and Dr. (later Bishop) H. N. McTyeire delivered the literary address—all in honor of two graduates, Anna Brown of Tuskegee and Myra Chisholm of Chambers County.[73]

The summer of 1864 was one of turmoil for Tuskegee and danger to both the town and the College. In the words of Alabama historian William Garrott Brown, "The terrible circle of fire kept drawing closer and closer around the homes of Alabama."[74] Just a month after commencement General Lovell H. Rousseau made a raid southeastward as far as Opelika and Auburn, cutting the railroad that passed near Tuskegee at Chehaw.[75] Carrie Hunter, both of whose brothers had been killed in battle the preceding year, tells the story:

The past week has been one of unparalleled excitement in the history of the people of Tuskegee. A yankee raid passed within

five miles of us, which might have reached our town, but for the timely appearance of cavalry and infantry forces which the enemy thought much larger, after which they made off in double quick order & much chagrin and useless regret. Their retreat to Sherman has been made good. Our loss was very heavy, having ten men killed and many wounded very severely. We have a few of the wounded here but not being a regularly organized hospital, cannot be carried on with that discipline and order which is absolutely necessary. It is to be broken up tomorrow and the men moved to private houses. I went up to Camp Watts Friday and saw several of the hateful yankees. Wounded. I could not sympathize with them. I could see in them the slayers of all that was dear or precious to me in life.[76]

Even before the raid of General Rousseau there were sick soldiers both in Tuskegee homes and at Camp Watts. Among others, Mrs. Lewis Alexander (who had initiated the idea of the founding of the College) had taken a sick soldier into her home during the winter. On Christmas Eve Carrie Hunter filled the children's stockings because her mother was down at Mrs. Alexander's; "her sick soldier is expected to die tonight."[77] Camp Watts, a camp established for convalescents and conscripts on the railroad near Notasulga and named for Alabama's second war governor, Thomas H. Watts, had approximately three hundred sick and wounded in its hospital in the summer of 1864, according to Carrie Hunter,[78] although General Rousseau estimated the number at "about 100 patients."[79] Visitors from Tuskegee were constantly arriving either in buggies or (before the raid) by train. "Went up on the cars and came back on a freight train, very cosily and pleasantly," reported Carrie Hunter on July 21. Although she could not sympathize with the Federal soldiers, she was deeply touched, as were other Tuskegeans, by the dying Confederates, especially those from such distant states as Arkansas.[80] By the summer of 1864 both the sickness and death incident to war had come very close to the College and to the town.

In the midst of these dangers and fears President Wood with stubborn courage planned the 1864-1865 session of Tuskegee Female College. As early as July and as late as September he

was publishing long advertisements of the fall term, all signed with his name. Concessions to the exigencies of the times appear in references to provisions for refugees and in proposed reductions in charges. An advertisement of the neighboring East Alabama Female College in the more fortunate fall of 1860, while assuring prospective patrons that there would be no charge for "servant's hire or firewood," had added: "Each young lady is expected to furnish her own towels and to share with her room-mate in the expense of looking glasses."[81] After three years of Confederate blockade, Tuskegee Female College found it necessary to require boarders to "furnish their own candles, sheets, quilts, pillow cases, all heavier articles being furnished them, exception to this rule made in favor of refugees, &c."[82] The same announcement offered financial concessions to attract students. Board, including washing and fuel, was reduced to "two-thirds the old price," and tuition in all departments to "one half the old price, payable in provisions at the old price, or an equivalent in money."

After Mr. Wood had made such carefully calculated moves to appeal to war-impoverished Alabamians and continued to publicize them over his name through September, it is surprising to read exactly a month after the scheduled opening of the College that his place had been taken by another. Perhaps Mr. Wood was discouraged, as well he might be, by the poor prospects for the College during wartime. Perhaps he was weary of work in which he had had no previous experience and which was probably uncongenial to him. Perhaps the trustees, on the lookout for some one who seemed more likely to recoup their fortunes, seized a widely known professional schoolman when they found him. Whatever the reason, Reverend Jesse Wood suddenly vanished from the academic picture. The minutes of the Alabama Conference record his return to a pastorate in December 1864.[83] After two years on the Tuskegee circuit and one year at Auburn, he transferred in 1867 from Alabama to the Pacific Conference, perhaps unable to reconcile himself

to the Confederate defeat, like many other emigrants to the West and to Brazil.

Dr. C. D. Elliott succeeded Mr. Wood at Tuskegee Female College in October 1864. Although Dr. Massey was later informed—perhaps by West's *History of Methodism in Alabama*—that the exchange had occurred in 1863,[84] current newspaper advertisements of the College were signed by Jesse Wood as president until the fall of 1864, at which time the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* announced Dr. Elliott's appointment.

> Rev. Dr. Elliott, of Nashville, Tennessee, has taken permanent charge of the Female College at Tuskegee. He was at the head of a similar institution in Nashville at the commencement of the war and remained at his post after the fall of the city. For his adherence to his political faith and the Confederate cause, he was incarcerated in the penitentiary by Andy Johnson, where he suffered ten months. During a portion of this year he has been laboring in behalf of the comfort of our brave soldiers. He is the right sort of a man to conduct a Southern college.[85]

Evidently Dr. Elliott's first official act after assuming the duties of the presidency was to recognize Dr. Price's importance to the College. Two days after the *Advertiser* announced Dr. Elliott's appointment, Carrie Hunter exulted: "Mr. Price was reinstated this morning by Dr. Elliott, the head of the school, as its literary president."[86] In a letter written just before commencement in the preceding June, Dr. Price had spoken sadly of his plans for leaving the College. "I am in a few days to be plunged into the melancholy business of winding up my affairs in Tuskegee, and shall have no spare moments. . . . In leaving Tuskegee we grieve to leave behind us eight years of our lives,—years full of many hard experiences, it is true, but full, too, of many delightful associations and blessed friendships. We will never find better friends, never form pleasanter relations."[87] Whether Mr. Wood was attempting to reduce his teaching staff for the following year or whether Dr. Price was initiating this removal in the hope of bettering his own fortune elsewhere is not clear. At any rate Dr. Price seems to have

been on hand in October when Dr. Elliott took charge; a year later he was to state that he had "been connected with the College from the date of its establishment."[88] Throughout the year of his presidency Dr. Elliott openly shared his authority with Dr. Price, for instance signing all newspaper announcements concerning the College with their two names. Carrie Hunter records another instance of that shared authority. "Mr. Price came around this evening to offer on his part and Dr. Elliott's all the advantages of the institution, to come and go at will. God bless that good man Mr. Price and cover with success Dr. Elliott's efforts to retrieve his fallen fortunes."[89]

Dr. Elliott and Dr. Price kept the College open during this last bleak winter of the Confederacy, when scores of colleges were closing their doors. It required courage as well as business ingenuity to continue in the face of such rumors of invasion as arrived almost daily in the spring. In announcing the opening of the spring term for February 13, 1865, Dr. Elliott and Dr. Price reflected some of their difficulties and a great deal of their determination by stating:

> Owing to recent repeated changes in the occupancy of the College Building, and to the peculiar circumstances of the country, we find it impossible, in the limited time allotted to us, to make the Boarding Department such a home for young ladies as it is our wish and intention to make it. We do not, therefore, propose to take boarders for the present. In the meantime, our friends from abroad, from whom we have had many pressing applications, can find homes for their daughters in several excellent families in Tuskegee.—We will lend our assistance in perfecting arrangements for such of our patrons as may desire to send us pupils immediately. The healthfulness, security, quietness, and morality of Tuskegee, all recommend it as a most suitable locality for the education of young ladies at this time.[90]

The same issue of the newspaper that carried this recommendation of the security and quietness of Tuskegee brought the first news that Sherman had reached Savannah in his march to the sea, news that was now actually a month old.

Sherman did not march in the direction of Tuskegee, but General James H. Wilson soon afterwards did. With the object

of seizing the Selma arsenal and of diverting General Forrest from aiding in the defense of Mobile, he set out with 13,000 men in the middle of March from Lauderdale County to raid central Alabama.[91] From his capture of Selma he marched on to Montgomery, and from there took the road that passed through Tuskegee to Georgia. The frightful news of the approach of Wilson's Raiders reached the College and all of Tuskegee on April 14, when Carrie Hunter wrote in her diary:

> A dread hour has arrived, the hour in which we are to meet the foe face to face. The murderers of our martyred brothers, 15,000 strong, they are now camped either on the upper edge of Tuskegee or within a mile of town. They will sweep over our fair little town with a besom of destruction and lay low the stately public buildings that have so long been our pride and pleasure. What will become of us the Lord only knows. May he be our shield and protection in the coming storm for vain is the help of man.

On the following day Wilson's Raiders rode into town. Doubtless Dr. Elliott and Dr. Price felt great apprehension, as Carrie Hunter herself did, for the safety of the building whose cupola towered over all the other buildings in Tuskegee. They knew that a division of Wilson's men under General Croxton had just burned the state university in Tuscaloosa, and they must have feared a similar fate for their own college. But on April 17 Carrie Hunter was able to write: "Well! the yanks have come and gone, and left us safe and sound with our house standing over our heads—a piece of clemency quite extraordinary. They burnt no houses in Tuskegee." As to pillaging and stealing, she added, "they yankeefied yankeeism. . . . Nearly all our friends have lost their jewels and valuables." Years later, however, the same Carrie Hunter, as Mrs. J. E. Cobb, told her daughter that any one who wished to do so could apply to the officer in charge for a guard—that is, a soldier to protect his home from the other soldiers.[92] It seems likely that Dr. Elliott and Dr. Price, still acting in unison, would have been apprehensive enough to apply for a guard for the College. If so, any words that the students may have exchanged

with the blue coat have gone unrecorded. Probably their tenor was similar to that of a conversation reported at this time by an unwelcome invader of Athens, Alabama. After hearing him describe the hardships he had endured in the army because of his patriotism, a young student at Athens Female Academy declared pertly, "Mr. Murphy, if you love your country as well as that, you're not a bit too good to sleep on it."[93]

With the visit of Wilson's Raiders the boasted security and quietness of the College became a lost illusion. Only a week later the Montgomery daily papers were publishing in the same issue the news of both Lee's surrender and Lincoln's assassination, with a social note to the effect that Major General A. J. Smith, whose troops had invaded Montgomery a few days earlier, was staying at the Exchange Hotel.[94] Rumors of the capture of Lee's army had reached the College two days earlier, but were not confirmed immediately.[95] The fears of the whole town increased during the weeks that followed. "Rumors, for we are cut off from all communication," wrote Carrie Hunter on April 30, "are dark, gloomy and foreboding. Advice of those who are prepared to be the judges is: Hope for the best but prepare your minds and hearts for the worst."

During these anxious days the College apparently remained open. Dr. Price continued to teach the beauties of English poetry, and Miss Julia Spear doubtless assisted Howard Weeden, now a senior, with the last of her college paintings. On May 4 and May 6 classes were certainly interrupted while anxious eyes peered out at additional victorious Federal soldiers marching down Main Street past the College. "On Thursday last Lucas passed through and yesterday (Saturday) the far famed and detested Grierson passed through with a brigade," Carrie Hunter recorded. "We are hoping this is the last, but have been startled with rumors all day that more yankees are expected."[96]

The college year was to end under even more trying circumstances, however. On May 25, the day on which Tuskegeans were sorrowfully attending the funeral of that good

friend of the College, Mrs. Lewis Alexander, they received an additional blow.[97] They were humiliated by having a Federal garrison quartered in Tuskegee. General J. B. Moore commanded these occupation troops, made up of the 33rd Wisconsin under Lieutenant Colonel Virgin and the 44th Missouri under Captain Hopkins.[98] The college students probably echoed Carrie Hunter's cry of "Yankees! Yankees! Yankees! every way you turn. It is a sickening, humiliating subject."[99] "The sight of blue coats daily, hourly and minutely offends the eye," she declared two weeks later, "and the sound of oaths hourly sicken the heart."[100] When the students were allowed to venture on the streets they heard what Carrie Hunter called "the oaths and maudlin songs and speech of this scum and offscouring of the world."

In this strange atmosphere of victorious blue coats and vagrant Negroes roaming the streets, Tuskegee Female College celebrated its tenth commencement exercises. The destruction of the railroad, which had cut the community off from regular news of the rest of the world, deprived the College of many out-of-town visitors. The optimistic newspaper correspondent who wrote that the Tuskegee stores were filling up with new goods, though at exorbitant prices, and that cotton brokers were trying to set greenbacks afloat in the country also observed: "The town itself has been rather lively for a week or ten days past. The young ladies of the colleges have given several concerts for some benevolent objects, all of which concerts were of course well attended. Commencement exercises have been progressing on a small scale."[101] Swallowing their indignation at being requested to join the "yankees" in the celebration of the Fourth of July a few days later,[102] the community had turned out with a good will for the college concerts given for the benefit of the war widows and orphans, and at the end of the week saw ten young women graduated from Tuskegee Female College.[103]

As one alumna indicated, it was not a happy time in which to graduate. "Oh the future! what can I do to help support

myself and help get along. This is the cry from every direction. Every one wants some kind of remunerative employment, and the avenues to such employment are few."[104] Opportunities for suitable marriage seemed equally scarce. "For those young ladies who have lived single during the war the young men whose society was pleasant and suitable have been swept away. . . . The young men are going astray with dissipation and the evil consequences of army association."

All of the consequences of army association at this time were not evil, however. Tuskegee Female College was to reap at least one material benefit from the Federal garrison, and under rather unusual circumstances. It had been the custom through the years for the graduating class to present a parting gift to the president—rather than to the College, as later became the custom. This gift was usually a substantial one, as in the case of the library chair the seniors presented to Dr. Lipscomb in 1859 and the silver service they gave Dr. Price in 1860. The ten young women who were graduated in 1865 were at their wits' end to think of a way of providing the funds necessary for the usual gift, so one of them, Julia Hunter, told her daughter years later.[105] Their fathers, who would normally have borne the expense, now had little but worthless Confederate currency. Finally it occurred to one of the seniors that, with the help of some of the alumnae, they might give a performance in the College chapel at which the unwelcome Federal soldiers should be welcomed—for a small admission charge. Although this idea seemed a splendid one as no one in town except the soldiers had much money, there yet remained the question of how the invitation could be issued. At the time it was not considered proper for Southern girls to address members of the occupation troops. The only solution was to have the fathers of the graduates perform the office for them. The cautious fathers were willing to cooperate only after waiting upon Dr. Price to discover if a gift bought with money from such a source would be acceptable to him. Dr. Price, touched by the eagerness of his girls, lent his approval to the project,

whereupon the fathers gravely requested the presence of the delighted soldiers at the College.

In due time the evening arrived, the admission fees were collected, and a gift (its nature now unknown) was purchased and delivered with an explanatory note to the president. Dr. Price wrote an affectionate acknowledgment addressed to the entire class and dated July 20, 1865, in which he said, in part:

> I honor the feelings which prompted in your hearts the laudable desire to leave in my hands, as one of my household treasures, some permanent embodiment of your devotion to me as yr Friend and Teacher. I sympathize,—though with no selfish emotion,—with yr disappointment in failing to realize your full wishes. I must truly say, however, that my acquaintance with your efforts to secure such a memorial as you desired, my knowledge of the diligence with which you labored to obtain the necessary means, the sacrifice of personal feelings involved in your beautiful and tasteful work of love, coupled with the touching manner in which you have not only communicated to me an account of the attending circumstances, but have given expression to your sentiments of tender and lasting regard,—all concur to enhance in my eyes the value of yr tribute, and to deepen the affection which I feel for you as cherished pupils.
>
> Nor must I forget my indebtedness to others of my friends, especially to those of my former pupils, whose kind offices and services of love were so cheerfully given to the same end. Through you, also, my thanks must reach those young gentlemen, who by their genial presence, by their prompt assistance, and by their courteous and intelligent cooperation contributed to render yr efforts so successful. . . . [106]

It seems significant that the Class of 1865 presented its gift to Dr. Price rather than to Dr. Elliott. It was probably the devotion of Dr. Price, even more than the financial efforts of Mr. West and Dr. Elliott, that had held the College together to the end of the war. To repeat Dr. Massey, "He had been the leading spirit during the administrations of Mr. Wood and Dr. Elliott."[107]

IV. *Reconstruction*

PRESIDENT PRICE

DR. PRICE faced the even greater trials of Reconstruction days alone. Since the bloody conflict was over at last, Dr. Elliott had returned to reopen his own college for women in Nashville. According to Dr. Massey, "He left the college in Tuskegee with most of the old debts hanging over it. The Board of Trustees still had the elephant on their hands. They put Dr. Price back into the presidency, where he remained until the close of the session in 1872."[1] On September 1, 1865, the editor of the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* commented hopefully: "By advertisement in another column, it will be seen that the well known institution, 'The Tuskegee Female College,' will be opened on the 20th of this month, under the exclusive control of Rev. Geo. W. F. Price, who has so long been identified with its fortunes. Mr. Price has an established reputation as a christian and scholar, and his thousands of pupils throughout Alabama and the South testify to his kindness and thoroughness as an instructor. The College will prosper as of yore, under his able management."

Before the College could prosper as of yore, however, Dr. Price had to overcome the effects of the war by building up his student body, his faculty, and his financial resources. The

poverty and political discontent of Reconstruction days were hostile to his purpose, but he set courageously to work. He offered his private home for sale in order to move into the College, where he planned to reopen the boarding department. "The Boarding Department of the Institution will be refitted and reopened at an early day," he advertised, and, in the meantime "good board can be obtained in the most respectable private families of the town."[2] Tuskegee's Baptist college, East Alabama Female College, also continued to have its students board in private homes during this first year after the war.[3] By the fall of 1866 Dr. Price was able to announce, "Girls board with the President."[4] Tuition and board for one semester of five months was priced at $162.50, with music, languages, lights, and washing extra.

A letter that Dr. Price wrote just before the fall opening in 1866 gives some idea of the duties involved in being president at this time. The letter is addressed to his cousin Margaret Fraser, later Mrs. Jesse Adams of Tuskegee.

Tuskegee, Ala., Sept. 6, 1866

Dear Margaret,

I have been thinking for some time of writing you, but many things have hindered. First, my eyes, you know, constitute a constant barrier to my continued use of them for any length of time. Again, Bettie's long sickness has filled my heart and hand with other cares and other duties. . . .

Meanwhile the time for school hurries on, and the house must be got in order. Bettie's impatience is very great. She creeps about to hurry up the Servants, and it is all that I can do to restrain her from laying hold of broom and mop. I am busy repairing and cleaning. There are five negroes at work today white-washing, scouring, glazing. I had white-washing going on all week. I began with the third story. We have finished all rooms, halls, passages of private & public part of House down to our floor, and still abundant work. I have knocked down plaster wall between large room on 3rd story, & small room adjoining, and have thrown the two into one large apartment for Art Classes. It makes a fine, handsome room. I hope to realize some benefit, but the present prospect is not flattering.

You have rcd. the Circulars, I sent them as soon as they were issued. Bettie's Sickness and my negotiations for Miss Maria de-

layed me. I had 500 Circulars printed, $5 a hundred, and have circulated them widely from New York to Texas. I have incurred other expenses in repairs, Art materials, etc., etc., from which I trust to reap remuneration some day, though as yet I have but little assurance of it. I am negotiating for a Music Professor of first class ability. I have received several applications, all natives of Germany and educated in Music. I hope to make a selection that will increase the efficiency & prosperity of the Department.

I am corresponding on the subject of a Teacher of Gymnastics. I have made application to the "American School Institute" of New York for a lady of foreign birth for that department. I do not desire to employ a Yankee, even if I could find one suitable. I seriously apprehend, however, that I shall find a capital difficulty on that very point. . . .

With you downstairs, and Emma [Pooser], Kate [Edmond] & myself, upstairs, we can give The Machine a start anyhow. . . .

You will lose Babe Stevens, I fear, out of yr. Dept. Her Father tells me he can't afford the money to keep her agoing. I have been helping him for several sessions, but I feel like giving it up. I am poor and needy myself. His children have acquired a pretty tolerable education and partly at my expense. You will lose Lou Clopton, as her Father is going away.

Kate continued to read to me some time after you left, but mostly in French. Since my return from Montgy, however, she has done but little at it, on account of Bettie's sickness, and latterly, I have been too busy at cleaning up. I have today been washing down doors with soap & water. I am "some" at such innocent recreations.[5]

Through all the physical exertion of preparing the building, anxiety over expenditures for repairs and supplies, the difficulty of securing instructors—especially of European birth in order to avoid employing a "Yankee"—and the discouragement of losing students, Dr. Price seems to have found an escape in his study of foreign languages and in his sense of humor. Perhaps during the strain of these Reconstruction days he found occasional moments of refreshment in his flute also.

Dr. Price was not unaware that these years immediately after the war held problems and discouragements just as acute for his patrons as for himself. He encouraged his students to give concerts for the poor,[6] probably feeling grateful that middle Alabama was not suffering from quite as much destitution

as were Mobile County and the northern section of the state.[7] He must have read sympathetically the letter published by the father who objected to the expense of buying new editions of textbooks.

> Mr. Editor: Do you think the teachers of our schools are aware of the extreme poverty of most of the patrons? If they know the extent to which the wits and energies of the parents are taxed to maintain their children, and pay the tuition fees, will you ask some of them to explain why they make such frequent calls upon the patrons for new school books? . . . Can it be that grammar and mathematics and ancient history are as progressive as rail roads or radicalism, or fashion? Who made the discovery that Lindley, Murray, Greenleaf, Smith, Brown and Butler do not understand the art of teaching English Grammar? . . . And can it be true that Bonnycastle, Bourdon, Colbourn, and Davies did not comprehend the science of arithmetic and algebra? . . .
>
> If these houses cannot be prevailed upon to duplicate the textbooks published and extolled by them a few years ago, let our teachers, acting in concert, agree to use certain books and they will soon find publishers for those books. If the children of the present day can spell, read, write, speak, or compute more correctly than those of the last generation I am unable to perceive it.[8]

Surely, too, Dr. Price was sympathetic with the Tuskegee mother (she was his very good friend) who wrote, not uncheerfully, to cousins in another state: "Do all of you write and let me know how you get on, if the ladies are often forced to do their own work & how they grace it? We sometimes have ours to do, don't mind cooking & housework but milking is our trouble. I have never had my washing done at home since our servants left & vastly prefer it, never had so little trouble in that department in my life. We keep but one servant on the lot. Howard manages the horse, &c. Registration is doing more to demoralize the negro with us than anything that has happened yet. . . . "[9]

While the fathers of his college students were taxing their wits and energies to provide tuition fees and textbooks and the mothers were forced to do their own work whether they "graced" it or not, the girls themselves were doing what they

could, under such unfavorable circumstances, to keep in style. Ironically enough, the newspapers read in Tuskegee never seem to have been quite so full of fashion notes as in these poverty-stricken years of Reconstruction. In the very month in which Congress signed the hated Reconstruction bills, Tuskegee college girls read: "With brocaded dresses, trimmings made with precious stones are in vogue, because gimp is not considered sufficiently rich for such very handsome materials; consequently buttons made of lapislazuli, jasper, adventurine and amber are in great demand."[10] Although Dr. Price's students could hardly be expected to wear precious stones for buttons, they probably made their hats smaller after reading in the same issue, "A diminution in the dimensions of the article chapeau may be shortly expected." They doubtless reduced the size of the hoops they wore in their skirts after learning that in Montgomery hoop skirts "no long 'tilt' up and down Market Street [Dexter Avenue], trip up pedestrians, and assist the street superintendent in cleaning, or rather sweeping the streets."[11] Perhaps also they arranged their hair according to the latest style. "The present style of wearing the waterfall on the top of the head—it was bad enough behind it—is simply a deformity," declared a Montgomery editor. "A woman might as well have a hump on her back, or walk on stilts, as it is said she did in the early days of Venice."[12] In all these matters of style the girls were evidently left to their own judgment and taste, as there seems to have been no prescribed dress for the Tuskegee Female College students. Judson Female Institute announced that its uniform, required of all boarders, was "dark green worsted for Winter, with pink and white muslin for Summer, with hats trimmed with dark green ribbon for Winter, and pink ribbon for Summer."[13]

Besides a natural interest in the styles of the day, the students and young alumnae of the Tuskegee colleges, both Methodist and Baptist, eagerly looked about for entertainment during the gloomy Reconstruction period. The results of one innocent party almost shook both the colleges. A Tuskegee

editor thundered: "The last phase of depravity in Tuskegee developed itself on Monday night in a Masquerade Ball. . . . The prosperity of Tuskegee is dependent upon a high toned moral sentiment and action. If the Colleges and Schools flourish, the town prospers; if not it goes down. Now we ask, if a Masquerade Ball, which only appears on the surface of the cauldron of depravity in large cities, will be of any benefit to Tuskegee in public estimation? Will parents send their children to school here the sooner because of such evidences of demoralization?"[14] The "dozen merry-hearted, fun-loving girls" who had planned the party published their defense in the following issue of the newspaper. They had proposed to mask only for the sake of variety, "never once thinking that the pleasantry of an hour would be followed by such dire effects as ruining the prosperity of the town, by *breaking up* the two Colleges, which are ornaments, of which we are all proud, and the beloved Alma Maters of the innocent maskers."[15] They concluded by insisting that technically the party had not been a masquerade at all because there were no refreshments but water and no music but the piano—no violin, in other words. It is not a letter that was likely to remove the editor's scruples, despite its painful anxiety to protect the two colleges.

In spite of the poverty of his patrons and the purported threats to his college through the innocent indiscretions of his young graduates, Dr. Price continued his labors in the presidency. At some time during 1868 he lost by fire the great "double kitchen," a separate structure back of the main building. He had a new and smaller one—twenty by twenty-five by sixteen feet—erected under an oak tree on the back campus and connected with the dining room by a long sheltered plank walk.[16] In June 1868, when most Alabamians were dreading the seating of twenty-six ex-slaves in the state legislature in July and the accession of "Scalawag" Governor William H. Smith in August, Dr. Price wrote his cousin Margaret Fraser a letter whose gloom is relieved only by his unfailing sense of humor.

Tuskegee, Ala., June 17th, 1868

Dear Margaret,

Our Commencement (so-called) comes off on Wednesday of next week, June 24th. I have one solitary pupil to graduate, and that is Mollie Stevens [of Griffin, Georgia], who has perservered all alone to the end. I say alone, but you should know that Betsy Adams [his own niece] has been nominally in her class since Febry. Betsy has lost so much time, however, and is at all counts so indifferent a scholar, that she could not think of competing for the honors of graduation. I must do Betsy the justice to say, on the whole, that she has applied herself, for the last five months, with a zeal and industry quite foreign to her former school experience. Yet she is still far behind Mollie Stevens in Scholarship.

The School has passed through vicissitudes since you left. For a time I felt doubtful of support. Then it rallied and went up to 40 or 45 pupils. Afterwards, as usual it declined, & I will close with about 35 in regular attendance. Putting down prices curtailed my income considerably. I shall scarcely be able, I fear, to maintain myself during vacation. We are living in the cheapest possible style. Bettie & the children cooked a little. We now have Polly, who used to belong to Sister Sarah. Her virtues may be summed up briefly: entire ignorance, general incompetency, a constitutional disinclination to exertion—commonly known as laziness, aptness for getting dirty, propensity to steal, and a perpetual gush of spirits in a liquid flow of African sentimental & religious songs. With her aid we manage to worry down a bite. The days of sponge cake, turkey-breast and plum pudding are gone, alas! it may be forever. I now eat *Squashes!* Yes, Margaret, honey, think of it, and weep! I, "the late lamented" eater of delicacies now given over to squashes and snapbeans. . . .

Yesterday Will Scott came down from Auburn, upon a mission for some of my friends there, to invite me to take charge of the [Masonic] Female College there. I declined, although I really believe I could do better there than here *pecuniarily*.

I am busily at work writing an Address to be delivered in Marion, at Mr. [A. J.] Battle's Commencement July 1st [at Judson Female Institute]. I will be absent a week. Do come and stay with Bettie while I am gone, & as much longer as you can or will. *Do.* The Commencement here will be private and unattractive, but we will be glad to welcome Sarah and yourself. Kiss Sarah for me, "chuck" her tenderly under the chin, look imploringly in her eyes, & say "Dearest, let us go." Hug William about his manly neck and lean upon his heaving bosom, and say "Oh! William, let us go!" Give my love to Aunt Catherine & kiss her for us all. Come, Margaret, you & Sarah, come at once.

Your cousin, Geo. W. F. Price[17]

Betsy (more commonly known as Bessie) Adams was to redeem herself by earning from the College in 1872 an honorary art certificate, hand-painted by her teacher Miss Mollie Sinclair, and later by being made head of the art department in her uncle's college in Huntsville. It was she, moreover, who painted the portrait of Dr. Price that hangs in the Houghton Memorial Library.[18]

Although conditions were discouraging at Tuskegee Female College, they were equally so in other Alabama schools at this time. East Alabama Female College in 1867 could afford only four instructors in addition to the president, E. B. Teague,[19] and at mid-year had reached an enrollment of only sixty.[20] Southern University at Greensboro announced only four instructors in the fall of 1869, saying that the university "had a liberal endowment at the commencement of the late national difficulties, but like all other Southern institutions it was prostrated by the result of the war."[21] According to the *Montgomery Advertiser*, the picture was no brighter at the University of Alabama, which, "administered in the interest of the Radical party in Alabama," exhibited "the melancholy spectacle of empty dormitories and deserted halls; and a larger number of Professors on salaries, for which the people are taxed, than there are students upon the college list."[22] Even the public schools were in a precarious situation, with the Montgomery schoolteachers being paid less than fifty cents on a dollar of the salaries promised them.[23]

In faculty and in student enrollment Tuskegee Female College recovered from this slump of the 1860's before many other colleges of the state did. The art and music departments were shortly supplied with strong teachers. The position of Miss Julia Spear, whose departure for Judson Female Institute by the fall of 1866 was deeply regretted,[24] was energetically filled for several years afterwards by her former pupil Miss Mollie Sinclair, a graduate of 1859. Dr. S. M. Bartlett, who had had twenty years' experience in Georgia, became head of the music department by the fall of 1867, promising patrons that "prac-

tice will be enforced under the professor's own eye," and remained on duty for at least three years.[25]

After Dr. Bartlett's resignation Dr. Price employed Professor Erwin Schneider. According to his daughter, Miss Elizabeth Price, Dr. Price went during the summer in search of a German piano instructor to the New York Steinway Piano House, which ran an agency for music teachers. Miss Price writes:

> The Agency introduced a young German musician, just arrived from the old country—Erwin Schneider by name, who spoke only a very limited English, but was evidently a very bright and capable young man, very highly recommended by his instructor in not only piano but "the instruments of the symphony orchestra, and the pipe organ." Dr. Price had written the German's name and address "Tuskegee Female College, care of Pres. Geo. W. F. Price, Tuskegee, Alabama," on a white tape which was sewed on the inside of his coat lapel, and when any one on the train spoke to him, he understanding so little English, would turn the lapel inside out and point to the address.[26]

But, as Miss Price relates, the bright young German got on amazingly well, partly because Dr. Price's knowledge of German enabled him to act as interpreter while the professor was learning colloquial English, and even more because he soon revealed that he was thoroughly equipped for any musical demands of the College. From his native village of Rudesheim on the Rhine, where his family's wines had won blue ribbons for more than a hundred and fifty years, he had brought with him several musical instruments, including a violin, which he played quite well, and a flute, which Dr. Price viewed with envy when he heard him play it. According to Miss Price, who was only a very small child at the time, but who often heard her father tell the story in later years, "It was not long before much interest was being awakened in the quiet little college town in music at the college, and several young men wanted to take lessons on one instrument or another; then a group of men got together to play, with Professor Schneider as their 'conductor,' and at commencement time the town was quite thrilled by a novel 'orchestral performance.' But 'Professor' was most thrilled of all because Dr. Price, the President, be-

came his pupil in the art of flute playing."[27] According to a circular of 1871 in Dr. Price's handwriting, now preserved in the Huntingdon library, Professor Schneider had studied at the Royal Seminary, Montabour, Prussia. Except for a few years, he taught under Dr. Price's presidency the rest of his life, following him to both of the colleges Dr. Price was later to head.

By the year 1870, President Price was able to announce that, in contrast to the three in 1868, he now had "eleven assistants in instruction and discipline," including Rev. B. B. Ross, M. A., as professor of Latin and higher mathemetics.[28] Opening with about eighty students in September,[29] he had 118 on roll by December, in contrast to the forty-five two years earlier.[30] Instead of one graduate, as in 1868, Dr. Price in 1870 had sixteen, including two residents of Texas and two of Georgia.

One of the best evidences of this recovery in both faculty and student enrollment at the end of the decade was the return of the more ambitious commencement exercises, extended by 1870 to five days. The effect was "to carry us back, in our feeling," commented a contributor to the *Montgomery Advertiser* who appropriately signed himself "Amicus," "to the days of its pristine splendor when peace and contentment smiled upon our community, and hope and gladness dwelt in the hearts of our people."[31] Amicus, who each year attended the public examination of the students, thought in 1871 that the "classes in French, History, Geometry, and the poetry of Scott, examined on Saturday, acquitted themselves in a manner really splendid."[32] He was impressed by that fact that, while mathematics and the natural sciences were "allowed their usual place in the college curriculum," special care was given to "English classic Literature."

The climax of commencement week was, of course, the final graduation exercises, when, Amicus declared, "the chapel was filled by the intelligence, beauty, and fashion of this and the neighboring towns," and "the young ladies of the graduating

class [appeared] in prominent relief, robed in habiliments of snowy whiteness."[33] By the end of the sixties it was no longer the custom for the graduating essays to be read by "gentlemen of Tuskegee, selected for the purpose." Now, "after a beautiful song, sung with joyous acclaim by the whole school," each young author stood before the public and read her own effort "in a clear voice and with a distinct enunciation." In 1869 Susie Dowdell of Auburn had as her subject "Alas! for those who never sing but die with all their music in them," Annie Haden of Greenville spoke on "The moth aspires to the star," and Lena McQueen of Tuskegee on "Spice islands in the sea of literature."[34]

Although the increase in the student body and the resulting expansion of the faculty group, so well dramatized for the public by these commencements, must have been a source of great satisfaction to the hard-working president, the early 1870's found him still without the increase in funds necessary to discharge the old College debt. These were troubled years both politically and economically, not blessed with either the public confidence or the private income required to lift a debt of this sort. In 1870 the state again had a Democratic governor in spite of the defeated scalawag Governor Smith's barricading himself in his office, where he held out for several days under the protection of Federal troops; but the State Senate was still Republican. In 1871 there were extraordinary demonstrations of grief in the state over the death of popular General James H. Clanton at the hands of a former Union officer. The Congressional Ku Klux Klan "smelling committee," as it was contemptuously called in certain Alabama papers of the day, had sent some of its members to the state in a vain effort to collect testimony. Occasional riots fastened carpet-bag rule and Federal troops more firmly on the state.

If the political outlook was depressing, so were the economic prospects, and especially so in 1871, when a correspondent from Tuskegee wrote the *Montgomery Advertiser:* "The same series of disasters, rains, hails, and overflowed lands, &c, which

have been reported from other counties of the state have grievously afflicted us in this. . . . The cotton and corn on the uplands has [sic] still a small and sickly appearance, while all that was planted on the low and level lands is almost irremedially ruined. . . . Not more than one-half the usual yield of cotton and corn can be expected."[35] The beginning of the 1870's was a gloomy time for Alabamians.

For a long time Dr. Price had realized that the financial burden of the College was too heavy for any one man to carry, especially as spasmodic sustaining campaigns like those of the 1860's were bound to fail in a state so politically and economically oppressed. In the happier 1850's the lease of such a college from the trustees had seemed like a promising business opportunity for an ambitious and energetic schoolman. With hard work and only a little luck he must have assumed he could make the receipts pay off the original debt and at the same time furnish him a good living. But after a decade of disillusionment he knew that, under present conditions in the South, no president would be able to liquidate that debt alone or more than subsist while the interest on it continued to eat up his small earnings.

More and more Dr. Price came to look to the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church as the salvation of Tuskegee Female College. Since the chartering of the College under its sponsorship, the conference had annually announced its satisfaction with the management, as reported by a visiting committee of ministers, and had concluded by cheerfully commending it to the patronage of the church. The conference had never accepted the actual responsibility for any of its woman's colleges, however, as it did from the beginning in the case of Southern University and the now defunct East Alabama Male College, whose building it gave to the newly established Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1871.[36] If the conference could be induced to relieve the trustees of their now unwelcome charge, it would become responsible for the legal claims against the College instead of the

trustees or the unhappy president who had leased the school. The only hope in the early 1870's seemed to lie in this transfer of responsibility, and Dr. Price bent all his energies to bring it about.

As early as 1870 Dr. Price, assisted by the harassed trustees, had initiated this movement in the conference through its Committee on Education. In its annual recommendations to the general body assembled at Montgomery on December 7, 1870, the committee recognized Dr. Price as "one of the most elegant educators of the female mind in our bounds," and declared that "the literary, music, and boarding departments are conducted according to the most approved method," and "the moral natures and physical development of the young ladies are, in every way, amply provided for."[37] It then stated, with an excess of optimism, "This institution will speedily become the property of the Alabama Conference; already arrangements have been commenced to secure this end." Except for these encouraging words, the only comfort the committee offered at this critical time was a resolution that the conference immediately appoint a board of trustees to consist of seven clergymen and six laymen "who shall contract and manage said Institution as they shall deem best for the promotion for [of?] female education within our bounds." The conference was apparently too indifferent, however, to appoint such a board until the following year.

When the Alabama Conference met in Mobile from November 29 to December 4, 1871, Dr. Price decided to make one last attempt by securing a personal hearing on the floor of the conference. Dr. John Massey, listening to him with no thought that he himself would some day fill his shoes, was impressed by his appeal to the church to make some arrangement for the relief of the College. "This," explained Dr. Massey, "was to do what they consented to do the next year—namely, to buy the property and run it as a Church school—but they were not yet ready to take it on their hands."[38] The minutes of the Committee on Education, evidently quoting Dr. Price, declared:

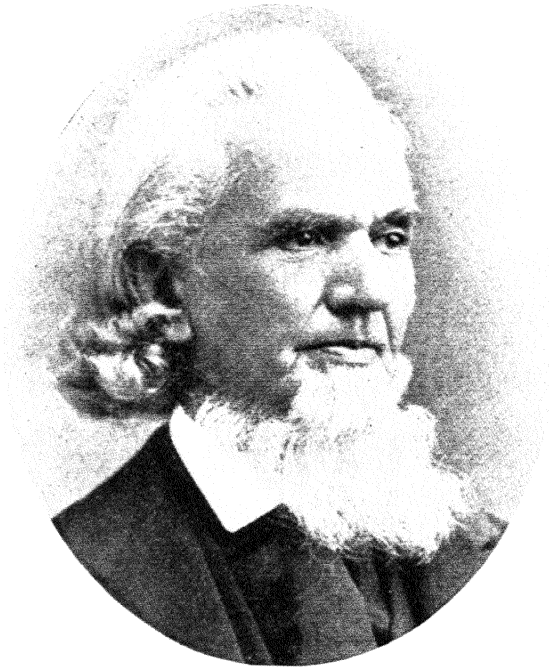
It was reported that the Tuskegee Female College is embarrassed by a legal claim against it of $2,200 or more, which, from uncontrollable circumstances, was not canceled when the authorized representatives of that College had the money in hand ready to meet it.

In view of all these facts, the Committee recommend to the Conference the passage of the following resolutions:

1. That this Annual Conference instruct the Legal Conference to take the proper steps to perfect and quiet the title it has in the property of the Tuskegee Female College.
2. That the members of this Conference feel themselves bound to prefer our own schools, and to recommend them. . . . [39]

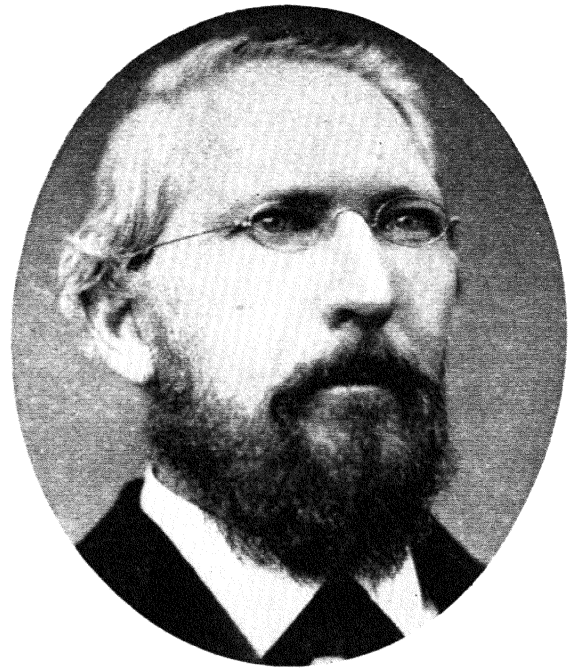
This session of the conference finally got down to the business of appointing a board of trustees, who are listed as R. F. Ligon, J. L. Adams, J. R. Rogers, W. M. Motley, B. F. Howard, R. H. Wood, M. S. Andrews, J. W. Rush, J. B. Bilbro, Col. J. W. Portis, W. Shapard, W. M. Bounds, Dr. W. J. Gautier, Dr. C. M. Howard, W. A. McCarty, E. Wadsworth, J. G. Motley, M. Tatum, A. J. Briggs, E. S. Smith, J. E. Cobb, Dr. W. Haden, J. W. Shores, B. B. Ross[40] —a total of twenty-four instead of the thirteen recommended by the Committee on Education in 1870. No other action was taken, however, and the minutes of 1872 reveal that it was a whole year before there was any further discussion of the legal status of the College.

It must have been after this session of the Alabama Conference at the close of 1871 that Dr. Price finally gave up hope of any early relief for himself and the College. Acknowledged everywhere in the state to be a persuasive public speaker, he was probably disappointed even to the point of chagrin by the obstinacy of the men whose daughters he had been educating for fifteen years of war and Reconstruction at so great a financial sacrifice on his own part. Although it was a painful wrench for him, surrounded as he was at Tuskegee by a broad family connection as well as by a whole generation of his alumnae, he offered his resignation to the new Board of Trustees and accepted the presidency of the Huntsville Female College. In the summer of 1872 he packed and moved his wife and children, the oldest of whom, Eliza (later Mrs. Laurence Cooper



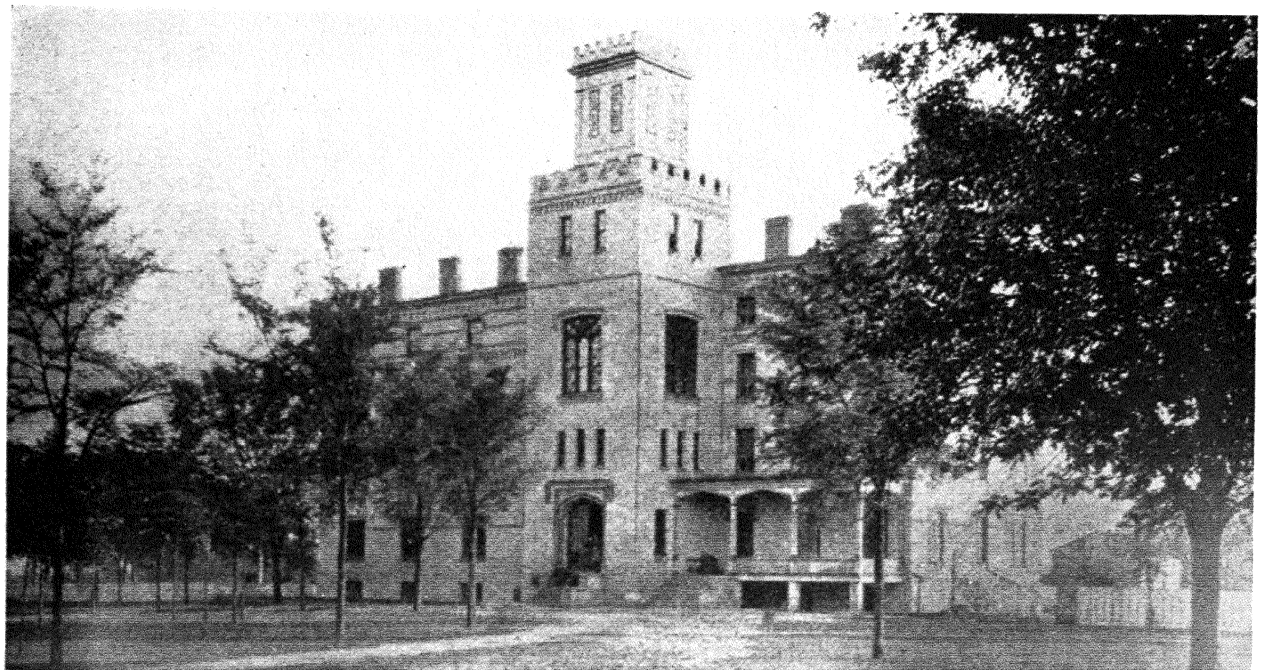
DR. ANDREW ADGATE LIPSCOMB

President 1858-1859



DR. GEORGE WASHINGTON FERGUS PRICE

President 1859-1863, 1865-1872



MAIN BUILDING ON TUSKEGEE CAMPUS, ERECTED 1855

V. *Panic of the Seventies*

PRESIDENTS MOORE AND LOVELESS

Upon the resignation of Dr. Price in 1872, the trustees elected Reverend Henry D. Moore of Georgia as his successor in the presidency, a position he was to hold for not quite four years.

Dr. Moore was a graduate of The Citadel at Charleston.[1] During the late war he had served as a chaplain in the Confederate Army where, according to the commencement oratory of Captain R. E. Park of Macon, Georgia, his services "in camp and hospital, and upon the field of battle" eminently fitted him to be "called to take charge of those, to whose fathers and brothers and friends he had so faithfully ministered in their hours of greatest trial."[2] Dr. John Massey, who first met Dr. Moore during the summer of 1872, felt that his pleasant personality and his gifts as a speaker were important assets. "He was a man of pleasant address, captivating voice, and incisive delivery, that made him a very effective speaker," Dr. Massey later wrote. "I was very much pleased with one of his sermons from Jeremiah xii, 5: 'If thou has run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses? and if in the land of peace, wherein thou trustedst, they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan?' "[3]

In the summer of 1872 Dr. Moore was beginning, figuratively speaking, to contend with horses and the swelling of Jordan, a struggle in which he was not to be the winner. Being unable, however, to foresee the circumstances, both national and local, that would militate against him, he began his first term cheerfully and busily enough. By the middle of August he was soliciting students in Montgomery, announcing that he could be consulted by prospective patrons at the office of Marks, Fitzpatrick and Company at the corner of North Washington and Montgomery Streets.[4] He had already published a bulletin setting forth the advantages of Tuskegee Female College, emphasizing especially its healthful locality and its liberal arts curriculum which, he said, combined "the Literary, Esthetic, Scientific, and Mathematical course, in just and liberal proportions, with the study of Ancient and Modern Languages."[5]

Early in the first year of his administration the College was given a great boost by the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church. Perhaps Dr. Price's resignation had made the preachers realize, as nothing else could have done, the urgent need for underwriting the College financially instead of merely sponsoring it. Certainly the trustees increased their pressure on the conference, for they were being threatened with law suits for the collection of debts against the College property. Whatever the motivation, the Alabama Conference, meeting at Eufaula in December 1872, agreed to take over the trustees' mortgage, settle with the other claimants and assume responsibility for electing new trustees who were to transact all the business. The minutes of this session indicate that Dr. Mark Andrews and Dr. J. W. Rush, probably aided by other friends of the school, were instrumental in getting favorable action from this hitherto comparatively indifferent church body. Dr. John Massey recorded the amount of money the conference found it necessary to invest in the College at this time: for the redemption of the mortgage, $5,000; for outstanding debts, $8,000; and for necessary repairs on the building, $1,000—a total of $14,000.[6]

With the new relationship came new trustees, a new charter and a new name. All these momentous changes were recorded in the report of the Committee on Education as adopted by the conference:

1. All rights of property in the grounds and buildings of this institution have been transferred, in fee simple, to the Alabama Conference.
2. The transfer demands a new act of incorporation and a change in the name of the College.
3. The Board of Trustees respectfully and earnestly request the Conference to appoint seven persons—four members of the Conference and three laymen—as Managers of the College, with instructions to secure from the Legislature of the State a new act of incorporation, under the name and title of "The Female College of the Alabama Conference," and with authority to transact all the business appertaining to the management and control of the College.[7]

These new trustees or "managers" were listed as Reverend E. S. Smith, Reverend W. M. Motley, Reverend J. W. Rush, Reverend J. Bancroft, Captain R. F. Ligon, J. E. Cobb, and Dr. W. J. Gautier. The new name under which the legislature of 1872-1873 granted the new charter sprang into use within the same month in which the conference adopted it. "The Alabama Conference Female College, lately known as Tuskegee Female College," said the editor of the *Tuskegee News* on December 21, "is flourishing splendidly under the Presidency of Rev. H. D. Moore, A.M." The unaccustomed name soon came to be shortened colloquially to "A.C.F.C.," by which its graduates were always to refer to it.

As the Alabama Conference Female College, the school began a new epoch with a clean slate, and closed its eighteenth session, Dr. Moore's first year, with new hope for the future. Its nine officers and 108 students[8] showed a slight decline from the figures in Dr. Price's last years in the presidency (twelve officers and 118 students in 1870-1871, for example), and they did not quite equal Southern's roll of eleven teachers and 143 students at this time.[9] The conference was gratified, however, to find Dr. Moore able to recruit those numbers in his first

year, and the trustees optimistically declared, though apparently in a somewhat injured tone, that "the College had lost nothing by the change which has been made in the Presidency."[10] Perhaps the editor of the *Tuskegee News* expressed the public opinion a little more accurately when he said that President Moore "comes nearer filling the place made vacant by Mr. Price than any other man could, to the satisfaction of the people."[11]

The commencement program with which Dr. Moore celebrated the conclusion of his first year in office was elaborate enough to convince even the most skeptical that happy days were here again. Actually this calendar for the 1873 commencement filled seven happy days, according to the announcement in a local newspaper:

June 16th to June 20th, Annual Written Examinations.
Friday, June 20th, 8 P. M., Anniversary Exercises of the Palladian Society.
Saturday, 21st, 10 A. M., Board of Managers meet.
Sunday, 22d, 10½ A. M., Commencement Sermon by Rev. A. S. Andrews, D.D.
Monday, 23d, 10 A. M., Sophomore Select Readings.
Monday, 23d, 8 P. M., Art Festival and Address.
Tuesday, 24th, 10 A. M., Junior Original Compositions, and Address by Capt. Robert E. Park.
Tuesday, 24th, 3 P. M., Alumnae Meeting.
Tuesday, 24th, 8 P. M., Original Compositions by the Senior Class.
Wednesday, 25th, 10 A. M., Closing Commencement Exercises, and address by Major-Gen'l E. M. Law.
Wednesday, 25th, 8 P. M., Annual Concert.
Thursday, 26th, 9 P. M., [A. M.?], Social Reunion of Alumnae.[12]

Editor J. E. Cobb, a member of the Board of Trustees, gave many columns of his paper to commencement coverage and added this gallant editorial tribute: "The display of the Beautiful in Nature and Art, that has taken place at the College this week, has proven too much for the News office. The attractive power of female charms have [*sic*] drawn us from desk and case —our young men, in common with ourself, being moved upon beyond the point of successful resistance. Our friends will, therefore, excuse our half sheet issue."[13] There were seven

graduates at this A. C. F. C. commencement,[14] in comparison with six at the University of Alabama this year[15] and three at Auburn (Agricultural and Mechanical College).[16]

In all the vicissitudes of his succeeding years in office, Dr. Moore's commencements, although never again so extended as in 1873, seem to have maintained a high level of interest. Encouraged by the half-fare railroad tickets available for these occasions,[17] visitors flocked to Tuskegee in such crowds that the local editor could say, "The town presents a lively appearance and reminds us of the days of yore."[18]

Next to the series of addresses, the concerts and art exhibits attracted most comment from these commencement visitors. Perhaps because of their publicity value, Dr. Moore seems to have struggled to keep strong teachers in the music and art departments. Professor Fred Herz, one of those German musicians so much in demand at women's colleges during the last half of the century, made a great impression on the town. He offered in the Tuskegee paper "to instruct a number of persons on the violin,"[19] went north to select a new piano for the College,[20] and played Rubinstein and Gottschalk with equal facility and enthusiasm.[21] But Dr. Moore could keep him for only a little more than a year. As times grew harder, in the fall of 1873 Professor Herz requested his president to marry him to Miss Jennie Burke of Tuskegee and with her he left to try his fortune in Atlanta.[22] Although his place was shortly afterwards filled by Miss Emma R. Watkins, she does not appear to have been so colorful a personality. As for the talented art teacher, Miss Carrie Tait, who had won the premium for her painting at the state fair,[23] Dr. Moore was able to keep her on his faculty, for he married her on July 14, 1874.[24]

The high moments of the commencement exercises varied to some extent from year to year. One of the most dramatic of those moments in 1873 occurred during the reading of the junior compositions, when the name of Mattie Motley was called. According to the *Tuskegee News,* "This estimable young lady, lately deceased, was a member of the junior class,

and when the time arrived at which she would have read in order, her death was feelingly announced by the President, and Prof. Herz occupied the moments with a solemn requiem for the dead. The vacant chair hung with a wreath of beautiful flowers and draped in mourning, the impressive stillness, and the soft tones of the organ touched every heart and drew tears of sympathy and sorrow from eyes not used to weeping."[25] The greatest impression in 1874, the year after the financial panic, was made by the appearance of the Class of 1874, who, instead of wearing the usual white, "were robed in calico dresses, so becoming the dull times," Editor McIver recorded. "It was indeed in good taste and was so appropriate, that all noticed it and were filled with admiration at their taste and good sense."[26] A member of the audience was to recall many years later that the dresses were either pink and white prints or pink trimmed with white bands.[27] Whether robed in the traditional "habiliments of snowy white" or in calico dresses, however, the graduates, according to immemorial custom, wept at these final exercises, especially during the reading of the valedictory essay. "Tears were seen to trickle down many cheeks . . . frequently giving way to the thought of parting from schoolmates," observed the sympathetic editor.[28]

Although Dr. Moore's administration concluded unfortunately, it made a number of important contributions to the College, many of which were ideas that were put into operation during the first year. The first commencement program and the generous accounts Editor Cobb gave of the exercises reveal a number of these innovations, most of which survived through the years or were later revived.

The first alumnae association was organized at the College during Dr. Moore's administration and held its first meeting at this commencement in 1873. Perhaps Carrie Hunter, now Mrs. J. E. Cobb, influenced the editorial her husband wrote, a sort of open letter to President Moore.

Rev. H. D. Moore, President of the Alabama Conference College, will pardon us for directing his attention to the fact that an

Alumna Society ought to be established in connection with the institution over which he has the honor to preside. Such a society ought to have been established long ago. It would create in those who receive the honors of the institution an interest in their Alma Mater that would possibly otherwise be lost. Let the matter be done, and let steps looking to that end be begun now. The approaching commencement exercise will afford an opportune moment for the perfection of the scheme, and we sincerely hope President Moore will avail himself of the advantage thus offered to organize it.[29]

After a delay Dr. Moore replied that he was "decidedly in favor of the proposed organization," and suggested that the graduates living in the community meet at the College within the next two weeks to arrange for a reunion of all the alumnae on Wednesday of commencement week, at which time "the organization can be perfected and the work of the Association begun."[30] In response to this invitation, a group of graduates assembled on May 10, with Mollie Sinclair as chairman and Ellen Howard as secretary, and appointed the following committee to draw up and send to each alumna a circular letter urging her influence and assistance: Mrs. Carrie Hunter Cobb, Misses Clara Stafford, Ridie Stevens, Julia Dowdell, Ida Wood, Lizzie Campbell, and Mattie Howard.

The organization of the first alumnae association, committed into the hands of these seven young women, went forward rapidly, and during the three commencements over which Dr. Moore presided the alumnae "contributed largely to the interest of the occasion," as the *Tuskegee News* was to say in 1875.[31] After the first commencement, at which it was officially organized, the association each year during the Moore regime invited an orator to address its members at their reunion. To this event they came at each commencement, dressed in the latest styles. At their first meeting in 1873 they must have worn the then popular "stove-pipe" hats,[32] but by Dr. Moore's last commencement in 1875, when the alumnae were addressed by A. A. Wiley of Montgomery, they had probably succumbed to the current fashion of "gypsy shapes, sitting on the back of the head."[33] Their sessions were as busy and useful as they

were well dressed. At the meeting in 1874, for instance, the alumnae held the annual election of officers (a president, six vice presidents, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, and treasurer); they elected the members of the graduating class to be members of the association; they "decided to expend what monies were then in the Treasury for books," and appointed a committee "to select books suitable for founding a library."[34] In this fashion did the Alumnae Association begin its long history of supporting its alma mater.

In addition to the founding of the first alumnae association, Dr. Moore's administration is memorable for the establishment of the first literary society recorded on the campus. Such societies were popular at the time not only in the universities but also in the town of Tuskegee where there were both a debating society and a colored literary society with a large membership.[35] The campus organization, the first of a group that were to dominate the social life of the College until their death in 1930, was called the Palladian Society. It was "composed of the young ladies of the College, teachers and pupils, and organized for social and literary improvement."[36] At the 1873 commencement the society gave a "public exhibition" of recitations, music, tableaux, and dialogs, as well as a salutatory essay. Its project, like that of the Alumnae Association, was to collect a library.[37] By the 1874 commencement the society was presenting a more ambitious program. In addition to the salutatory essay there was a valedictory essay, and besides the usual recitations and music there were "fairy scenes." "Like the ancient Palladium that fell from heaven near the tent of Ilus," commented one spectator, "the *dramatis personae,* from the beautiful and graceful Fairy Queen, Miss McAndrew . . . down to the humblest fairy of her court, might have been taken for celestial beings."[38]

A third innovation of Dr. Moore's administration was the replacement of the oral by the written examination. Editor Cobb of the *Tuskegee News* felt the need of explaining and defending this new system.

The examination of the young ladies, with the exception of those in the Primary Department, has been conducted wholly in *writing;* a method pursued by the English Universities and to a large extent by the higher institutions of learning in our own country. It is considered by many eminent scholars as being a fairer and a better test of scholarship than the oral method. . . .

Every young lady in the college has a certain number of questions given to her in writing, on each study pursued during the term. The number of these questions varies according to the importance of the study and the time devoted by her to its acquisition, but they embody the main principles and salient points of the text. Placed at a desk by herself, she is required to write out in her own language, an answer, a solution or discussion of the question propounded; and, during the allotted time (three hours) she is not permitted to use any book or paper, or to obtain assistance from any other source whatever. At the end of the time, promptly at a signal, she is required to hand in her paper, whether completed or not, with a pledge on honor that she has received no assistance from any outside source. These papers, having been critically examined and graded as to excellence, but in no case corrected, by their respective teachers, are turned over to the Examining Committee for inspection and criticism. It will at once be seen, that an examination of this kind cannot but be fair and impartial. . . .

Where there has been a difference of opinion between the committee, and the teachers of any Department, it was to the effect that the markings are rather too low than otherwise.[39]

The examining committee was made up of "gentlemen thoroughly qualified for the work," usually the pastors of the three Tuskegee churches and the principals of the local schools, who throughout the week of final examinations preceding commencement read all the students' papers "patiently, thoroughly, and conscientiously."[40]

The students were examined on subjects that did not differ greatly from those of earlier years. They still studied "mental and moral science," English literature, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geology, botany, "natural philosophy," chemistry, rhetoric, composition, history and Latin, though at this time apparently not Greek.[41] Gymnastics, under the new name of calisthenics, was featured in the curriculum. An episode in the labors of the committee," according to the Tuskegee editor,

"was the witnessing of the Calisthenic exercises of the young ladies in the chapel. . . . [These exercises] in great degree, counteract the pernicious tendencies of modern fashion and dress," he concluded with satisfaction.[42] The students performed their calisthenics in the large auditorium, in which the seats were movable. Writing of that auditorium more than fifty years after her graduation in the Class of 1875, Mrs. Mollie Solomon Pitts said:

> It was there that I first learned about athletics, though we did not call our exercises that. It was "calisthenics." We used wands, dumb bells and free hand. We had never heard of a girls' basket ball team. The dresses which we wore instead of a blouse and bloomers or knickers were four yards around the hem in order to permit us to step forward. Don't think we did not have fun and plenty of it! Our games were checks, marbles, croquet, jump rope, and racing, but all played within the college boundaries. We dared not cross the line.[43]

With such important academic innovations to his credit as the literary society, written examinations, and the calisthenics course, as well as the sponsorship of the first alumnae association, Dr. Moore might have survived his administration without a crisis. But, not content with academic improvements, he set about making some physical improvements. In the spring of 1873, when he and the trustees agreed on the program for repairs on the College building, no one was able to foresee how scarce money would become before the end of the year. The town of Tuskegee, just beginning to struggle out of the post-war despondency, was showing many signs of progress, according to a recent visitor from Montgomery: "Buildings and repairs are going forward, houses, palings &c, are being repainted, business appears to be brisk and things generally are moving swimmingly onward."[44]

Encouraged by such improvements around them, the trustees attempted at the 1873 commencement to raise the amount necessary for repairs on the College building, but only $300 was subscribed.[45] Determined to restore the College to its original beauty, Dr. Moore nevertheless went ahead with his

plans for repairing the chapel and for painting—work that would cost approximately the amount that had been pledged. He employed a painter referred to as Professor Marcello to paint the cupola that towered above the four stories. The local editor, perhaps off-guard that week in his proof-reading, went to press with a statement that the *tupelo* upon the Methodist College had been painted and added greatly to the looks of the building. He advocated painting the whole building, adding that Professor Marcello was a fine painter and would do the work as cheaply as it could be done.[46]

But Dr. Moore's program for physical improvements fell upon evil days, the result of a combination of unfortunate circumstances. Most influential of these unlucky events was the financial panic of 1873, general throughout the country but particularly distressing in the South, where people had only begun to recover from the effects of the war.[47] Alabamians read in their weekly newssheets the syndicated column of Bill Arp, who philosophized:

> In these trying times I think every man ort to do the very best he can. . . . He'll come out all right, George will. When possums get scace he can live on koon. . . .
>
> These panics, these collapses, these bust ups, these "top nots cum down," are just as necessary for the good of the country as an emetik is to an overcharged stummak. Munny to be helthy must be skattered around so that everybody can git sum. When its most all piled up in a few pyramids the least jostle will tumble it to the ground. . . .[48]

Though his readers may have been comforted in theory, they were faced by practical problems that not even "possum" and "koon" could entirely solve. Through 1874 the Tuskegee editor remarked on the scarcity of money, declaring there was no "trading" except for necessities.[49] The Alabama Conference, lamenting the reduction in enrollment in its daughter institution, considered the "financial stringency" most serious "in the part of the State where the college is located, and from which it draws the most of its patronage."[50]

In addition to the financial panic and the resulting depression, the College suffered also from the poor crops in the autumn of 1873. As early as May the farming prospects in Alabama had been gloomy and the farmers consequently despondent. Heavy, washing rains had destroyed at least a fourth of the cotton and materially injured the lands.[51] By July the continued rains had filled the fields around Tuskegee with "insatiable weeds and hungry grass," and the dreaded caterpillar had made its appearance.[52] At the opening of the 1873-1874 session of the Alabama Conference Female College it was discovered that "many of the planters are keeping their daughters at home until their cotton is ready for sale."[53] Even at the beginning of the spring term, however, instead of an increase in students there was a reduction, especially of local patronage, according to President Moore. "Several persons are withdrawing their children on account of the scarcity of money, and in doing so they are damaging the education of their children and rendering a partial suspension of the College a possibility," he warned.[54] A letter from one who signed himself "A friend to the cause" supported President Moore in his plea, declaring: "It is true we must economize, but let us not begin to retrench in the school or in the church. Let us rather begin the work of retrenchment in our wardrobes and at our tables."[55]

The panic and the poor crops of 1873 reduced the financial support of A. C. F. C., both through its uncollected pledges and through its smaller student enrollment. The cholera epidemic of the same year and the general political unrest of Reconstruction days further demoralized the patrons of the College. By July the epidemic was taking many lives in such cities as Birmingham and Nashville, though none as yet in Tuskegee.[56] In September Judson Female Institute was urging parents to send their daughters to Marion, where they allegedly would not be exposed to the cholera.[57] Tuskegee declared itself quarantined during the fall, but the quarantine was not enforced. The *Tuskegee News* recorded one death from cholera,

that of a man who had come there from Birmingham.[58] It seems likely that the cholera scare further discouraged attendance at A. C. F. C. in 1873-1874.

Political dissatisfaction in Alabama had fallen to new depths in 1872, the year of Grant's election to the presidency. The encampment of Federal troops on the capitol grounds in Montgomery had forced the state to accept a compromise between the duly elected legislature and the rival, usurping Republican body, a compromise that resulted in the loss of the newly won Democratic majority.[59] Not even the victory of Northern Democrats in the 1874 congressional elections, a victory that ended carpetbag rule, entirely erased the stigma of "Radical" victory that year in Tuskegee, where forty-five Federal soldiers were sent from New Orleans to camp during the election.[60]

The repeated blows that fate had rained on Alabamians financially, economically, physically, and politically in the year 1873 reduced many of the most courageous men in the state to despair. Historians have estimated that the number of emigrants from Alabama after the war exceeded the losses in battle.[61] It was no wonder, then, that A. C. F. C. was brought to a precarious point in its existence, especially since it was caught in the midst of a moderately ambitious program for repairing and beautifying its fine old building.

Dr. Moore did what he could to meet the changed conditions. His first course was to plead and his second to scold, but neither course seems to have made any impression on his public, unless perhaps to alienate it. Early in 1874, when only two people had paid the amounts pledged to the College the previous June, he declared that "if the friends of the College will come and inspect the work of transformation, now going on under the hand of Mr. S. P. Marcello, they will surely do something to assist in the matter."[62] A few weeks later he resorted to sarcasm. Reporting the names of the only two who had paid their pledges, he added: "In addition to these amounts, I have received an abundance of *good wishes*. N. B.

I neglected to state in the above that Mr. Marcello is so unkind as to refuse to receive *good wishes,* for the splendid piece of work executed by him."[63]

When the Tuskegee citizens remained cold to both exhortation and sarcasm, Dr. Moore attempted to raise the necessary money by other methods. He announced a concert for the benefit of the fund, to be given in the newly repaired chapel.[64] Later reports said it was a great success musically, especially a duet by Misses Vance and McAndrew, "One Moment More, Maud,"[65] but there is no account of how it succeeded monetarily. Dr. Moore made further attempts to save himself financially by employing Reverend T. W. Dyer, reportedly an experienced financier, to take charge of the business management,[66] and also by reducing the tuition fees in the fall,[67] hoping thereby to increase the College enrollment. As additional inducements to prospective students, Dr. Moore offered to reduce rates "where there are three or more pupils from the same family,"[68] and, as a desperate last resort, to teach free during the summer of 1875 those pupils who wished to qualify to enter the college department in the fall.[69] But all these expedients were of no avail.

Throughout these trying years the Alabama Conference seems never to have blamed Dr. Moore for the "limited patronage" but rather to have concluded "that the Board of Trustees have been unskillful in the management of this great interest, or that the preachers and people do not value as they ought to do Institutions of the highest grade."[70] "The conversion of every boarder in the institution" was a source of pride to the Conference,[71] and so also was the fact that the College remained free of debt, whereas Southern University, with a better attendance, owed $13,000.[72]

The College might be free of debt, but the president was not. Although the conference had finally assumed ownership of A. C. F. C. in 1872, paying off the trustees' mortgage and other debts at the time, it was evidently understood that the president would be personally responsible for any debts

he incurred for the College, and so it was throughout the long period the College remained in Tuskegee. This fact of his personal responsibility doomed Dr. Moore to an early retirement from the presidency. By December 1875 both his credit and his patience were exhausted.

Dr. John Massey, who was to take up the burdens of the presidency in 1876, wrote sympathetically of Dr. Moore's failure at the College and of his later achievements in the ministry. He said:

> With no reserve capital to meet expenses that were imperative, his success was an impossibility. He retired from the college at the Conference in December, 1875, somewhat embarrassed with debt. The Conference sent him to the Marianna District, considered at that time a hard appointment. He sustained himself well, brought up his district in fine style, and, be it said to his credit, in a year or two he paid off all he owed. I learned some of this inside history from Mr. J. C. Smith, who was his friend through all his troubles. He was a fine pastor and filled a number of the best appointments in the Conference till his death, which occurred during his pastorate in Opelika some years ago.[73]

Several times on Dr. Massey's invitation Dr. Moore returned to A. C. F. C. to preach the baccalaureate sermon, the last occasion being in June 1900.[74]

Although the year 1873 seems to have brought the College the greatest number of successive blows from the outside world, its life must have reached its lowest ebb in the late winter and spring of 1875. After Dr. Moore's sudden departure Reverend Everett Lee Loveless, preacher in charge of the Tuskegee Methodist Church, was elected to the presidency to fill out the year. Mr. Loveless was a popular minister, thirty-five years old, who had been admitted to the Alabama Conference on trial in 1863 and ordained an elder in 1867.[75] As Dr. Massey later explained, Mr. Loveless was chosen not because he desired the place but because the trustees could not find any one else who would agree to accept it in the middle of the year. The task was not one that he found congenial. Dr. Massey, who knew him well, later wrote: "While Mr. Loveless was a fine preacher, the most eloquent man we have had in the station

since my connection with it, he was not adapted to school work. His tastes were averse to teaching. Putting Shakespeare's expression, 'I would rather be a dog and bay the moon,' into jocular form, he said: 'I would rather be a pack of hounds and bay the solar system than run a female college.' "[76]

The press, however, took a more cheerful view of Mr. Loveless's fitness for the position. The local paper had learned, so it said, that the new president possessed an unusual amount of "vim and energy," and felt sure that these coupled with his "distinguished ability and scholarly attainments" would win a large attendance for A. C. F. C. and place it again "among the first educational institutions of the land, a position this College held so long."[77] The *Opelika Observer* added its plaudits to those of the Tuskegee paper, declaring that Mr. Loveless, who had formerly been pastor at nearby Auburn and who at this time had been associate editor of the *Observer* for several years, was the ideal person for the presidency. "As a scholar he has few equals," the *Observer* extravagantly declared. "In the sphere of moral and mental science he stands without a peer, in the natural sciences he is well versed, also in the languages. . . . [The College] has numbered her pupils by the hundreds, let her do so again."[78]

In the spring of 1876 A. C. F. C. was far from numbering her pupils by the hundreds. After an alleged increase in enrollment the total was vaguely reported by the local editor as "about forty, a much larger number than have attended for several sessions."[79] This number, it will be remembered, approximates that recorded at the lowest ebb during Dr. Price's presidency in those first despairing years after the war, and suggests that under the harassed Dr. Moore the enrollment had fallen to an all-time low. There is no assurance that it rose very much during this spring of Mr. Loveless's administration, for no further figures are quoted in the local newspaper, and by commencement, according to Mr. Loveless's successor, the number of dormitory students was only two.[80] Tradition has it that one of these two wanted to go home, but since her



DR. HENRY D. MOORE

President 1872-1875



DR. JOHN MASSEY

President 1876-1909



FIRST CHEMISTRY LABORATORY, TUSKEGEE, ERECTED 1904

tuition was paid in full her family would not allow her to withdraw.[81]

In spite of the unqualified enthusiasm of the *Opelika Observer,* the enforced accession of Mr. Loveless to the presidency for this half-year did not materially alter the fortunes of the College. In fact, the Loveless administration, brief as it was, perhaps did well to be memorable for anything. It is memorable for two events—the first May festival in the College annals and the Centennial Concert at commencement.

The first May Day on record was observed on May 5, 1876, and was thus reported by the Tuskegee editor:

> The May festival given by the pupils of the Alabama Conference Female College, last Friday, was a most enjoyable occasion to the young ladies and gentlemen attending. The ceremonies were imposing and grand, and the reporter sincerely regrets that it was not his good fortune to be there, for the beauty and gorgeous array would have been a charm to him, and perhaps inspired him to do greater justice to the subject. At the approach of this pleasant Month of Spring all are inspired with a feeling of mirth and enjoyment, and in one voice exclaim:
>
> Hail beautious [sic] May! that doth inspire
> Mirth and youth, and warm desire.
>
> The Queen, Miss Tatum, fully represented her Royal Majesty, and Miss Mary Harris, first Maid of Honor, with great distinction. We learn that the whole day was wrought with pleasure and enjoyment, and sincerely wish that all may witness the return of many such happy occasions.[82]

Of the Centennial Concert on June 20 even fewer details are recorded, but the current newspapers declare it to have been the crowning feature of commencement.[83] It was A. C. F. C.'s tribute to the country on the hundredth anniversary of national independence, and the only suggestion as to the type of music it presented is the statement that it was an "Old Folks' Concert." It was probably planned and conducted by Professor and Mrs. Kierulff, who were listed in a College announcement as teachers of music, art, French, and German.[84]

Perhaps the most unusual feature of Mr. Loveless's commencement exercises was not the concert for which such elab-

orate preparations were said to have been made but the lack of any graduates. A commencement sermon was preached by Reverend R. B. Crawford and a literary address given by General George P. Harrison, not for two graduates as in 1864, but for none at all. As always, original compositions were read at commencement, perhaps by members of the junior class, as two of the young authors were graduated the following year. Nellie Bilbro, Ella Mason, Mollie Brewer, Lucy Giddens, and Carrie Hudson read essays on such topics as "You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will, But the scent of the roses will cling round it still" and "We are pearl stringers on the sands of time."[85] Even though he had no graduates, President Loveless evidently did not wish to cheat the citizens or the students of their commencement entertainment. In the absence of the chief actors, the show nevertheless went on.

In this way Mr. Loveless brought his unwanted and difficult half-year in the presidency to a gallant close. Even before doing so he had given the trustees notice that he would not be available for the post after this commencement. At a meeting of the board early in June a resolution was unanimously adopted thanking him for his services.[86]

At the same meeting the trustees undoubtedly discussed the uncertainty of the future of the College. In spite of the good show that Mr. Loveless had staged during commencement week, there was no disputing the fact that the boarding department had shrunk to two girls, the smallest number of dormitory students recorded in the annals of the College, and that one of the private schools in town had more students than the College.[87] According to Dr. Massey, who was now figuratively just around the corner, no one of the trustees could give much encouragement except J. C. Smith. "Governor Ligon, the President, and Dr. Gautier, the Secretary, were fine, intelligent gentlemen of the old Southern school. They had been through the war and had seen its crushing effects. They had just passed through the depressing period of Reconstruction. They did not believe that the country ever would come back to its normal

condition. Mr. Smith was more hopeful. He said that the college could be made a good thing if the right man could be found to manage it."[88]

Mr. Smith, this sole man to retain faith in the College at the end of the Reconstruction period, had formerly been the constant friend of the harassed Dr. Moore and was later to be as cordial a friend of Dr. Massey. He was one of those self-educated men who give the most ardent and effective support to formal education. He had married an A. C. F. C. alumna, Julia Hunter of the class of 1865, and at the time of his intervention in this College crisis he was forty years old, at the head of a modest undertaking and cotton-ginning business, later to become a large establishment of varied enterprises. Dr. Mark Andrews wrote many years later in his obituary of Mr. Smith, "Such men are public blessings, and build up towns and sustain states. Of even temper and quiet habits, he went on the even tenor of his way without attracting much of the public gaze, and certainly without desiring notoriety. . . . His place may be filled, but not by a better friend to the school than he was."[89] During the rest of the century, after the trustees, encouraged by his conviction, had found the essential he named—the right man to manage the College—Mr. Smith lived to see his faith justified.

The right man was, of course, Dr. John Massey.

VI. *Recovery and Security*

PRESIDENT MASSEY

THE TRUSTEES realized early that Dr. John Massey was the right man to manage the College. By January 1, 1876, before Mr. Loveless was forced into the position so suddenly vacated by the unfortunate Dr. Moore, Dr. Massey had been asked to take the presidency, but declined to consider the offer.[1] Later in the spring he was induced by Dr. Edward Wadsworth and Dr. W. A. McCarty to investigate the merits of the place, and in June he accepted the invitation of the trustees to visit Tuskegee and to meet with them. As a result of this meeting Dr. Massey leased the College for a period of five years during which it was agreed that he, like his predecessors, was to have complete responsibility for its finances and for its discipline. As it developed, he was to renew this contract every fifth year during the next thirty-three years, the longest period any one has remained in the presidency.

The man who in June 1876 began the longest administration in the first century of the College and who, through both length of term and force of personality, probably exerted a stronger personal influence on the College than did any other one man, was a native of Choctaw County, where he was born on December 16, 1834. In his *Reminiscences* he has told how,

as a farm boy who lost his father when he was fourteen years old, he got all his early education either at home or in country schools during the summer months after the crop was laid by.[2] Encouraged by such country-school teachers as the New Englander Professor Seth Smith Mellen, a graduate of Williams College, young Massey prepared to enter college. In order to accumulate funds on which to realize his dream he began teaching in country schools for short periods, earning $7.25 during his first month.[3] A friend, Colonel Alfred C. Yates, who evidently was struck by the earnestness as well as the ability of the young man, eventually offered to lend him the money necessary for a college education, and recommended the University of Alabama.

Thus it was that John Massey, at the age of twenty-four, entered the sophomore class of the state university in 1859,[4] doubtless with as much hope for the future as Dr. Price felt on becoming president of Tuskegee Female College in that same year. Besides excelling in the labors of the classroom at the University, young Massey was chosen to be President L. C. Garland's private secretary, and in this office during most of his undergraduate days he observed the president's methods and learned a great deal of what was required of a college executive in whom, as he said, nearly the whole management centered.[5] He also developed qualities of leadership as lieutenant in charge of Company C, Alabama Corps of Cadets, and, after his graduation in 1862, as adjutant of the first battalion of Hilliard's Legion, in which he served the Confederacy until 1864, being distinguished for gallantry in the battle of Chickamauga.[6] Dr. Garland, who had written Adjutant Massey his prayer that his head "might be covered in the day of battle," recalled him to the University in February 1864 to serve on the faculty, for which duty he was freed by the War Department.[7]

Assistant Professor Massey, who still cherished the expectation of his college years that he would become a lawyer, did not realize that, after this one furlough from the classroom

desk, he was now never to leave it again until he retired in his old age. He was unconsciously continuing his preparation for the presidency of A. C. F. C. in the next few years—during the remaining war year at the University, where he was to see Federal troops burn the buildings on April 4, 1865; during the year in which he taught at Mount Sterling, Choctaw County, continuing "to wear my old dingy Confederate uniform till I could, by teaching, make the money to procure a better wardrobe";[8] and during the first of his eight years as head of Centenary Male Institute at Summerfield. Long before those eight years at Centenary had elapsed, he knew that the profession he had entered as a means of making money to study for another profession was itself the occupation to which he was called.[9]

Dr. Massey received the final preparation for his work at A. C. F. C. as principal of the Methodist district high school at Mobile from 1874 to 1876. He held this position during the same period in which Dr. Moore was coming to grief in the presidency of the Tuskegee college because there was no credit in the country after the panic. The most valuable lesson Dr. Massey learned at the time, one that was to serve him in all the years to come at Tuskegee, was, as far as possible, "to collect as I went and to pay as I went."[10] With this lesson fresh in his mind he resolutely took charge of the fallen fortunes of A. C. F. C. in June 1876. He was now forty-two years old, in the prime of life, self-disciplined and self-confident, a force to be reckoned with, as Tuskegee soon discovered.

At first Tuskegee paid little attention to him. In this last year of Reconstruction in Alabama, the town, like the College, was at low ebb. It was still sunk in the demoralization or at least indifference of spirit with which the aftermath of war had left many parts of the South. Poverty and political discontent had produced a state approaching inertia. The mood in Tuskegee seems to have been similar to that expressed about conditions in Montgomery in January 1877: "Business is dull here, money all spent, coal scarce, people gloomy, streets muddy, the rain falling, and the river rising. Like Grant we

don't care a —— cent about things in general, and have ceased to hope for a fair determination of the presidential dispute."[11]

Perhaps Tuskegee appeared to Dr. Massey very much as it did to a visitor from Union Springs who also saw it for the first time in 1876, apparently in the very week in which the new president opened his first fall term.

> For the first time in our life, we had the pleasure last week, of visiting the historic little town of Tuskegee, and were much struck with its marvelous beauty and loveliness. . . . Although the building[s] and fences appeared somewhat dilapidated, yet as has been said by a distinguished speaker "it is still beautiful in its decay." Driving up the main street to the Livery Stable at 2 o'clock, not a soul could be seen on the public square, we really thought of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," and it was some time before we could arouse the stableman. . . . We then entered the Court House, found the Sheriff's office open and no one in except the remnant of what seemed once to be a fine young, black pig, in his better days. The Probate Judge lay sleeping in two chairs in his office. The Register and Clerk were out. . . . But about an hour before sundown the streets were lined with men and boys engaged in the healthful sport of marble playing. We then learned that they had been lying up in the shade all day and came out in the cool of the evening.[12]

Even four years later a Mrs. Whitson in the Opelika *Times* was saying that Tuskegee was "a quiet little place with the grass growing in the streets, and one is involuntarily reminded of Washington Irvin's [sic] 'Sleepy Hollow.'" She added an enthusiastic description of the campus and building of A. C. F. C., declaring, "The College edifice is the most elegant and imposing structure of its kind in the State."[13] Grass might grow in the streets, and the condition of affairs at the College might be a wreck, as a Tuskegee editor was later to recall it had been,[14] but the fine old building standing back from the street in its grove of great oaks, with its cupola towering over the town, continued to impress people as nothing else there did. It must have made its impression upon Dr. Massey, who found a challenge in the situation.[15]

He lost no time in putting himself to work. Since most of the Tuskegee girls were already registered in the private

schools of the town, he had to depend chiefly upon students from a distance. He set his dynamo of energy to work to procure those students. During a summer of ceaseless travel he attended, as far as was possible, every Methodist district conference held in the state. At these conferences he was introduced as the new president of the college at Tuskegee and allowed to "present its claims."[16] Although Dr. Massey was never a polished speaker, he was forceful, and whether he was on the platform or off it he had the faculty all his life of inspiring respect and confidence. "In appearance, he was commanding and soldierly to the last," said Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie.[17] "He was tall and broadshouldered, his eyes were keen and piercing, and when he walked he planted his feet with a decision which gave the impression he was going some place and did not propose to be detained by trifles." When Dr. Massey concluded his summer campaign of 1876, he had marched into twenty-one cities and towns, besides visiting many homes in the country.[18]

Meanwhile, in August, Mrs. Massey had reached Tuskegee. This young woman, only twenty-four years old at the time, was a match for her husband in her selfless sense of duty and her capacity for labor, as well as in her intelligence. As Elnora Frances Dallas (Nonie to her intimates), she had graduated with honors at Centenary Female Institute and afterwards taught there until in 1873 she became the second wife of Dr. Massey and the mother of his three orphaned children.[19] According to all who knew her, she was the balance wheel of the College for the next thirty-three years.

As soon as Mrs. Massey saw the amount of work to be done in the College before school could be opened, she was horrified and asked her husband repeatedly when he was going to stop traveling and help her clean up the place. "During the last two or three weeks of vacation," said Dr. Massey, "we came as near killing ourselves as was possible by work in getting ready for the opening."[20] The editor of the *Tuskegee Weekly News*, who otherwise had not commented on the new president since announcing his election by the trustees in June, now observed

with interest that the grounds of "the old, time-honored institution" had been cleared up and the trees trimmed in readiness for the fall term.[21] Shortly afterwards the same editor commented on the fact that Dr. Massey had "worked early and late, diligently and without ceasing, since he was elected President,"[22] and Dr. Massey himself, in announcing the fall opening, said that "work, constant, pressing, necessary work" was his reason for not having become better acquainted with the Tuskegee people during the summer.[23]

Then came the reward for all the hard summer's work. The engine of the narrow-gauge railroad connecting Tuskegee with the main line at Chehaw had just been repaired in time to make its first fall run on September 23, the Saturday before the Monday opening of the College. Tuskegeans were enthusiastic over the return of the Ku-Klux, as the engine was called, and flocked to the station in large numbers to see it, looking "neat and tidy as though it had just come out of a bandbox."[24] But they saw something else that interested them even more than did the Ku-Klux. Forty years later Dr. Massey could still remember the scene vividly.

> When we opened about the 20th of September, nearly all of our girls from a distance came on the first train, as many as the little narrow-gauge railroad could carry, making the largest pile of trunks that had come to the college on one train since the war. This fairly took the breath of the townspeople. So far as I had taken time to observe, they had treated me with courtesy—they were too refined to do otherwise—but they had manifested no enthusiasm. They had taken it for granted that the college was dead. When I walked up the street on the afternoon of our opening, I was greeted by smiles of approbation and hearty congratulations on every hand, in striking contrast with the coolly polite salutations I had been receiving.[25]

The summer's labors had won a student body for the College. In this and other ways Dr. Massey's first year in command was off to a good start. He had wisely kept most of the former faculty: Mr. Loveless himself, who continued as pastor of the local church, Professor C. J. Kierulff, and Miss Emma Watkins.[26] In addition, he employed Miss Mary Barker, who

had taught Latin during Dr. Price's last year and who was to be a member of the faculty for the next decade. Dr. Massey described her as "frail in physique, clear in mind, and firm in the pursuit of right as she saw it."[27] He recorded as one of her achievements the organization of a prayer meeting among the boarding students, which continued to be held regularly in the basement every Thursday evening for thirty-three years.

Throughout the session the student enrollment gradually increased, and so of course did the length of the well-chaperoned line that marched down the street for the afternoon walk required by Dr. Massey. "The long row of young ladies that march up our streets in double file every evening from the Alabama Conference Female College," commented the Tuskegee editor, "reminds us of the days that have passed away when the schools were our pride, and the town in its glory."[28] By March the editor declared that the total number was "away up in the nineties," of which about half were dormitory students.[29] The College, however, reported the total enrollment as eighty.[30]

Commencement in June made a great stir in town. Early in the month it was observed that various improvements were being made in preparation for the annual event. "The new fence adds considerably to the looks of the yard," reported the Tuskegee editor, "and fresh paint improves things wonderfully. The prospects promise a very large crowd from a distance in attendance upon the exercises this year."[31] After he had taken a critical look at the town, he declared, "Those old yellow weeds on our streets ought to be removed at once. They will not present a very attractive appearance to the stranger."[32]

The commencement exercises themselves were the best evidence that, as the now enthusiastic editor said, "Professor Massey, by his indomitable energy has already awakened the old school from its 'Rip Van Winkle' sleep."[33] These exercises concluded with the graduation ceremony, during which, "in the presence of a densely crowded audience, gathered together

from far and near,"[34] Dr. Massey awarded diplomas to the eight young women who composed the first of his thirty-three graduating classes: Annie Lockhart, Ellen Morgan, Mary Rush, Alice Teague, Hattie Head, Laura Brown, Carrie Hudson, and Mollie Brewer.

Commencement was hardly over before Dr. Massey was out canvassing for students for the following fall, this time cheered on by the people of Tuskegee. The local editor constantly noted his comings and goings, as he had not done the first summer, and spoke with pride of the prospects in enrollment. As a result of labors as unremitting as those of the first summer, Dr. Massey's second year opened with "some increase in the boarding department and a considerable advance in the number of local pupils,"[35] testimony of the extent to which he had won the town. In comparison with the eighty-five students enrolled during this year,[36] the University of Alabama and Auburn had in October 1877 about 150 students each, and were said to be "full to their utmost capacity."[37]

The second year opened with several additions to the faculty as well as to the student body.[38] Of these new teachers Miss Alice Caller is best remembered by A. C. F. C. students. Miss Caller was to remain with the College almost as long as the Masseys did, and she was destined to be, next to them, the strongest influence upon it during the next twenty-nine years. The newspaper accounts soon came to refer to her as the head of Dr. Massey's faculty; today she would probably be called the dean. Before coming to A. C. F. C. she had graduated from Centenary Female Institute, had taught there with Mrs. Massey, and had later been "Lady Principal" at Judson Female Institute.[39] Many years later Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb recalled vividly this most beloved teacher of her youth: "In personal appearance Miss Alice was a commanding figure; large, handsome, graceful of carriage. . . . She wore long, full skirts—how many I dare not guess. . . . Her long hair was coiled around her head. . . . Her hat was always tall and often the trimming was a high feather."[40]

Miss Caller taught literature, Bible, elocution and calisthenics, although her influence was not confined to those departments. To discover how widely she was read, it is necessary to consult her own book, *A Literary Guide for Home and School,* published in 1892, with a second printing three years later.[41] It was Miss Caller who composed most of the College songs[42] and organized the literary societies.[43] It was Miss Caller, too, who taught the love of nature, especially of birds and trees, and named the three giant oaks on the front campus Washington, Lincoln, and Lee.[44] By 1906, the year of her retirement, the College magazine, *The Sagastaon,* could say: "The sight of Miss Alice with her shawl and book and campstool seemed as much a part of the campus as the oaks and cedar trees, or the walks of the College itself."[45] A decade after her death in 1907, Dr. Massey wrote of her: "She was a student of good literature, especially of the Bible. Like Dr. Lipscomb, she was fond of Ruskin and everything that embodied good taste. She loved birds and flowers and children. She was the best teacher of children I ever saw."[46]

The commencement of 1878, the second in the new administration and the twenty-third in the history of the College, was notable for bringing back from Huntsville former President George W. F. Price as baccalaureate preacher.[47] Besides the commencement sermon there were other graduation features of 1878 that were recurrent throughout Dr. Massey's long administration. Usually there was an "oration" or "literary address," frequently on that perennial topic of this half-century, "Woman," a favorite subject of both Dr. Price and Dr. Massey. Other features were the annual concert, the art exhibition, displays of calisthenic and elocutionary training, the reading of the graduating essays, and the farewell speech of Dr. Massey, followed by the farewell song of the graduates.

Through the thirty-three years the exercises in calisthenics and elocution, both of which were taught by Miss Caller, tended to become more elaborate. What in 1878 was merely a "Grand Calisthenics March" had by 1887 become a "drill of

emotional calisthenics." "Expectation, affection, anger, sorrow, joy, fear, religious devotion, and farewell were accurately portrayed in posture and facial contortion."[48] In 1893 the freshman and sophomore classes entertained the commencement audience with "a crescent drill and fancy marching." "Each girl held a crescent shaped bow covered with flowers, and at the conclusion of the drill the arrows, which were made of big red roses (tissue paper) with long, tinsel covered stems, were drawn forth, and suddenly shot into the assembly where they were captured by those who were glad to bring them home as mementoes of the '38th commencement.' "[49] The juniors, in blue and white Empire gowns with fans to match, performed in a drill called "the fan flirtation," in which "the delighted audience were shown THE FAN in all its possibilities." The popularity of pantomime accompanying recitation grew through the years. The seniors of 1892, numbering thirty-eight girls, gave appropriate gestures while one of their members, Charlotte Hale, recited Poe's "The Raven."[50] The forty-six seniors of 1893 were able to synchronize their movements ("Each gesture was made simultaneously and in the most graceful and impressive manner")[51] while Lula Slayton recited the passage describing the famine in Longfellow's "Hiawatha."

In spite of such competition as these performances, the chief feature of the commencement period was usually the reading of the graduating essays. Though in the last few years of Dr. Massey's period academic cap and gown were introduced, the seniors during most of his thirty-three commencements wore the traditional white. Dr. Massey, in his devotion to simplicity in all things, insisted that these white dresses be quite plain muslin. No lace or ribbons were allowed, though ruffles were tolerated. Low necks and sleeves shorter than the elbow were prohibited.[52] On graduation day the white-clad seniors were seated in a semi-circle, and advanced one by one to the center of the stage with composition in hand. The manuscript was always tied with a white ribbon which touched the hem of the author's dress, the dress itself lacking only an inch of touching

the floor. Sometimes the essay subject required what the local editor referred to respectfully as "deep research," as in 1890, when "the entire class of 21 young ladies discussed, from different standpoints, the same theme: The origin and development of Transcendentalism in America."[53]

A. C. F. C. graduates recall the labor they put into their compositions and the care with which Miss Caller corrected them, and would probably frown at the presumption of the distant author of these lines quoted in the *Tuskegee Weekly News* just before the 1883 commencement:

> The girls arrayed in fleecy white,
> Now read the gems they ne'er did write,
> For such is life, and such the way
> That things are done in this our day,
> At Commencement.[54]

Many A. C. F. C. graduates would probably feel with Mrs. Lula Pou Robinson Syfan, of Gulfport, Mississippi, that the successful reading of the essays marked a high point, even a turning point in their lives. Looking back to a day seventy-one years earlier, she wrote:

> I wish I might tell you how one morning in June 1882 a miracle was wrought for a little girl of 16 yrs. and 80 pounds, the despair of her teachers, standing before a full house with her Essay in hand—"Obedience is Nobler than Freedom"—whose voice would not carry beyond the front row of seats—suddenly placed her voice to the back of the room, and read that Essay with all the desired expression. I'm sure I was the most surprised person there—and when the "Board" and teachers crowded around to congratulate, I knew God had performed a miracle—not Lula. I've carried on from there and that Essay became my guiding star through a *long* life.[55]

In most of his years at A. C. F. C. Dr. Massey put great stress on the use of Latin in certain commencement forms and ceremonies. The diploma for the graduate of the classical course was worded in Latin, headed "ALABAMAE CONFERENTIAE COLLEGIUM FEMINEUM in Civitate Tuskegee Reipublicae Alabamae." Dr. Massey presented this diploma with the words "Accipe hoc diploma,"[56] although for graduates

of the course which required no Latin, he changed to the English refrain "In testimony thereof accept this diploma."[57] Beginning in 1878, when Mary Rush was valedictorian, it was for some years required that the valedictory essay be delivered in Latin.[58] By 1881, when Mary Alice Moore of Greensboro was graduating with highest honors, the local editor was moved to protest, though in vain, against the custom that compelled her to bore the audience with words it could not understand: "We cannot commend the custom of having essays written in a dead or foreign language. While the young lady doubtless did well, truth compels us to say the audience neither knew nor cared. The young lady was placed at a disadvantage with her sister graduates, who wrote in the vernacular."[59] The editor never failed, however, to commend Dr. Massey's own farewell speech to the graduates. "Prof. Massey's address," he said in this same year of 1881, "was above all praises. Its eloquence, nobility and common sense extorted involuntary tributes from all."

The course of study that led to the award of the diploma and the treasured farewell words of Dr. Massey did not vary a great deal throughout his administration. It was based upon his conception of the education needed by woman in order to fulfill her function in society. He explained this conception in an address delivered before the South Alabama Educational Association at Troy:

> While much of the curriculum as an instrument of education is equally suitable to both sexes, this, in my judgment, is not true in every respect. What woman, as a rule, does not need in the way of mechanics, physics and engineering—the studies that prepare for the heavy, outdoor work of the world—should be supplemented by language, literature and the humanities—the studies that especially enrich the home and elevate and adorn society. To secure the proper balance in the family and maintain anything like equilibrium in society, woman's education should not only be on a more generous scale than in any of the older civilizations, but it should be suited to her constitution and to the sphere in which she will fulfill her highest mission.[60]

A curriculum founded on this typically nineteenth-century

philosophy would naturally be stronger in the humanities and fine arts than in the sciences, as was true of most women's colleges at the time. While the students were provided such lecturers from Auburn as Dr. B. B. Ross in chemistry, no laboratory was considered necessary until 1899,[61] and it was 1904 before it could be secured.

Although the curriculum was broadened to some extent as the years passed, it was fairly rigid in this period before the Harvard system of electives had grown popular. The catalog of 1882-1883, one of the oldest now available, lists the schools or departments as English language and literature (including history, later made a department of its own), mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and plane, analytical, and spherical trigonometry), natural science (botany, physiology, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and physical geography), philosophy, ancient languages (Latin and Greek), modern languages (French and German), music, and art. In addition to the regular collegiate course, the College during most of its years in Tuskegee offered both a preparatory course and a post-graduate course. The latter, called the Excelsior Course, occupied an extra year after graduation, and from it Dr. Massey drew many of his teachers. The president said of this graduate program: "The design of this year's course is not merely to study Music or Art, or to take some select studies, but to carry forward uniformly and thoroughly the studies of the lower course, so as to attain something like a generous and well rounded scholarship."[62] He recommended it as especially valuable for students who wished to prepare themselves for teaching, declaring the studies would "be conducted with reference to the theory and practice of teaching."[63]

Each decade brought a few curricular changes. Spanish was first offered in 1892. By 1901-1902 the catalog listed such additional undergraduate courses as those in civil government, political economy, psychology, sociology, analytical geometry, and differential and integral calculus. By the following year courses in book-keeping, shorthand and typing were available.

Another concession that Dr. Massey made to the times was in initiating a program of electives in the 1890's. "After the first and second years elections will be allowed," he said, "provided they insure the full amount of work and coincide with the regular schedule."[64] The required courses listed at the same time, however, included English, four years; history, four years; philosophy, two years; mathematics, three years; and natural sciences, four years. From the beginning Dr. Massey had provided programs for two types of students—those who wished to study foreign languages and those who did not. In addition to the required courses listed above, the candidate who was pursuing the classical course (requiring languages) must study one ancient and one or more modern languages. For such a student the "elections" existed more in theory than in practice.

Among the fine arts at A. C. F. C., music was most popular. Early in the Massey administration it took the limelight from art, which during the fifties and sixties under Miss Julia Spear and Miss Mollie Sinclair had been perhaps the most advertised department in the College, helping to produce Howard Weeden and the more famous Frederick Bridgman.[65] Such art teachers as Miss Anna Vasser in the late seventies and especially the European-trained Miss Sarah Birdsall in the late eighties and early nineties were generally admired. Moreover, one A. C. F. C. student, Lucille Douglas (daughter of Mrs. Mollie Sinclair Douglas), afterwards received international recognition for her etchings and paintings.

Yet the music department attracted a much larger number of pupils. By 1907 it had expanded to four instructors in comparison with the art department's one. According to the president, "It was said by a good many intelligent people that we had one of the finest music schools south of Cincinnati."[66] In an effort to find space for all the practice pianos needed, the president had to order instruments placed in every nook and corner and even in some of the bedrooms. When he was able to add to the college building in 1887, his first care was to provide more practice rooms. The 1907-1908 catalog took

a step towards the conservatory set-up to be tried out after the College was moved to Montgomery. It grouped the liberal arts courses together as "Language, Literature, and Science," and gave each of the fine arts a "school" of its own, adding at this time to the schools of music and art the "School of Expression," under the direction of Miss Adeline M. Tirrell of the Boston College of Oratory.

Although Dr. Massey was always something of a rugged individualist in the matter of standardization, he early saw the importance of academic degrees. In 1886, when few women's colleges in the South were doing so, A. C .F. C. was offering the B. A. (referred to as Artium Baccalaurea) in the classical course and the M. A. (referred to earlier as Mistress of Arts but in 1886 as Artium Magistra) for the completion of the Excelsior Course. A graduate in the English course, since it required no foreign language, was appropriately only M. E. L. (Mistress of English Literature), which was dignified with no equivalent Latin term.

By the turn of the century the standardizing agencies began to be more influential in setting up requirements for degrees. After naming no degrees at all in the catalog published in 1899, A. C. F. C. in the early years of the new century was listing these three: B. L. (Bachelor of Literature) for those students who completed the School of English, History, Philosophy, Mathematics and Natural Sciences; B. S. for those who in addition took advanced courses in modern languages; B. A. for those who, in addition to completing the requirements for both the B. L. and B. S. degrees, mastered one ancient language. "These requirements," the catalog stated, "are in accordance with the standards set by the Southern Educational Association, and adopted by the Commission of Education of the M. E. Church, South."[67] The catalogs of 1901-1905 name these authorities for the degrees, but those of 1906-1909 fail to name any. The need to keep pace with the increasing demands of the standardizing agencies was one of the forces that was to move the College to a new and broader field in 1909.

The faculty that assisted Dr. Massey in preparing the students to earn these degrees was, on the whole, a devoted group. "Well organized, enthusiastic, laborious and faithful," reported the Alabama Conference of 1887.[68] Until the end of the century Dr. Massey chose his faculty in the liberal arts department almost entirely from among his own most promising graduates of the "Excelsior Course." He gave far more weight to character and intellectual aptitude as he had observed them than to degrees from prominent universities. The fine arts teachers, on the other hand, were as a rule imported. Miss Birdsall had come from New England, after studying art for four years in Europe. A long succession of picturesque Europeans, usually German, headed the music department: Erwin Schneider, who returned for the year 1880-1881, before following Dr. Price from Huntsville to Nashville; J. B. Grass, graduate of the Munich Conservatory; Kurt Mueller and S. Becker Von Grabill, of the Berlin conservatory; Johannes Magendanz, also of the University of Berlin, who, Dr. Massey advertised, "uses no intoxicants";[69] and Leon Sampaix, of the Royal Conservatory at Liege, Belgium. Only one American held the position—Edwin L. Gardner, a graduate of the New England Conservatory.

Around the turn of the century teachers in the liberal arts departments also were brought from larger and more prominent colleges. Among the first of these was Miss Penelope McDuffie of Vanderbilt. Miss McDuffie, herself the product of a more standardized curriculum, was influential in bringing the program at A. C. F. C. more nearly in line with that of the leading colleges of the Upper South and the East.[70] Early in the new century both Mabelle Massey and Sallie Mayes went from A. C. F. C. to study at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, the most highly accredited of Methodist women's colleges and at the time one of a small number of American woman's colleges rated A by the United States Commissioner of Education.[71] When they returned to serve their A. C. F. C. alma mater, they brought new ideas for raising its standards. "I'm

not running merely a preparatory school," said Dr. Massey in defense of the old system, but he made many changes anyway.[72] From this time he employed new teachers only from nationally known colleges.

Although the typical A. C. F. C. teachers of the late nineteenth century were not the products of highly standardized curricula, their undergraduate education did not end their preparation for teaching. Writing in the *Tuskegee News* on "The Duties of a Teacher to Her Profession," Miss Ellen Stallworth declared, "You must take part in intellectual meetings, visit some chatauqua [sic], some summer school, and know the wonders of the land through our great expositions."[73] A. C. F. C. teachers fulfilled all of these duties.

Under the leadership of Dr. and Mrs. Massey, their teachers often attended summer sessions at such places as Saratoga Springs and Chautauqua, New York. Since these places were both educational centers and summer resorts, they offered double advantages to schoolteachers from Alabama. In 1885 Miss Alice Caller, who had accompanied Dr. and Mrs. Massey to Saratoga Springs for the annual meeting of the National Teacher's Association and remained for the four weeks' summer school that followed, wrote "her girls" a lively account of the place, which was published in a Tuskegee paper.[74] Three years later the *Tuskegee Weekly News* was to "note with a great deal of pleasure that Miss Lizzie A. Hills, of the A. C. F. College, is State Manager of the National Summer School held at Saratoga and Round Lake."[75]

By the 1890's Chautauqua had become the chief mecca of the ambitious A. C. F. C. teacher, and it remained so until the College ceased to exist in Tuskegee.[76] Again it was Dr. and Mrs. Massey who led the way to this summer source of inspiration and further education.[77] Mrs. Massey, from the year 1892 until her death in 1912, never failed to make a visit to Chautauqua unless prevented by illness. Her courses under some of the most stimulating lecturers of the day have sometimes been credited

with producing Mrs. Massey's breadth of mind. She brought to her summer study an intellect no stronger than her husband's but more flexible. One alumna recalls that it was Mrs. Massey who "set me right on fundamentalism; she brought out *The Nature and Origin of the Bible* by Dr. Marcus Dodds and gave it to me to read."[78] In this controversy over the "higher criticism" Dr. Massey eventually reached the same conclusions that Mrs. Massey had, but more slowly, after painstaking, independent study of the Bible. It was not until the last few years of his presidency and the years of his retirement that Dr. Massey could indulge in leisurely summer visits to Chautauqua. His daughter was later to recall the happiness of this family experience, from which they had to hurry home every August to repaint the tubs, turn the rugs and otherwise prepare for the fall opening of the College.[79] In his autobiography Dr. Massey paid his tribute to Chautauqua as one of the great influences in his life.[80]

Besides summer schools and Chautauqua courses, Dr. Massey also encouraged participation in the "intellectual meetings" and attendance at the "great expositions," named by Miss Stallworth as a further duty of the teacher to his profession. As early as 1881 he had joined the National Educational Association, of which he remained a member all his life, attending its sessions whenever possible.[81] He was an active member also of the Southern and Alabama Educational Associations, serving as president of the latter in 1895. He encouraged his teachers to attend the great expositions of the period. A delegation of the faculty visited the World's Fair of 1893 in Chicago,[82] and the College was honored by the invitation to Miss Alice Caller to be one of the Fair's speakers.[83] An even larger group went to the St. Louis exposition, where Professor Von Grabill of A. C. F. C. gave three recitals in Concert Hall.[84]

In planning and presiding over the A. C. F. C. course of study and in selecting his faculty and leading its members to sources of professional improvement through the years, Dr.

Massey won an enduring reputation as a conscientious educator. His fellow townsmen and his patrons probably admired him even more, however, as a promoter and builder.

To build up both the student body and the College plant, Dr. Massey had to possess vision, business acumen, and industry. He had had the vision ever since his first visit to Tuskegee in June 1876.[85] But his business-like approach and his capacity for work, even more than his vision of a prosperous woman's college, impressed the residents of Tuskegee and the members of the Alabama Conference. Tuskegeans liked his aim, "to give full value for every cent we receive; and to have people *pay* us, when they *patronize* us."[86] They were amazed by what the Tuskegee editor constantly referred to as "the indomitable energy" of "the laborious President." They admired the thrift that prompted him to cultivate a large truck garden and gradually build up a herd of fine cows, "whose milk is served unskimmed to the students," according to the Conference visiting committee.[87]

The Alabama Conference early appreciated Dr. Massey's talents and labors as a business manager. Year after year it gloried in his "prudent administration" and the fact that A. C. F. C. was self-sustaining, in contrast during the early 1880's to Southern University[88] and Centenary Institute,[89] both of which were struggling for existence. By 1887 Centenary Institute existed only as a local school.[90] On the other hand, the offerings of the Alabama and North Alabama Conferences for the endowment of Southern University, according to the minutes of 1884, brought the Greensboro institution quickly back to life.

While Centenary and Southern were passing through these vicissitudes, A. C. F. C. grew steadily and remained quite free of debt, though it received comparatively little financial support from the Alabama Conference. The extent to which the president bore the whole burden of the College on his business-like shoulders is especially clear in the annual treasurer's reports in the conference minutes. In 1877, for example, the con-

ference appropriated only $80.44 to A. C. F. C. ($335.00 to Southern); in 1878 $38.63 ($161.08 to Southern); in 1879 $66.58 ($277.42 to Southern); in 1881 (no appropriations are named in the 1880 minutes) $109.17 ($454.00 to Southern); in 1882 $122.30 ($247.60 to Southern). During his long administration Dr. Massey financed the College almost entirely out of his own income from it, turning most of his earnings back for current expenses and better equipment. "Some years passed," he said, "before I laid away any money that inured to my own benefit."[91] Besides reinvesting much of his income in the College directly, he gave a great deal of it for the tuition fees of girls who could not afford a college education. According to one of his later faculty members, "There was not a girl in Tuskegee who needed an education that Dr. Massey wouldn't take in."[92] Reflecting years later on her father's worn little purse, Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb wrote: "As I look back through the years it seems marvelous what a pattern of both generosity and frugality Father was. From that little purse he gave and gave and gave, but he never wasted a dollar. Only God himself can know how a man who had so little could give so much."[93]

The first substantial financial aid and assistance from the Alabama Conference came after Dr. Massey's energetic management of A. C. F. C. had begun to bring him offers of the presidency of other colleges. In July 1883 he received an inquiry from Wesleyan Female College of Macon, Georgia, as to whether he would accept the presidency of that college if elected, an inquiry that was to be repeated nearly twenty years later.[94] In April 1884 trustees of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Auburn wrote to ask if he was available for the presidency there.[95] Such inquiries continued throughout the rest of the century, though they were invariably met with Dr. Massey's firm refusal to consider leaving A. C. F. C. In May 1890 and on two subsequent occasions trustees of his alma mater, the University of Alabama, which had already honored

him with the LL. D. degree in 1879,[96] offered to secure the presidency of the University for him.[97] In 1899 came two inquiries, one from Southern University at Greensboro and the other from the Girls' Industrial School at Montevallo (now Alabama College). In spite of Dr. Massey's refusal to consider either position, the trustees of the Montevallo college unanimously elected him to the presidency for a term of three years.[98]

Aware that other colleges in Alabama and even Georgia were beginning to look covetously upon Dr. Massey, the Alabama Conference of 1885 wished to express its appreciation of him in a practical way. The increase in the size of the student body —from eighty in his first year to 178 by 1884-1885—had made him long for funds to expand the College plant. The conference, in session at Union Springs in December 1885, observed:

> Alabama Conference Female College . . . is enjoying a degree of prosperity that it has not known since the war. Under the wise and faithful administration of Dr. Massey, it has steadily gone forward until it has reached the limit of its capacity in point of numbers. And we believe the time has come when without its enlargement and better equipment in point of convenience, its usefulness will not only be abridged but its future prosperity imperilled. . . . Resolved, That the Legal Conference be instructed to turn over to the Board of Managers of the Alabama Conference Female College three-thirteenths of all property now in the hands of the Legal Conference.[99]

The following December, when the conference met in Montgomery, its members passed a resolution instructing the Legal Conference to "realize enough upon the property of the Conference now in their hands to pay to the Board of Managers of the Alabama Conference the sum of four thousand dollars in cash . . . for the permanent improvement of that institution."[100]

Even in such a liberal mood, however, the conference found it difficult to keep pace with Dr. Massey's generosity. In the summer of 1886 he had newly furnished and carpeted the dormitory rooms, after supplying the College with over $3,000 worth of musical instruments during the past two years.[101] In

December he turned over to the conference through the Board of Managers all his past purchases—the furniture, fixtures, musical instruments, &c., in the College, amounting to about $7,000."[102] To supplement the $4,000 gift of the conference for building purposes, he himself raised $1,325.21 in money and materials (the largest single contribution being a carload of lumber given by W. H. Flowers and valued at $250[103]). He also donated from his private funds $2,099.48.[104]

The result of these contributions of the conference, friends, and the president himself was the beginning of a brief era of expansion. After repairing the old building with the financial aid of the alumnae,[105] Dr. Massey made a two-story addition to it which was to house the study hall downstairs and music practice rooms upstairs, and thus release more space for dormitory rooms.[106] These repairs and this addition cost the entire sum of $7,434.69 that was raised and contributed by the conference and Dr. Massey. In spite of this expansion, however, the College opened in the fall of 1889 with approximately twenty-five more boarding students than could be accommodated.[107]

Fortunately the large two-story Hora house adjoining the campus was for sale at that time. It was bought with its fifteen-acre lot for $2,500, the same price paid William Hora in the 1850's for the original ten-acre campus.[108] Reverend John G. Motley raised the sum in small amounts throughout south Alabama during the next two years, and the president paid out of the profits of the school the funds necessary for repairing and furnishing the house. This building, always known as the Annex, was used to house about thirty additional boarding students.[109] To connect the Annex with the main building Dr. Massey built a covered plank walkway, which came to be called Meditation Track, though A. C. F. C. alumnae remember that "there were few who paced its length in a state of meditation, but conversely in a most vociferous state of sociability."[110] The old Hora gate on the street was now

fenced up by their cautious guardian, but the long avenue of cedars that led from the gate to the house remained for many years a favorite rendezvous for the girls in their hours of relaxation.

This brief period of expansion in the late eighties brought A. C. F. C. by 1890 to the peak of its development in enrollment (178 students),[111] although the proportion of dormitory students was to increase gratifyingly through the remainder of Dr. Massey's administration. The Alabama Conference rejoiced to chronicle the prosperity of the old College: "How she sits among the oaks and elms like a queen arrayed in her beautiful garments—beautiful without and all glorious within, perfumed with the sweet odors of the fruits of the spirit and the spices of christian culture! Like the good queen of old, she has come to the kingdom of [for?] the times. She is the royal nursing-mother of a whole generation of moral and intellectual princesses, and we hail with delight every enlargement of her borders. We are rejoiced that amidst surrounding dearth she grows like the willows by the water-courses."[112] Dropping suddenly from the lyrical to the practical, the recorder continued: "Resolved, That this Conference assess $300.00 for and in behalf of the Alabama Conference Female College—to be separate and distinct from our educational collection—and to be presented on its own merits. . . . "

Only a few months later the financial panic of 1893 hit the country, and for nearly a decade further expansion was not to be thought of. Through the next five years the conference minutes bore testimony to the fact that, through Dr. Massey's astute management and personal sacrifices, the College suffered remarkably little "notwithstanding adverse conditions, and little or no extraneous help."[113] Reverend John G. Motley, lent by the conference and paid by Dr. Massey, traveled through South Alabama as financial agent for the College during these difficult times.[114] It was discouraging work "in the face of extraordinary financial stringency," as runs the refrain through the conference minutes of the 1890's.

The economic depression of the 1890's did not shake the stability of the College as that of the 1870's had done and as that of the 1930's was to threaten to do, but it caused undeniable damage. It brought a gradual decrease in enrollment through the decade, a decline to 119 students by 1899,[115] after which, however, there was a fairly consistent rise until the announcement in 1907 that the College was to be moved to Montgomery. Since A. C. F. C. depended for its income on tuition fees alone, the one year 1899 left a deficit of $1,400 to be met by the president.[116] Meanwhile, however, Dr. Massey had had the satisfaction of completing at least one major improvement during this difficult decade. After soliciting and receiving the endorsement of both the alumnae and the trustees for so bold an innovation,[117] he had in 1896 introduced in the College the first system of water-works in Tuskegee,[118] just as earlier he had put in the first local telephone.[119]

Dr. Massey the builder worked toward more impressive goals in his last decade in the presidency, during which the enrollment was again mounting. Like all depressions, the one experienced in the nineties proved the need for college endowment. Dr. Massey urged this need in his 1900 report to the Alabama Conference. From the $3,000 listed this year, the endowment was gradually increased to $15,300 by 1908, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. J. S. Frazer, appointed in 1903 agent for the endowment fund of both Southern University and A. C. F. C.[120]

With the turn of the century there had developed also a stronger demand for a program that offered the same liberal arts courses to women as to men, especially in the field of science, until then treated cavalierly by most women's colleges. In addition, the standardizing agencies were stressing the importance of larger college libraries. The A. C. F. C. library was confined to the separate collections of the two literary societies, Currer Bell and Ad Astra, each of which elected a member to be librarian and to check books in and out of the society room every Saturday. In 1902 these societies agreed to pool their re-

sources—about 1200 volumes—in the study hall.[121] To supplement this collection Dr. Massey through the years admitted the students to his private library in his adjoining study.

To supply a much-needed library and laboratory building the College determined to campaign for funds. By December 1901 some money had been raised at A. C. F. C. and more had been promised.[122] By the following commencement, however, when it had been hoped that the cornerstone would be laid, only $2,000 had been collected, and a stronger plea was issued to the alumnae.[123] Of the sum on hand, George Foster Peabody of New York had contributed $1,000,[124] and Booker T. Washington with his associates had given $300,[125] requesting that their names not be made public, a request for secrecy which Dr. Massey, perhaps in the interest of better race relations, felt he could not honor. With some of this money the college increased its library holdings and, stimulated chiefly by Professor Grantland Murray of the chemistry department,[126] furnished the "Physical and Chemical laboratories with new apparatus, so that each student can perform her own experiments."[127] The campus literary magazine gives a glimpse of the students in their many-colored aprons trying the new approach to chemistry: " . . . here a girl jumping because of an explosion, there one screaming because the oxygen was burning, and yonder one bravely keeping the tears from falling on a broken test-tube. But deep down in each heart was a growing devotion to the Laboratory."[128]

In December 1904 the Alabama Conference was still talking of erecting an additional building at a cost of not less than $25,000.[129] By this time, however, Dr. Massey had resigned himself to a laboratory in a small structure which he had added at a safe distance from the main building, in case of explosions, and connected with it by means of a covered walkway.[130] The dream of real library quarters was never to be realized while the College remained in Tuskegee. It was not only the need of dormitory space for the forty girls reportedly turned away in the fall of 1906 that convinced Dr. Massey the College must be

moved.[131] It was also his inability to secure in Tuskegee adequate support for the laboratory and library buildings needed to meet twentieth-century academic standards.

Thus Dr. Massey the builder, after rescuing the College from imminent extinction in the seventies, labored successfully to make it grow and expand in the eighties, held it together during the business recession of the nineties, and pushed its development as best he could towards new and higher standards of equipment in the early 1900's. Meanwhile, however, it was another Dr. Massey whom his students knew best—not the resourceful business executive who managed to invest in the Hora lot next door but the cautious guardian who quickly fenced up the Hora gate on the street. To two generations of students who equally loved and feared him, Dr. Massey was a kindly but unbending disciplinarian, an affectionate father who was also both lawgiver and judge. Perhaps today he would be called dean of students as well as president. He was in charge of the girls' conduct and Mrs. Massey of their health, and together they created the atmosphere of a strict, wholesome nineteenth-century home which encouraged plain living and high thinking.

Dr. Massey's ideals of conduct, unlike his curriculum and his plans for the College plant, did not change with the years. The rules that appear in the catalogs of the 1900's differ hardly at all from those of the early 1880's except in being more detailed. Following a list of "special requirements" there are enumerated the "special prohibitions":

1. Absence from study hall, or any school duty, without special permission.
2. Visiting out of the College, except in company with parents or teachers.
3. Sending or receiving anything through day pupils or servants. The President or Matron is the proper medium.
4. Communications of any kind with young gentlemen without proper permission.
5. Borrowing money, books, jewelry, or clothing from other pupils. The President or Matron will supply all needed articles.

6. Changing studies or leaving any class without the consent of the President.
7. Reading or circulating novels and newspapers without permission from the President or one of the Faculty.
8. Making accounts at stores, except in cases authorized by parents, and with the knowledge of the President.[132]

The "special requirements" and "special prohibitions" for students occupy one page, but the rules for parents, disarmingly labeled "special information," fill the two entire pages following. Among them are these pointed requests concerning daughters at A. C. F. C.:

Do not fail to write them encouraging letters; but let them stay at their studies without interruption.

Costly jewelry should not be brought to school. Parents are requested not to provide their daughters with costly dresses. . . . Dresses should, as far as possible, be made at home. This will save time, thought and money for higher purposes. . . .

To supply pupils with a large amount of spending money is not only unnecessary but harmful. A reasonable deposit may be made with the President to meet necessary and unforeseen expenses. Money will not be advanced to pupils without instructions from parents.

Telegrams for pupils must be sent through the President. All packages and boxes sent by express must be prepaid and addressed *in care of the President.*

The correspondence of pupils will be under the supervision of the President. All letters should be addressed in his care. Parents are requested to furnish a list of persons with whom their daughters may correspond. The number of correspondents should be limited. While it is not our purpose to inspect letters, we have found it best to guard against improper correspondence.

Many years' experience has convinced us that it is best not to permit eatables or confections to be brought or sent into the College. These are fruitful sources of sickness and interruption to study. The President reserves the right to withhold them, on sanitary grounds. Ripe fruit—such as apples, oranges, lemons and bananas, and pure candy in moderation,—may be received until the first of April. . . .

Parents should consider that their daughters can not blend social pleasure outside of the College with successful study. They are expected, therefore, not to ask for them the privilege of going to picnics, parties, dinings, or spending the evenings, the Sabbath, or Christmas out of the College. . . .

Many other social regulations, not to be found in the catalog, were well known to every A. C. F. C. girl. The most celebrated of these was probably the rule that prohibited the students from walking unchaperoned nearer the street than "the deadline," an invisible line that ran some thirty yards from the front fence. Off-campus appearances, either for afternoon walks or for church attendance, were made in a body, the girls marching two abreast, preceded by a teacher in the afternoons and by Dr. Massey on Sundays. On such occasions most of the boys in town, especially those in attendance at Park's High School, lined up to see the procession pass.[133] Except for attendance at the comencement reception, these glimpses were usually the only contact allowed with the male element in Tuskegee, and as a result Mrs. Massey never could understand how so many of the girls married Tuskegee men.[134]

Besides being well protected from the public, A. C. F. C. girls were subject to numerous regulations and restrictions seven days in the week—regulations that Dr. Massey thought appropriate for any family, even one of a hundred girls. All dormitory students were required to attend Sunday school, which, after the student body grew too large to be accommodated in the local church school, Dr. Massey himself conducted each Sunday in the study hall. The students found that he expected as conscientious study of the Sunday school lesson, including home readings, as of week-day assignments. Moreover, each girl was required to purchase a hymnal along with her textbooks in the fall.

The week-day schedule began early, for the rising bell rang at six o'clock. By this time the servants had made fires and brought water for each room. A faculty member served as inspector to go around to see if the girls were up and dressed for the before-breakfast study period at 6:45. Breakfast was served at 7:30, and chapel services held at 8:30, after which most of the day was filled with recitations and study periods. In the latter part of the afternoon, if the weather was not suitable for the daily walk, all students were required to repair to the

chapel for marching, made possible by the fact that the seats were movable. No girl was allowed to shirk her daily assignment of exercise. After the evening period in the study hall the girls were free to talk until ten o'clock around their bedroom grates, where, in spite of regulations to the contrary, they were often successful in roasting a potato or some other bit of food they had bribed the servants to slip out of the kitchen. Although they looked longingly through the locked gate of Mrs. Massey's strawberry bed, they were compelled to wait until the berries were served lawfully in the dining room.[135]

There was no student government in these days of absolute monarchy in academic halls, but along with the efficient police system there was a sort of honor system. Every morning at roll call each girl reported on her conduct of the day before. If she had done nothing amiss, she said merely "present"; if she had broken a rule, she confessed and received demerits. Not unless the student had maintained a good record for the year in both conduct and scholarship could she hear Dr. Massey read after her name at commencement the coveted phrase "excellent in all."[136] With a total enrollment always under two hundred, the president came to know each girl individually, so that the final verdict was based on careful study. "You study books; I study you," he was fond of saying.[137] A student once asked him how he could remember every single girl and the years she had attended college. "Do you remember your ABC's?" he countered with a twinkle in his eye.[138]

Of this absolute monarch's regulations one that now seems severest was that prohibiting more than one day's holiday at Christmas. Not until 1903, after Dr. Massey's daughter Mabelle had returned from Randolph-Macon demanding a change, did he consent to allow a seven-day vacation.[139] In December 1904, disturbed by the epidemic of measles and of mumps in the state, he wrote the parents of each boarding student for permission to postpone the week's holiday until spring. Because the parents were unwilling, the College had to endure a wholesale epidemic of both diseases early in 1905.[140]

The typical A. C. F. C. Christmas, which kept all the girls in Tuskegee because it lasted only one day, was not an unhappy time. The Masseys made it a merry family Christmas. Writing shortly after the celebration in 1895, a student described the fun of the annual candy-pulling on Christmas Eve (Mrs. Massey's treat). Then she related the events of Christmas Day, most of them annual, too.

> Early next morning we were awakened by the girls in the hall screaming "Christmas gift!" and those in the next room singing what I suppose was a Christmas anthem. The words and tune were their own composition and the accompaniment was played on the head of the bed. Colored Carrie soon came tipping around to make a fire. We were listening, and before she could open the door we screamed "Christmas gift!" She looked disappointed, and said it was her Christmas gift to let us sleep late. We dressed hurriedly and went down stairs to "catch" Dr. Massey. But dear me! it would be as easy to "beard the lion in his den" for he rushed out and caught every one of us.
>
> After breakfast the time was pleasantly spent in visiting or diverting ourselves in any way we pleased. By 2 o'clock our appetites and our expectations were on tip-toe. On reaching the dining room door we gave a cry of delight. It seemed like entering fairyland. The room was darkened, the chandeliers lighted, the pictures and every available niche were adorned with mistletoe, violets and holly. . . . Three tall decorated urns holding scarlet geraniums stood down the centre of the room, and above them was hung from side to side a row of Japanese lanterns that give a soft tinted light. They groaned, or had cause to, under the burden of good things. . . .
>
> After dinner Dr. Massey proposed to take us hunting—just us girls. Think of it! "over the hills and far away." Of course every one was delighted. We hunted and hunted, but not a bird or squirrel was to be seen, so Dr. Massey let the girls shoot at the knots on the trees [with his gun], and they hit them, too, all who were not too big cowards to try, as I was. At last we came to a pretty knoll. The shade was inviting after our long ramble, so we all sat down on the pine straw, while Dr. Massey, standing before us leaning on his gun, entertained us with war stories, and how he fought at Chickamauga. He was shot twice with minie balls. . . . [141]

The setting of this afternoon's adventures was usually the nearby woods, either "Happy Valley," whose name was inspired

by the French legend of Happy Valley translated by Miss Mary Barker's French class, or "Ruskin Point," named by that lover of both nature and Ruskin, Miss Alice Caller.[142] The College girls loved both places, and often visited them in the company of Miss Caller on nature-study rambles.

After Christmas holidays became long enough to allow the girls to go home, Thanksgiving was the most exciting day of the college year. Dr. Massey transferred the shooting expedition to that day, and his daughter "Miss Mabelle," who had succeeded to her mother's place in the dining room now that Mrs. Massey was not well, endeared herself to the student body by the Thanksgiving feast,[143] concluded always with Lady Baltimore cake and ambrosia.[144] Of these occasions "Miss Mabelle" was later to write: "The best part of Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners was not the generous helpings of good food, but the program of music furnished by the melodious, untrained voices of a dozen colored men and women. There still lives as part of me the sound of my colored friends' voices and the sight of their pleased, half-shy faces. Friends? Indeed they were—and are. Their ranks went on unbroken through 33 years. Never once did we hunt or advertise for help; they selected their own helpers and told us who they were and why they selected each one." Among these mellow voices none was more popular than the alto of Carrie Huffman Echols, who came to the College in 1880 at the age of twelve and died seventy-two years later still a servant and a friend of the Massey family. For twenty-nine years she helped in the College kitchen, waited on tables, or made fires and carried water to the students' bedrooms, working wherever she was needed. Her unfailing loyalty and pride in her work did much to bolster morale during many trying times of frozen water pipes and measles, and sometimes friction.[145]

In spite of the rigorous restrictions, or perhaps because of those that sheltered the A. C. F. C. girls from outside distractions and threw them on their own resources for entertainment, the College had a full extracurricular program. It sponsored

numerous organizations, literary, religious, and athletic, as well as other less formal activities.

To the average student the most important organizations on the campus were the literary societies—the Currer Bell and Ad Astra, and, for a short period in the eighties, the Ariadne, designed for the younger girls before they were admitted to the other societies.[146] The Palladian Literary Society of President Moore's period in office apparently died with his administration. Miss Alice Caller introduced the Currer Bell Society in 1884, choosing its name because of her enthusiasm for Charlotte Bronte and presenting the first book as a foundation for its library.[147] Miss Lizzie Hills and, after Miss Hills' marriage in 1888, Miss Belle Dallas sponsored the Ad Astra Society, founded in 1885.[148] Clara Wright was first president of the Currer Bells and Etta Nichols of the Ad Astras.[149] Both societies, which originally met every Saturday evening, were to remain important College institutions until they passed out of existence nearly a half-century later in Montgomery. Their aim, according to Dr. Massey, was "to secure the co-operation of the pupils themselves in the government of the school; to fill their leisure hours with pleasant and profitable occupation; to stimulate aspiration for voluntary mental culture; to promote a taste for good reading; to correct slovenly habits in use of language, and to foster chaste and elegant forms of expression."[150]

One other value of the societies was in stimulating competition in many phases of college life. In the first decade of the twentieth century they became cooperative as well as competitive. They then responded to the request of the authorities not only by combining their two collections of books in a college library, but also by giving up their individual quarters and furnishings in order to provide double parlors for the College.[151] From the halls of the Currer Bells and Ad Astras respectively came the busts of Scott and Shakespeare that were to be familiar objects in the library of Huntingdon College. Most important of all, the societies joined their efforts to pub-

lish the first college literary magazine. The magazine, *The Sagastaon* (from an Indian word meaning "Behold, the sun rises!"), followed efforts of the two societies to issue their individual periodicals.[152] Ad Astra had led the way during 1900-1901 with eight manuscript numbers of a little paper called "Our Star," changing its name to "Ad Astra Magazine" in February 1902. Currer Bell produced a similar paper called "The Watch Tower" during 1901-1902. Meanwhile the Alumnae Association in June 1901 had offered to support a college periodical as a medium of communication between A. C. F. C. and its former students.[153] Thus encouraged, the two societies joined their forces to issue the first number of a quarterly magazine in May 1902. In this first number they thanked Miss Belle Dallas "for her cordial support in planning the magazine, and her untiring energy in helping us carry it through."[154] It was Miss Dallas also who had introduced before the alumnae the motion to promote such a magazine.

The Sagastaon was primarily a literary magazine, most of its pages being devoted to student essays, stories, and poems with occasional contributions of alumnae. For the most part these literary attempts were fresh and lively, drawn from indigenous material. The last few pages of the magazine anticipated the later alumnae bulletin; they gave information about individual graduates and told those graduates the chief news of the campus, especially of the faculty and staff. From May 1902 until at least December 1906 this quarterly appeared regularly during each college year. It was supported chiefly by alumnae subscriptions and local advertisements.

In the year 1909, the last year of the College in Tuskegee, *The Sagastaon* appeared again, but this time as the first College annual. Edited by Nell Fannin, and dedicated to Dr. Massey, this yearbook included the usual pictures and information about classes and campus organizations, literary, religious and athletic. In addition it featured such social clubs as the Kodak Club, the Embroidery Club, the Old Maids' Corner, and the Chafing Dish Club. This first College annual was financed in

an unusual fashion. For many years it had been the custom for the class in ethics, which met during the first term of the senior year, to celebrate the completion of the course by a banquet. The Class of 1909 decided to invest the money necessary for a banquet in another scheme—the publication of a college yearbook.[155]

The one campus organization that included the greatest number of students was religious rather than literary. As early as 1887 a sophomore was writing in her diary of "our missionary entertainment last night."[156] The Young Women's Foreign Missionary Society was active on the campus through almost all of Dr. Massey's long administration. Miss Ella Smilie in the eighties and Miss Belle Dallas in the nineties were its enthusiastic faculty sponsors. Under Miss Dallas's inspiration the College group became the banner society in the Alabama Conference. It supported a "Bible woman" in Soochow, paid a scholarship in the Methodist Training School in Nashville, and contributed more than a hundred dollars a year to the general fund of the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[157]

In 1906 the Young Women's Christian Association was added. In the fall of that year Miss Reba Stewart came to the A. C. F. C. faculty, fresh from the presidency of a flourishing Y. W. C. A. at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and at the instigation of Mrs. Massey organized an association on the Tuskegee campus.[158] During the remainder of the period in Tuskegee, the organization included the whole student body except for three or four girls, and counted most of the faculty in its membership also.

Athletics were not far behind the literary and religious interests in securing group sponsorship. In 1886, the same year in which the Ad Astras began their career, baseball was organized on the campus. The local editor, who had apparently been looking over the fence, observed: "The A. C. F. College has a well organized baseball club. Nine flashing 'Reds' contest with nine bright 'Blues' the claim to superior knowledge

and skill in the curve ball art. Their neat sailor uniforms and joyous shouts make the campus as gaudy as a fair ground and gay as a May day."[159] By the turn of the century basket ball had its enthusiasts. According to *The Sagastaon* of December 1902, "Miss Mary Smith is encouraging the athletic spirit among us. Through her efforts a club has been organized with Mary Skinner, President; Virginia Mizell, Secretary, and Emma Lou Culver, Treasurer. A basket ball has been ordered, and when it comes, 'We'll make the campus ring!' "[160] Pictures show the athletic girls of the campus in uniforms of sweaters or blouses and full skirts over bloomers, clutching the ball or perched coyly on a cushion in the basket. In the same decade tennis became popular enough to inspire at least two clubs, immortalized in the yearbook of 1909 as the Love Club and the Deet Club, equipped with mottoes, club colors and yells.

The social life of the campus centered in all these organizations, but it found other forms of expression, too. One of the most original social institutions at A. C. F. C. was that of "partners." A graduate of 1909 later explained how it worked:

> Soon after my arrival on the campus I was told that we were to select "partners" or rather invite friends to be our partners for the year and for commencement. There were partners for church, for exercise (there was no gym), after dinner partners, recess partners. Usually there was a different partner for every night when we would walk and talk, go to each other's room, or if there were a concert or recital we would attend with our partners. At commencement time too it was a different partner for each night, for attending commencement affairs. It was very flattering to be invited to be a partner of a girl that you thought a great deal of. Sometimes it was a race to get the partners you wanted before their calendars were filled.[161]

As early as 1887 the institution was already well established, as the journal of Mary Lakin records: "I walked with Bama to the church. My regular partner went with Annie Lou Washburn. I am going to the Currer Belle entertainment with Bama also."[162]

There were certain types of entertainment that the College was careful not to sponsor. While engagements with young men

were prohibited, except in the last decade on special occasions when chaperoned, dances were not to be thought of, even during commencement. But the minute the commencement activities were ended it was the habit of the young men of Tuskegee to entertain the visitors at an annual dance, usually at Minnie Hall or in a vacant lot in town such as the old Baptist college lot, later to be occupied by the Drakeford home. Though many of the students who lived in Tuskegee attended, the College was in no way responsible for this dance; in fact, the College had officially closed for the term earlier on the day on which the party was given each year. After this custom had been established for many years, it finally brought criticism to A. C. F. C. from a church periodical. An indignant friend, who signed himself "disinterested Party," defended Dr. Massey against this attack. Insisting sarcastically that it was the fault of the editor of the *Herald*, the newspaper that had carried the announcement that "a grand ball was given to the visiting young ladies," the "Disinterested Party" explained:

> He should have separated the college notes from the announcement of the dance by a great many lines, or perhaps columns, for the benefit of those persons who are so extremely dull as to suppose that Dr. Massey's college was in any way connected with the dance. As I have said, the Editor was at fault. He might at least have taken the precaution to insert between the two an advertisement of "Fresh Cigars and Tobacco at the City Drug Store" or something of the kind. But would this have been sufficient precaution? Might not some obtuse person have straightway arrived at the conclusion that the proximity of such an advertisement to the college notes was "calculated to do a great injury to one of the purest and best institutions of learning in the South," on the grounds that those people not acquainted with Dr. Massey would suppose he was in the habit of distributing fresh cigars and tobacco among his girls for their enjoyment and edification? . . . [163]

The tempest blew over, not without causing a great deal of concern, however. The young men of Tuskegee, undaunted, celebrated the end of subsequent commencements with the same usual dance, often with music from the Tuskegee Normal Band.[164] There were more visitors in Tuskegee during the A. C. F. C. commencement than at any other time during the

year, a list of their names often filling a page-long column of the local newspaper.[165]

The students were largely undisturbed by this and all the other problems that tried their president. Sometimes rebellious against the rigorous discipline, more often happily occupied in the affairs of the Ad Astras and the Currer Bells, the Missionary Society, and the baseball or basket ball teams, the students of each decade watched their little portion of the thirty-three-year administration pass quickly by. Cloistered as they were (in 1909 they were debating the college rule prohibiting the reading of newspapers without special permission[166]), they were not wholly unaware of the world around them. They watched the march of events through a knothole, as it were, in the great board fence that surrounded the campus.

The students of the 1880's were witnesses to the beginning of Tuskegee Normal School (Tuskegee Institute) and of the growth of respect and friendship between President Massey and President Booker T. Washington. (Throughout the rest of his life Dr. Massey was to champion Dr. Washington and his program for the advancement of his race, frequently speaking at both church and political meetings on his behalf.[167]) In the spring of 1884 the students watched with excitement the first bicycle in Tuskegee move on one great and one small wheel down the street in front of the College,[168] and two years later were thrilled to hear that the champion bicycle-rider had passed through nearby Notasulga on his way from San Francisco to New York.[169] In November 1884 they watched from the campus a bonfire celebrating the election of the first Democratic president in thirty years, Grover Cleveland.[170] In May 1886 the College girls, along with all of Tuskegee, were deeply moved by the rear-door appearance of the now enfeebled Jefferson Davis when his train paused at nearby Chehaw while he said, "God bless you, ladies and gentlemen; God bless you!"[171] In August of the same year the famous earthquake shook many Tuskegee houses, but while it swayed even the large brick Methodist church back and forth,[172] it was hardly

perceptible within the massive walls of the old College building.[173]

A. C. F. C. students of the 1890's became aware of the growing importance of the Populist movement when, on the invitation of Dr. Massey, the delegates of the Fifth District Alliance visited the College in a body, "the first public courtesy of this character extended to the Alliance in the State," commented a local editor with satisfaction.[174] Many of the girls were in the party Dr. and Mrs. Massey escorted to the state fair each year. For such events they made themselves simple dresses in the new Empire style and wished Dr. Massey would allow the new trains that were so stylish. They did not need newspapers to learn of the Cuban war. "Soldiers! Soldiers! Soldiers!!! One hundred and nineteen carloads of soldiers, mules, horses, wagons and feed passed Chehaw last Thursday on their way to Mobile," said the Tuskegee *Reporter* on May 20, 1898. The editor was moved to hope: "The sweet girl graduate, standing 'with reluctant feet, where the brook and river meet,' will give us a rest on 'Beyond the Alps lie Italy,' and will soon be telling us how to end the Spanish-American War." The students must at least have heard reverberations from the debate held at the nearby court house on "Ought the United States to gobble up more territory?"[175]

The State Constitutional Convention of 1901, his girls knew, took Dr. Massey to Montgomery, where he was influential in the work of the Educational Committee and expressed himself in favor of the enfranchisement of the Negro.[176] The students listened with interest to Dr. J. S. Frazer's commencement sermon on Cuba,[177] but probably were more excited to have a visit from the hero of the Cuban war, Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson. After Hobson's lecture, according to the student reporter, the girls were allowed to go up and shake his left hand, "his right hand having been disabled by some previous handshaking."[178] On October 24, 1905, they listened respectfully to President Theodore Roosevelt speaking to Tuskegee citizens from a platform made of bales of cotton, the

most expensive platform, he said, that he had ever spoken from.[179]

So the three decades passed by, their events touching A. C. F. C. at many points. As they passed, they brought closer and closer another event, inevitable, so it seems, and yet to Tuskegee friends almost incredible—the removal of the College to Montgomery. It was Dr. Massey who first sensed that this removal must come, accepted it, and actively encouraged it. The conviction that it was unavoidable must have taken hold of him when he failed to get adequate support for a new building soon after the turn of the century. In his memoirs he explained in detail his reasons for urging the removal of the College from its home of over a half-century to a new campus.

During the last years of my administration I began to see that the college would have to be moved from Tuskegee if it was to be maintained as an educational plant adequate to the demand of the times. Great changes had occurred since the Tuskegee Female College was founded, in 1851. Then there were no centers of population north of Mobile much larger than Tuskegee. Then the population of the State consisted mainly of country people who lived on their plantations. Beyond the boats on the rivers, their means of travel were horses, buggies, carriages, and spring wagons. It was considered a small matter to go a hundred miles through the country to take a boy or girl to school. The war completely changed the status of plantation life. Railroads brought about new and rapid modes of travel, built up new centers of population, and concentrated business in points favorable to trade. The whole commercial condition of the State had undergone a marvelous transformation; and the educational conditions had also changed, if possible, more than the material. Now, in the second decade of the twentieth century, public schools are doing the work of elementary education in every community. Town, city, and country high schools are doing much of the work that the college in Tuskegee formerly did. The time came when there was little left for the college to do below the field of collegiate education. This grade of work cannot be done without ample endowment, unless generously supported by the Church or by the State. . . .

The money and land could be secured for the foundation of an adequate plant in Montgomery, one of the railroad centers of the State. The only sensible thing to do was to close the old college in Tuskegee and transfer its influence to the new woman's college

in Montgomery. This change of location was the inevitable result of changed conditions.[180]

President Massey's Board of Trustees agreed with him on this subject as they had on all others.[181] Its perennial president, former Lieutenant-governor Robert F. Ligon, had died on October 11, 1901, and its perennial secretary, Dr. W. J. Gautier, who was also the college physician, after succeeding him for a brief period in the presidency had died on January 15, 1905.[182] The board, headed in 1906-1907 by Dr. A. J. Lamar, and in 1908-1909 by Dr. W. M. Cox, cooperated with the Joint Educational Commission of the Alabama and North Alabama Conferences of the Methodist Church in working toward the establishing of the College in Montgomery. It was this board, rather than the trustees of the new Woman's College (not appointed by the conference until December 1908), that negotiated in 1908 for a new president[183] and that made plans for the emergency when the new building in Montgomery was not ready for occupancy in 1908 and again in 1909.[184]

The trustees immediately made clear to the public their conviction that, though A. C. F. C. now required a new location, it did not need a new president. They offered the presidency of the new Woman's College to Dr. Massey, still vigorous in his seventy-fourth year. "I appreciated this honorable offer," he later wrote, "but felt it my duty to decline on account of advanced age and a firm belief that a young man could do the work better than one who had spent his energies on the past generation."[185]

Dr. Massey's resignation of the A. C. F. C. presidency, actually tendered earlier, was formally accepted by the board on May 13, 1908.[186] At this meeting of the trustees it was decided that the College should be conducted in Tuskegee for at least one year more, when the Montgomery campus would be made ready, and "that one of the strongest men in the South will be put in charge—a man who will be acceptable also for the President of the new 'Woman's College' to be built in Montgomery."[187] But by commencement in early June the trustees had

not found Dr. Massey's successor. According to Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb, while her father was on the stage conducting what he thought was his last graduation program two trustees were making frantic telephone calls from a little house in the back yard to various educators throughout Alabama, in a vain attempt to fill the vacancy. When no one else could be secured, Dr. Massey relented and agreed to stay for one more year. His daughter declares that it was the only important decision he ever made without first saying, "I'll ask my wife."[188]

At the end of the next session, 1908-1909, Dr. Massey packed the college furniture and pianos, all of which had been his gift, and also the library and official records, and shipped them to Montgomery for the new Woman's College. He built for his family a simple but comfortable two-story house across the street from the old campus in Tuskegee and there moved the few worldly possessions that they had collected. Then the great front door through which girls had passed back and forth for over half a century was closed. It was not locked permanently, however. The five Tuskegee business men who in 1911 bought the campus for $9,000,[189] expecting in vain to sell the building for use as a hotel, were glad for Mrs. Massey to have her wish of retaining her sitting room there, and she went over to read in it every day. In winter her faithful bodyguard, Lewis Bilbro, for many years one of the College servants, kept the room warm for her.[190]

Miss Alice Caller, writing in 1907 of the importance of pushing the movement for the new campus, had said: "The preachers will want Dr. Massey to take the new college at Montgomery, but Mrs. Massey says 'No, *my heart is buried here with Caesar.*' "[191] Mrs. Massey's health had never been good since a critical illness in 1899, after which she had been forced to retire from her household duties in the school, allowing her daughter to assume them for her. She lived only three years after the College was moved. In the fall of 1912, when she was brought home from Johns Hopkins Hospital to die, the great old unsaleable College building was being pulled down in order that

the old campus might at least be sold for lots. The noise was terrific as sections of the tin roof were lowered to the ground. Her family hoped Mrs. Massey would not realize what was happening, and she did not, for she was too ill to hear it. When she died on October 21, her vault was made of bricks from the College building.[192]

VII. *New Scenes in a New Century*

PRESIDENT MARTIN

ALTHOUGH Dr. Massey was one of the first to have the vision of the new campus, he was forced, like an ancient Moses, to leave the entrance of the Promised Land to the leadership of others. Like the prophet of old, however, he did have the satisfaction of associating with and counseling some of those new leaders. In addition, he witnessed the success of their efforts to secure both campus and buildings, and afterwards watched with sympathetic interest the advance of the College throughout the five-year administration of his successor in the presidency.

One leader in the Woman's College[1] movement with whom Dr. Massey had been in close touch at district and annual conferences of the Methodist Church was a devoted layman, John Jefferson Flowers of Montgomery, whose two daughters were A. C. F. C. graduates. Although Mr. Flowers did not live to see the new campus or the administration building that was to bear his name, he was one of the chief forces in making the new college home possible. After retiring from a successful lumber business, he wished to crown his old age with some important service to the cause of Christian education. In common with Dr. Massey, with whom he discussed it at district

conference,[2] Mr. Flowers cherished the dream that the two Methodist conferences in Alabama would unite their support in order to make possible one A-grade college for men and one for women. He took the initiative in working for such a policy, even suggesting a plan to submit to the conferences.[3] He also intended to make a generous gift in support of the new system when it was achieved.[4] Mr. Flowers, however, died on April 7, 1905, leaving the leadership of the so-called union plan to other members of the conference Board of Education.

Encouraged by this board, the Alabama and North Alabama Conferences, in their sessions in December 1905, each appointed five members of a Joint Commission on Education whose task was to work out the details of unifying the educational work of the two conferences.[5] When this Joint Commission met in Birmingham on October 18, 1906, the supporters of Southern University and of the proposed college at Owenton (Birmingham College) were unable to agree on a single college for men but recommended one for women. The group urged the appointment of a twelve-member commission from the two conferences "to carry into effect this recommendation by securing a location for the college, raising money for erecting and equipping a suitable plant, and doing any and all other things which may be necessary toward putting said Woman's College in operation at the earliest practicable date."[6] At the annual sessions shortly afterwards, the Alabama Conference appointed as its first representatives on this new commission, J. M. Mason, A. J. Lamar, and J. M. Dannelly (clerical), and W. H. Samford, W. H. Thomas, and W. F. Vandiver (lay), and the North Alabama Conference added F. P. Culver, J. S. Robertson, and E. M. Glenn (clerical), and A. W. Smith, J. D. Moore, and F. M. Jackson (lay).[7] This commission eventually became the first Board of Trustees of the Woman's College of Alabama, with Dr. A. J. Lamar as its first chairman. On the deaths of Mr. Vandiver in 1908 and Dr. Mason in 1909, M. B. Houghton and Dr. M. B. Holt took their places, and the resignations of Dr. A. J. Lamar and Dr. F. P. Culver in January 1912 brought

Dr. W. M. Cox and Dr. L. C. Branscomb onto the board.[8] Otherwise the group remained the same during the early years of the College.

When the twelve-man commission for building Woman's College held its first meeting in Birmingham on January 22, 1907, its first task was to secure a campus. According to the report made by this group to the two annual conferences in the fall, "a proposition was laid before us by the Commercial Club [later the Chamber of Commerce] of Montgomery, Alabama, to give $50,000 in money and an eligible lot of 50 acres of land if we would locate the college for women in that city." By the time the commission met in Montgomery less than four months later, on May 3, the Commercial Club had secured subscriptions of $50,000 from citizens of Montgomery and, the commission said, "also made us a tender of several eligible and desirable lots for a college site."[9]

As early as 1906 friends of the College in Montgomery were already studying the city in an attempt to find exactly the right location for the new campus. Moreover, real estate owners were searching for something that looked like an academic situation on or near their own property in the hope of enhancing its value by bringing a college to the neighborhood. Among the Methodist preachers none was more active in this campus-hunt than the pastor of Court Street Church, Dr. J. A. Rice, an A. C. F. C. trustee. Before his transfer to the Louisiana Conference at the end of 1906 he had urged William H. Moore of the real estate firm of Zirkle and Moore to present forty acres he owned in Cloverdale, located north of the present campus and now bisected by Felder Avenue.[10] Mr. Moore, having as yet no special interest in the College, refused, but, realizing on further consideration, he later said, that a college nearby would be instrumental in building up that section of the town, he urged a neighboring landowner, J. A. Sellers, to offer some of his land between Carter Hill Road and Fairview Avenue, property now bisected by College Street. Although Mr. Sellers was not persuaded, he, too, came to see the importance of

bringing the College to the neighborhood. When Mr. Moore and his partner, C. G. Zirkle, had reconnoitered further and decided that no more beautiful site could be found than the present campus, most of which was then a part of J. G. Thomas' farm, Mr. Sellers agreed to join them in securing this tract of about fifty acres for the College. Mr. Thomas, like landowners Moore, Zirkle, and Sellers, was unwilling to give his fifty acres, but, according to both Mr. Moore and the late Mr. Sellers,[11] he was finally persuaded to part with this section of his cotton farm for a hundred dollars an acre. Because Mr. Sellers had holdings that were more extensive and also closer to the prospective campus, he agreed to pay three-fifths of the price, while the firm of Zirkle and Moore was to supply the other two-fifths.

While waiting for the approval of the commission, the three men prepared for the Thomas property all the papers that the Commercial Club required on each site before the Club was willing to offer it to the commission. In addition the three bought an option on the Thomas property, the original signed document of which is preserved in Mr. Moore's files.[12]

This agreement, made and entered into this the 2nd day of May, 1907, by and between J. G. Thomas & Hattie L. Thomas, his wife, parties of the first part, and J. A. Sellers, party of the second part, and Zirkle and Moore, parties of the third part, Witnesseth:

That for and in consideration of the stipulations and agreements hereinafter set forth, and for the sum of one dollar in hand paid to the parties of the first part by the parties of the second and third parts, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, the said parties of the first part agree to grant, bargain, sell and convey to the proper authorities of the Methodist College Commission, provided said commission accepts the proposition made to it by parties of first part for the use and occupation of said commission or the proper authorities for college purposes under the authority of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, that certain parcel or tract of land in the county of Montgomery and State of Alabama, containing fifty acres, and located on the Woodley Road, and being described as bounded on the South by Woodley Road, on the East by Country Club property, on the North by Sellers and others, and on the West by the Wimbush property; provided, that should said tract exceed fifty acres of land that the excess shall

be reserved along the East side of said Wimbush property in a strip of equal width along the entire tract of the Wimbush land; and to convey to said College Commission of the proper authorities by a warranty deed, free from encumbrance.

The said J. A. Sellers hereby agrees and binds himself, his heirs, executors or administrators, to pay to the said J. G. Thomas, his heirs and assigns the sum of three thousand dollars cash upon the delivery of said above described deed to said authorities.

The said Zirkle & Moore hereby agree and bind themselves their heirs executors and administrators to pay to the said J. G. Thomas, his heirs and assigns the sum of two thousand dollars cash upon the delivery of said above described deed to said authorities.

It is expressly understood and agreed between said parties that the said Sellers, and Zirkle & Moore in consideration of their agreement to pay said stipulated sums shall be entitled to receive any contributions which may be obtained toward reimbursing them for the money paid by them to said parties of the first part, to be pro-rated in proportion to amount paid by each of them. This agreement to be null and void if college is not located on said property.

In witness whereof, the parties hereunto have set their hands and seals in triplicate, each to be considered the original, this the day and year above written.

[Signed] J. G. Thomas, Hattie L. Thomas, Jno. A. Sellers, Zirkle & Moore, by C. G. Zirkle.

Meanwhile other public-spirited citizens who wished to see other sections near Montgomery developed were advancing the claims of those locations. When the commission met on May 13 at Court Street Methodist Church to hear the advantages of each site urged by its sponsor[13] and to ride out to see for themselves in carriages provided for the occasion, the rivals of the Thomas land were three other locations, one known as the Abraham lands in what is now Cloverland, another the Holt property overlooking Cypress Pond, and a third the Sharp property in the neighborhood of the present-day State Agricultural Coliseum.[14] The last two were the chief contenders,[15] but, in spite of the alleged disadvantage of the prairie mud in Cloverdale, the Thomas land was accepted by the commission as the overwhelmingly superior location. Writing two days later to Mrs. John J. Flowers, Dr. Edgar M. Glenn, secretary

of the commission, said: "After going carefully into the merits of the several sites offered [by the Commercial Club] for the College, the Commission finally accepted the Thomas Tract, and the vote was made unanimous at the last. This property is, as I judge from a careful inspection made yesterday morning in company with Dr. M'Gehee, about two miles almost due south from the Capitol, and is sufficiently elevated and rolling to afford excellent natural drainage; it is already pretty well sodded with Bermuda grass; and altogether is a beautiful piece of property, admirably adapted to our purposes in the premises. There are fifty-eight and one quarter acres in the tract. We get the entire tract for the College."[16]

As a result of this choice of the commission, Mr. Sellers and the firm of Zirkle and Moore gave Mr. Thomas their checks, dated May 14, 1907. Mr. Sellers' check was for $3,360 and Moore and Zirkle's (now in Mr. Moore's possession)[17] was for $2,475, since when the tract was surveyed it was discovered to comprise not fifty but a little more than fifty-eight acres. On the same day an indenture was signed by Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Thomas, Zirkle and Moore, and Mr. Sellers for the protection of the purchasers in case the commission should fail to build the College on the land, "the said Commission having accepted said lands and the said parties of the first part having executed and delivered to said Mason and associates as aforesaid a warranty deed conveying to them the lands hereinafter described, and in compliance with said agreement the parties of the second part having paid to the said parties of the first part the sum of twenty four hundred and seventy five dollars, and the party of the third part having paid to the parties of the first part the sum of thirty-three hundred and sixty dollars."[18] According to the terms of this indenture, the purchasers were to be repaid by the original owners for the full sum with the addition of interest if the College was not built. Subsequently these three purchasers were aided by adjacent property holders; they were "reimbursed to the amount of about $1,500 by W.

B. Paterson, A. L. Tyson, D. C. Allen and others," according to Mr. Sellers.[19]

Thus by the middle of May 1907, when the College was to be conducted for yet two more years in Tuskegee, it already had a new campus provided for it on the outskirts of Montgomery. But the story of exactly how it was provided did not become known for some time. The purchasers did not make public their part in the transaction, perhaps having no occasion to do so, and also desiring no credit for an expenditure which they looked upon more as a personal investment than an act of philanthropy.[20] This lack of a public statement by the officials of the Commercial Club, through whose efforts the property was presented, was the source of confusion through the years, and to none more than to the early trustees of Woman's College. In session on June 2, 1913, this group passed a resolution of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. John G. Thomas: "Resolved—That the Board of Trustees of the Womans College hereby formally recognizes the great gift of Mr. & Mrs. John G. Thomas of the magnificent college campus of near fifty (50) acres on which the college buildings are now situated. This good man and wife are not wealthy but they have given the Methodist Church a college campus that will be a constant source of intellectual and moral worth to the womanhood of Alabama and the South and are entitled to the gratitude of our people." A copy of this resolution was forwarded to the Thomas family by Dr. Dannelly as secretary of the board, and in due time it was copied in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.[21]

The board became aware of its failure to give recognition to other important participants only when it shortly afterwards received a letter from Mr. Sellers inclosing the contract made by Moore and Zirkle and himself with the Thomases.[22] When the trustees met for their next annual meeting, Mr. Sellers' letter was presented for their consideration. "On motion of M. B. Houghton the data from the records on file was ordered by the Secretary showing how the present college campus of Fifty Eight acres was secured and who really gave it to the

college."[23] After viewing these records, which are preserved in its minutes, the board passed these resolutions:

Resolved 1. That the records show that the Commission for building the Womans College, did propose to locate the College in Montgomery, provided, the Commercial Club would donate Fifty-Thousand Dollars and Fifty acres of land.

Resolved 2. That the matter of selecting a site was decided in a competitive contest and the present location selected and that the property rights secured thereby came as a part of Montgomery's original agreement, and was negotiated by the Commercial Club.

Resolved 3. That the property was deeded direct to the Commission for the College by J. G. Thomas and Hattie L. Thomas as was an agreement or contract between certain adjoining property holders with which the Commission had nothing to do whatsoever.

Resolved 4. That this contract shows that C. G. Zirkle, W. H. Moore and John A. Sellers paid the said J. G. Thomas $5,800 as part compensation for deeding his land to the College and these gentlemen were reimbursed to the amount of $1,675.00 by parties holding adjacent properties.

Resolved 5. That we the Trustees thank the Commercial Club of Montgomery, J. G. Thomas, Zirkle and Moore, and J. A. Sellers for their several parts in donating the real estate now owned by the College.

While this study of the original documents clarified the confusion of the early members of the board, it did nothing to erase the misunderstanding of the public or of later trustees. As late as 1930, when the board was made up of an almost entirely different group, the question again arose and the board again studied the documents and again instructed its perennial secretary, Dr. J. M. Dannelly, to acknowledge by letters of thanks the part played by Sellers, Zirkle, and Moore in the gift of the campus.[24]

Thanks to these enterprising citizens and the Commercial Club, Woman's College acquired its campus early. It acquired its first building much later. The rolling acres with their occasional young pine trees were to grow high in grass for two and a half years before the cornerstone of Flowers Hall was laid. In order to secure a building it was necessary to secure, first, the money with which to erect it and, second, a satisfactory design for its architecture.

In the same month in which the campus was deeded to the commission, Dr. J. M. Dannelly had gone into the full-time service of the College to solicit building funds to supplement the $50,000 to be raised in Montgomery by the Commercial Club.[25] He was appointed by the commission, but even earlier, as he was to relate nearly twenty years afterwards, he was the choice of Dr. Massey for this special task.[26] In the course of a momentous conversation in Birmingham, Dr. Massey had conveyed to Dr. Dannelly's quick and imaginative mind something of what a well-equipped college of high academic standards could mean to the women of the state. When they parted, Dr. Dannelly had been fired with Dr. Massey's own enthusiasm and was ready to assist in the undertaking.

The commission could hardly have found a man better fitted for the difficult work of rallying Alabama Methodists around the new Woman's College. "Blessed with a keen mind, and quick of wit," his friend Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant wrote, "Dr. Dannelly had also a tender warm heart that drew men to him. His dark brown eyes could twinkle with fun or flash with deep feeling, and in any group he was always a delightful and welcome member. The Church and all its activities were enshrined in his heart."[27] By his personal charm, his intense loyalty to his friends, and his record of devoted service to the Methodist Church, Dr. Dannelly had gained a powerful influence throughout the two Alabama conferences. He was to throw the full force of that influence behind the new Woman's College, not only as financial agent for six and a half years, but as member of the commission that planned the College and as secretary of the Board of Trustees continually until his death in 1931.[28]

Energetically covering the state from one end to the other, Dr. Dannelly made friends for the College wherever he went, and gradually achieved his goal of adequate funds for the first building. The largest gift he secured was from the family of the late John Jefferson Flowers. After Mr. Flowers' untimely death his wife and children were eager to carry out his inten-

tion of a generous gift to Christian education. On March 9, 1907, Mrs. Flowers had written to Dr. A. J. Lamar as secretary of the original Joint Commission on Education, making a conditional offer of a gift in her husband's memory "to the Alabama Conferences for endowment of the consolidated Educational Institutions of Methodism in Alabama."[29] In recognition of this generous offer and of Mr. Flowers' initiative "looking and leading to the present bright prospects of uniting Alabama Methodism in educational matters," the Woman's College commissioners wrote on May 3 their "purpose to name the main building of the proposed Woman's College, 'THE JOHN J. FLOWERS MEMORIAL.' "[30]

Meanwhile, as this same letter relates, Dr. Dannelly had entered into correspondence with Mrs. Flowers. By fall she and her sons and daughters had decided to make their gift specifically to Woman's College rather than to the yet unrealized union of Alabama Methodist colleges. Shortly before the Alabama Conference met in November 1907, they wrote Dr. Dannelly an important letter on the subject:

Dear Sir:—Mrs. John J. Flowers and the children of Mr. John J. Flowers have carefully considered your communication of recent date, as well as the conversations regarding the proposition to us to be as follows: On or before December 1, 1908,

1st: You will collect from the citizens of Montgomery the sum of Fifty Thousand ($50,000.00) Dollars, in cash; that

2nd: In addition thereto, you will secure from each of the Alabama Conferences the sum of Twenty-Five Thousand ($25,000.00) Dollars.

The above One Hundred Thousand ($100,000.00) Dollars to be used for building purposes; and,

3rd: In addition, each of the Alabama Conferences will pledge, for the support of the Woman's College, the sum of Three Thousand ($3,000.00) Dollars annually; and,

That, thereupon, Mrs. Flowers and the children of Mr. John J. Flowers agree to build the Administration Building of the Woman's College, to cost not exceeding Fifty Thousand ($50,000.00) Dollars, which is to be known as the "John J. Flowers Memorial," said building to be paid for by us as the work progresses. This donation to take the place of former subscriptions made by the family.

We desire to express to you our assent to this proposition, and to say that we shall be delighted to carry out our part of it, upon the conditions named by you complied with.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. Lizzie H. Flowers, Mrs. May Steiner, Mrs. Sallie Steiner, E. P. Flowers, W. H. Flowers, Brooks Flowers, Jno. J. Flowers, Arthur H. Flowers, Jas. D. Flowers.[31]

As Dr. Dannelly immediately wrote the Flowers family, this generous gift possibly exceeded that "of any person or family to the cause of education in this State in all the past."[32] Without it the administration building would probably never have been so costly or beautiful. Moreover, it gave exactly the stimulus needed for other donations. Inspired by this offer, the Commercial Club went to work to collect its pledges from the city, Dr. Dannelly canvassed the state outside of Montgomery for another $50,000, and the two Methodist conferences pledged an annual sum of $3,000 each. The task was too great for the one year allowed, however. It was November 1909 before the commission was able to announce: "We have in hand, including the subscription of the city of Montgomery, subscriptions amounting to one hundred and one thousand dollars ($101,000)."[33] Even then the cash collected did not equal the sums required by the Flowers family, as Montgomery had collected only $30,545 and Dr. Dannelly had secured only $30,107 outside the city. In an urgent letter of December 30, 1909, in which he stated these figures, Dr. Dannelly gave assurances to the Flowers family that the remainder would be collected early in the new year.[34] As a result the generous Flowers gift of $50,000 was consummated at New Year's.[35]

With a campus waiting and building funds being rapidly collected, Woman's College next needed architects, an architect for the administration building and a landscape architect. A building architect named Poindexter of Washington, D. C., had been selected by November 1907, as reported by the commissioners,[36] and he apparently submitted plans at some time before October 1908, when designs for Flowers Hall were criti-

cized by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., landscape architect.[37] These first plans called for a four-story structure that included two wings, one for a dining room and one for an assembly hall, and also a central extension in the general position of the present chapel, which was to serve as a dormitory. The classrooms and administrative offices were to be accommodated in the main front section. The gymnasium was to be housed in one section of the fourth floor, a feature especially ridiculed by Mr. Olmstead. At the 1908 session of the Alabama Conference the commission on Woman's College reported: "We have been negotiating with architects and contractors, but have not yet secured plans that are satisfactory."[38]

Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., son of the designer of New York's Central Park and himself landscape architect for both the Boston Park System and the Biltmore Estate at Asheville, as well as professor of architecture at Harvard,[39] had been employed to select the most appropriate position for the proposed building and also to plan the landscaping of the campus. He was quick to see the natural beauty and advantages of the location, and offered plans which, it was said, "will convert this naturally picturesque park into a most beautiful and classic college campus."[40] Perhaps his most important suggestion, conveyed in his first treatise, was that the main building should front Fairview Avenue instead of Woodley Road, as contemplated by the first building architect. Mr. Olmsted argued cogently that "the main line of approach to the College property must be from the north and northwest," and added, "A noble avenue is proposed by owners of the land on the north, leading to the College from Carter Hill Road; and such an avenue would be highly desirable as a dignified and impressive treatment of the immediate approach to the grounds."[41] He planned that from either side of the main structure future buildings would extend in the shape of a crescent. He concluded by offering a modification of the original building design, calling for dormitory space not in a central section jutting to the rear but in additional wings that ran forward

diagonally from the east and west wings, an attempt, he said, to fit the structure to the semi-circular ridge of the north campus.

The design that was finally used for Flowers Hall was fortunately not that of either Mr. Poindexter or Mr. Olmsted. "The death of our first architect, when we were almost ready to begin work," reported the commission in the fall of 1909, "not only delayed us, but necessitated a complete revision of our plans."[42] By this time the firm of Warren and Smith of Boston had submitted designs, which had been accepted.[43] Judge William H. Thomas of Montgomery, one of the most active and enthusiastic members of the commission, used to tell the story of how this firm came to be employed after designs for Spanish architecture had been rejected.[44] Having grown interested in collegiate Gothic architecture from reading some articles in the then popular magazine *The Outlook,* Judge Thomas requested the editor, Dr. Lyman Abbott, to recommend a designer of collegiate Gothic to the commission. Dr. Abbott was responsible for the securing of H. Langford Warren, of Warren and Smith, to draw plans for Flowers Hall. Mr. Warren, a native of England, had been professor of architecture at Harvard since 1899.[45]

From his travels in Europe Architect Warren had brought back ideas that he incorporated in his plan for Flowers Hall. It was to be a jewel of collegiate Gothic, "built of rough-faced bricks made especially for the purpose, and trimmed in oolitic limestone with heavy reveals and classic carvings. . . . In its classic lines and beautiful proportions it will compare favorably with the old Gothic buildings at Oxford and Cambridge, England."[46] The dimensions of the administration building were to be 198 feet in length, with two end wings, each extending 78 feet. On the first floor of this three-story building there would be a rotunda with its two grand corridors into which would open offices and lecture rooms, and to the rear a handsome chapel (a feature never suggested by either Mr. Poindexter or Mr. Olmsted). The chapel, modeled to some extent on

the old chapel of St. John's College at Cambridge, England,[47] would seat seven hundred and would be especially impressive because of its panelled wainscoting and its brick walls and Gothic trusses terminating sixty-five feet above the floor level. On each side the chapel would open onto classic cloisters with Gothic archways. Judge Thomas liked to recall how the members of the commission sat with Mr. Warren under the large pine that stood on the site of the present Bellingrath Hall and heard his plans with delight. Looking across to the site of Flowers Hall, they visualized the building that was to stand there.[48]

By June 1909 the contract had been made with associate architects Benjamin B. Smith and T. Weatherly Carter and contractors A. J. Shafer and R. A. Chapman,[49] and during the summer workmen laid the foundations of Flowers Hall. On November 25, 1909, the cornerstone was laid with public ceremonies presided over by Dr. A. J. Lamar, first chairman of the Woman's College Board of Trustees.[50] In the presence of a large crowd including Governor B. B. Comer and other state officials, Mayor W. A. Gunter and other city officials, members of the Flowers family, and Dr. John Massey, an appropriate address was delivered by Bishop H. C. Morrison.

Perhaps inspired by the enthusiasm on this occasion and encouraged also by the presentation of the Flowers $50,000 gift at New Year's, the commission meeting in Birmingham early in January 1910 determined to restrict Flowers Hall to a "main or administration building," and "to arrange for an organized canvass for additional funds to extend the work of grading the college grounds, and to build a $50,000 fire proof dormitory." The *Montgomery Advertiser*, continuing its report of the meeting, said: "The dormitory, as planned by the Building Commission, will be located by Architect Frederick Law Olmsted in conformity to the landscape plan prepared by this noted artist. It will be a complete unit, the plan of distinct units having been adopted through the efforts of Captain W. F. Vandiver before his death. The buildings are planned to be

ready for the opening of the college term next fall. The cut stone will begin to arrive in Montgomery in a few days, according to assurances received by the building committee. A double force of hands is promised by the contractors and as the entire material for all the outside work is already on the grounds, work is expected to progress very rapidly."[51] As time passed, however, it was evident that the dormitory would have to wait for a while. Flowers Hall alone was to cost $150,000.[52]

After a campus and a building, the next requirement for the College in its new setting was, of course, a president. On June 3, 1909—shortly after signing the contract for the erection of Flowers Hall—the members of the commission, in session in Birmingham, elected to the presidency Dr. William E. Martin, then at the head of Sullins College, Bristol, Virginia.[53] Dr. Martin, a native of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, had graduated from Southern University in 1896 with the M. A. degree and from Johns Hopkins University in 1901 with the Ph. D. degree, and he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.[54] His special field of study was history, in which he had written a doctoral dissertation entitled "History of Internal Improvements in Alabama." After graduation he had occupied the chair of history at Emory and Henry College from 1901 until 1904, and the presidency of Sullins since 1904. In 1907 he had married Miss Amelia McTyeire Baskervill, daughter of Vanderbilt's professor of English and granddaughter of Bishop Holland N. McTyeire.

It would be difficult to visualize a background more acceptable to the anxious commission. Dr. Martin's birth in Alabama, his graduation from an Alabama Methodist college, his attainment of the doctorate, his experience both as a college professor and as president of a woman's college, even his marriage into the family of a Methodist bishop, all recommended him for his new task as head of Woman's College of Alabama. So also did his personality and that of his young wife. If he lacked the dignity and decision of Dr. Massey, he also

lacked his austere manner.[55] Always friendly and good-humored, this short, boyish-looking president met every one informally. Later one of his favorite stories was of being mistaken for the dairyman by a stranger who found him at the College barn.[56]

Long before Dr. Martin's election in June of 1909, when Dr. Massey was holding his last commencement at A. C. F. C., it was obvious that Flowers Hall would not be completed in time for the College to open on the new campus in the following fall. As a result the trustees of A. C. F. C. in a meeting at Court Street Methodist Church, Montgomery, on May 26, 1909, had listened to the plea of the mayor of Tuskegee to continue the college in Tuskegee for one more year.[57] But they passed a resolution to close the Tuskegee plant and turn over to the commission for building the Woman's College "the matter of providing for female education in the Alabama Conference." The commission took care of this matter by renting Hamner Hall, a brick structure in a six-acre grove of oaks on Clayton Street in Montgomery, formerly occupied by an Episcopal school for girls. The building was repaired and in the late summer everything necessary was being done for the opening of school in these temporary quarters on September 30, 1909.[58] During the day of August 24 furnishings from A. C. F. C. were moved into Hamner Hall—a great deal of furniture including pianos, all the movable laboratory equipment including left-over chemicals, and the library and official college records of over half a century. That night a fire destroyed the entire building together with all the furniture, equipment, books, and records that had been stored there.[59]

It was Dr. Martin who solved the problem of what to do in the face of the emergency created by this loss. In resigning from Sullins College, he had fortunately arranged for a co-presidency while details were being adjusted. Now he suggested that all the girls who had reserved rooms at Hamner Hall have their applications transferred to Sullins College for this year

1909-1910. Most of the parents agreed, and Dr. W. S. Neighbors, co-president at Sullins, rented adjacent buildings to take care of the Woman's College girls.[60] The girls were to go as students of Woman's College of Alabama in special coaches, chaperoned by Dr. and Mrs. Martin. Just before the opening of Sullins on September 23, the Martins arrived with their Alabama-Florida colony of sixty-four young women, of whom twenty-two were former "Massey Girls."[61] There in Bristol, Virginia, the group spent the winter while waiting for Flowers Hall to be completed in time for the opening of college in the fall of 1910.

Flowers Hall was not completed in time for the opening in the fall of 1910, but faculty and students moved in nevertheless. The date was postponed from September 19 to October 12, and then again to October 19, when Dr. Martin finally decided to attempt an opening.[62] As Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant was to observe later, "We cannot say the doors of Woman's College of Alabama were thrown open to students in 1910—for at the time there were no doors."[63] Some one, she related, asked Dr. Martin late in the summer when the College would open. He replied, with his characteristic humor, "The question is when will it be closed."

Probably no one without Dr. Martin's sense of humor could have endured being president in such an unfinished state of affairs. Not only were there no doors to the building but also for some months no windows. The steel casement frames had not yet come from Birmingham, England, and so temporary wooden frames had to be installed.[64] Such doors as the interior afforded were only temporary ones of rough plank with no doorknobs, and as a result the occupants of the rooms were forced to fasten them with strings in order to secure privacy.[65] Since the tile had not yet been laid in the corridor on the first floor, both faculty and students marched to classes on plank walkways through sawdust.[66] The ceiling of the loggia was not even begun until months after school opened. The stairways to the upper floor were mere ladder-like skeletons. The walls

had just been plastered and were still wet. As for the beautiful chapel that every one had anticipated seeing, only its walls were up. It had neither roof nor floor, and the great window spaces were covered by white canvas cloth most of the year. (The campus pictures made for the 1911 annual show them thus arrayed.) The lack of the chapel roof was especially inconvenient for the third-floor occupants. When they chose to visit friends at the other end of the hall during a rain, there was nothing to do but carry an umbrella.[67] Carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, and electricians were busy on every floor; especially in every classroom there was always a man working on something. Notices were posted at every entrance and exit, announcing that all who passed through any portion of the building did so at their own risk as the builders "will not in any way be responsible for injuries."[68]

The variable fall weather brought other difficulties. The first cold spell—as luck would have it, unusually early that fall—called attention to the fact that, though there were radiators in every room, the heating plant had not yet been installed. Dr. Martin had to purchase oil stoves, and each teacher carried the one assigned to her from the bedroom to the classroom, as did also some of the students.[69] The fall rains produced difficulties outdoors as well as on the unroofed middle of the third floor hall. The pictures in the annual of this year show a very muddy road, cut by deep ruts, as the approach to the front door of Flowers Hall. If there had been a bus or street car in front of the College that one stretch of mud might have seemed less important, but at this time the Cloverdale car line ended near Felder Avenue and Cloverdale Road. From that point only a country road led through woods and fields to the College. According to Dr. Martin,

> There was no car line leading from the city to the college home. A car line was in progress but for some time after school had opened the girls and teachers in order to "go to town" or go to church must walk from the college door down to where a wagon would pick them up and carry them to the car line. A temporary wooden gate with stile was erected but the road from door to gate



DR. WILLIAM EWING MARTIN

President 1909-1915



DR. MIFFLIN WYATT SWARTZ

President 1915-1922



FRONT GATES, 1918, FLOWERS HALL IN THE BACKGROUND

out." The front room then became the "Little Green Parlor," so called from its wall paper and green plush furniture. The two rooms beside the staircases housed the supply store and a music studio, respectively, and most of the other rooms were bedrooms. The science department moved into the west basement.[73]

On the second floor a two-room infirmary with an additional room for the nurse was provided in the east wing, while classrooms occupied the west wing. The original plan called for four large rooms across the front of the building with a fifth smaller room above the loggia. These large rooms were partitioned to increase their usefulness, the English classes being assigned to the front room on the west, and the art classes to the corresponding room on the east. The remaining rooms were utilized as bedrooms except the one above the loggia, which was the chapter room of a sorority. The third floor was occupied by bedrooms with the addition of a few sorority rooms.

Other factors besides the unfinished condition of Flowers Hall, the raw state of the campus, and the necessity of improvising dormitory quarters contributed to make this a difficult year for the new president. Most pressing of all were his financial problems. Business conditions in Alabama were poor during this first year of the College on its new campus. Dr. Martin found that he had to make many financial concessions to parents. In part payment of his daughter's fees a nurseryman furnished and planted many shrubs and flowers, and a farmer sent a fine registered Jersey bull, whose occasional escapes from the herd of cows made a trip across the campus an adventure.[74] At the end of the session Dr. Martin reported to the trustees uncollected accounts totaling $2,190.34.[75]

Dr. Martin's financial difficulties were increased considerably by the final failure of the so-called union plan, which, as has been seen, was first proposed by John Jefferson Flowers. It was hoped by the Alabama Conference that this plan would

be initiated by the successful endowing of Woman's College.[76] In November 1910, shortly after the opening of Woman's College, the Alabama Conference adopted the recommendations:

1. That the Board of Trustees of the Woman's College and of the Southern University be authorized and directed to take any and all legal steps necessary to transfer all rights, titles, and trusts of these institutions to the Joint Board of twenty-four trustees provided for in the resolution passed by both the Alabama and North Alabama Conferences.
2. That, if need be, the Boards of Trustees of the Woman's College and the Southern University are empowered and directed to have changed the charters of these institutions so that this transfer may be legally and clearly made.[77]

The conference then nominated twelve men for membership on the Joint Board of Trustees. When there were no similar nominations from its sister conference, it proposed in 1911 that the North Alabama Conference at its session in 1912 appoint twelve men to act for it on a Joint Board of Trustees,

and that when the North Alabama Conference accepts this proposition and appoints its twelve members of said Joint Board of Trustees, the Board shall assume charge of all our educational institutions in both Conferences as soon as the Board of Trustees of Birmingham College, Athens College, Southern University, and the Woman's College of Alabama make legal transfer of their holdings to the Joint Board the said Joint Board to have power to control, correlate, enlarge, and operate the four schools, subject to the limitations of the provisions which have been made heretofore by the two Conferences concerning Athens College and the Southern University.[78]

Dr. Lamar, Dr. Dannelly, and the other ten members of the commission worked ardently throughout the state for the union plan, but they were vigorously opposed by Dr. Andrew D. Sledd, president of Southern University, and Miss Mary Norman Moore (later Mrs. James H. McCoy), president of Athens College, two leaders both eloquent in debate and engaging in personality. The fact that there is no further mention of the Joint Board of Trustees in the conference minutes is adequate evidence of the success of the opposition. By the loss of the union plan Dr. Martin was deprived of a good deal of the sup-

port he had expected from North Alabama, both in funds and in patronage. With its support divided, the North Alabama Conference was able each year of his administration to appropriate little more than half of the $3,000 agreed to.[79]

At the end of his first year in Montgomery, 1910-1911, Dr. Martin announced a total deficit of $10,495.15, which he paid out of his personal savings.[80] In 1915 he was repaid $300,[81] and in 1917 reimbursed by M. B. Houghton, treasurer of the College, to the extent of $6,000, a sum that Dr. Martin generously agreed to accept as full settlement.[82]

Next to Dr. Martin, those who suffered most during this first year on the new campus must have been the members of the faculty. The president had assembled for the first year on the new campus a faculty in keeping with the new high standards dictated by the commission. Including himself, half of the fourteen teachers held doctorates. Aware of the high proportion of doctorates, the students labeled the faculty joke section of the first yearbook "The Ph.D. Faculty." Miss Sallie Mayes, who after taking the B. A. degree at Randolph-Macon Woman's College had done graduate study at the University of Chicago, was the one link between the A. C. F. C. and the Woman's College faculties, as Miss Chris Carmichael, nurse until her resignation in 1918, was the one A. C. F. C. staff member to follow the College to its new campus. The new members of the faculty were graduates of Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, Wellesley College, Cornell University, Johns Hopkins University, Emerson School of Oratory, the University of Minnesota, and other nationally known institutions. They had come from teaching in such schools as Mt. Holyoke College, Randolph-Macon College, Wofford College, Kentucky Wesleyan, Southern University, and the University of Chicago.[83]

In addition to the unexpected inconveniences, during the first half of the year, of climbing ladder-like stairways to their classrooms and carrying their oil stoves along with their textbooks, they had other more serious disappointments. Some of

the more scholarly members were probably not happy to learn that, in spite of the commission's exhortation to make the school a strictly A-grade college, expediency had demanded the admission of ten sub-freshmen along with fifty-eight college students and twenty-seven special students.[84] On a motion of Dr. M. L. Spencer, who was both professor of English and librarian, the faculty on November 8 voted "that an examination be given the student body the week preceding the Christmas holidays and that all students lacking the necessary entrance units required by the Board of Education of the M. E. Church, South, shall not be allowed to return to the College the following January." According to the catalog, unconditioned freshmen must show fifteen units in prescribed courses and conditioned freshmen ten and a half units, later raised to twelve units.[85]

But a more serious disappointment was salary difficulties. In February at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, attended by F. M. Jackson, W. H. Thomas, and M. B. Houghton, Dr. Martin recommended that a reduction be made in faculty salaries for the following year. "He explained," the trustees' minutes record, "that this was necessary because of a limited attendance because of incomplete building and consequent lack of financial resources."[86] In the report to the trustees at the end of the session, Dr. Martin announced that eight of his fourteen faculty members had resigned.[87]

Perhaps the only people on the new campus who were really happy that first year were the students. Less concerned than their elders about either physical comforts or academic standards, and utterly unaffected by the extent to which the president's budget failed to balance, most of them lived through the year in a spirit of a great adventure. From the moment they entered Flowers Hall under the builders' warning sign, "Enter at your own risk," and teetered up the skeleton staircase in their long skirts, college life was an adventure to them.

For one thing, there was the thrill of watching the completion of the building. There were specially exciting days when students stood in front of the entrance and watched the carving of the motto above the doors: "Enter to grow in wisdom; go forth to apply wisdom in service."[88] Architect H. Langford Warren was chiefly responsible for the use of this motto.[89] As a professor at Harvard, he was familiar with President Charles W. Eliot's inscription on the Class of 1890 Gate, erected in 1901 opposite Plympton Street, Cambridge. The outside of the gate is inscribed "Enter to grow in wisdom," and the inside, "Depart, better to serve thy country and thy kind."[90] Unfortunately there is no record of who revised Dr. Eliot's second sentence in order to make it fit the space above the door of Flowers Hall. When questioned forty years later, Dr. Martin thought Mrs. Martin was responsible,[91] and her friends testified that she was capable of composing it.[92]

The girls who entered to grow in wisdom had cause for rejoicing in that the course of study, while designed to be taught on a more advanced level, allowed considerably more freedom of choice than it had at A. C. F. C. Under Dr. Martin's direction, a faculty committee had studied the catalogs of a number of the A-grade colleges for women and modeled the Woman's College curriculum on them.[93] Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, a member of the committee, later recalled that the Randolph-Macon Woman's College catalog was most influential;[94] certain reflections of its wording are still to be detected in the Woman's College catalog of 1911-1912, although the course outlined for W. C. A. is less severe. This new A-grade curriculum required of all candidates for the B. A. degree two years of English, two years of one ancient or one modern language, a year each in two of the three sciences offered (chemistry, biology, physics), a year of Bible, one of mathematics, one of psychology and logic and another of psychology and ethics.[95] Other courses were determined in this fashion: "Before the beginning of the third year, each student is examined to select

a leading subject. . . . She will be required to complete nine hours of elective courses in the leading subject. Other courses amounting to nine hours will be arranged after conference with her adviser, the head of the department in which she elects her principal work. The remaining nine hours may be selected by the student."[96] Majors ("leading subjects") were available in English, Latin, Greek, German, French, philosophy, history, mathematics, chemistry, physics, and biology. In addition to the B. A. degree, awarded for the satisfactory completion of sixty-one hours of work, the M. A. degree was offered throughout Dr. Martin's administration, though no student ever attained it.

Neither the faculty minutes nor the student annual suggests that the students took their studies with unusual seriousness this first year. The topic that came up for discussion most frequently in faculty meetings was how to compel class attendance and how to punish those students who abstained from such attendance. Sample entries are: "After consideration of cases of girls reported for absence from class, the faculty voted to campus them for a period of two weeks. . . . Motion made by Mrs. Leigh that any girl having three unexcused absences be brought before the faculty for punishment. Motion carried. . . . Motion made by M. L. Spencer that the President inform the father of Miss Watts of his daughter's large number of tardinesses at class. Motion carried."[97]

The first Woman's College girls enjoyed not only more academic freedom but also more personal and social freedom than had the A. C. F. C. girls. It is true that in the 1909-1910 catalog Dr. Martin had required a uniform ("an inexpensive black tailored suit . . . purchased through one of our local merchants"), a bit of regimentation that not even Dr. Massey had ever desired. In the next catalog, however, he withdrew the regulation. The 1909-1910 catalog, prepared for Woman's College during the year in which it was to have been conducted in ill-fated Hamner Hall, was reminiscent of A. C. F. C. rules when it required the parents' permission for "a limited cor-

respondence," and directed that all telegrams should be sent to the president rather than to the students themselves.[98] No such regulations as these appear the next year in the announcements for life on the Woman's College campus. There the girls received many letters, some of them, according to the first *Bells and Pomegranates,* addressed in care of Ladies' College, Woman's Home, A. C. F. C., Cloverdale School, Female College, A Woman College, Montgomery College, New College, or merely the College.[99]

The Board of Trustees, meeting on January 6, 1910, to anticipate some of the problems of the next fall when the College would be operating on its new campus, passed a resolution "that the Honor system and Student Government be recommended by the Trustees subject to such restrictions as the Board may deem wise." In its first year in Montgomery the College began experimenting with both student government and the honor system, in order that its students might enjoy an even greater measure of freedom and an opportunity for developing maturity. Dr. Martin was in sympathy with this movement and gave it a full trial on terms that seemed reasonable to him.[100] He placed a Student Committee in charge of student discipline, but by November he found it necessary to appoint a temporary committee of the faculty to cooperate with the Student Committee. This faculty committee, on the motion of Dean Littleton, was made permanent.[101] In February the faculty voted to appoint each semester a new Student Committee of five members from a committee of nine nominated by the student body. Not even this combination of faculty and students was able to cope to the faculty's satisfaction with spirited students freed from the restaints of home and intent on enjoying the great adventure of the new campus.[102] Perhaps Dr. Martin felt that among all the inconveniences and discomforts of this first year he could not be severe with the students. By the end of the year, however, he realized the need for a strong supervisor of the girls' social life and made plans to import in the fall as his first "lady principal" his aristocratic

and capable mother-in-law, Mrs. Janie McTyeire Baskervill.

Meanwhile life was comparatively free. The students laughed good-naturedly at the agents of law and order by sketching in the annual of 1911 a policeman surrounded by five sniffing little bulldogs and labeled: "Student Committee—as the Student Body Sees It." Bull dogs or not, social restrictions were far more lenient than in A. C. F. C. days. The faculty had voted that the girls "shall be allowed to receive company on Sunday, for a sitting lasting not more than two hours, provided such company is received in the College library or the parlors of the main dormitory [that is, Flowers Hall and not the Cottages]."[103] Chaperonage of students off campus does not seem to have been excessive, as the 1911 annual twice records that on January 25 two students without carfare returned triumphantly from town to the campus on foot.[104] How frequently students managed to attend movies in the city is not recorded, but admission to each of the two theaters, like carfare, cost only a nickel, according to the advertisements in the College yearbook. One of the great adventures was to slip off campus to a forbidden Negro restaurant at the corner of the two roads named Narrow Lane and Fairview Avenue.[105] This popular rendezvous between meals was a dilapidated, one-room shack, commonly known as the "Rus," and pictured in the 1911 annual as "Woman's College Annex." Here, apparently even as late as 1914, the fugitive Woman's College student "invested a goodly number of her father's nickels in sandwiches and red soda-pop."[106]

The most serious restriction was placed on the girls in the second term, and emanated from the trustees rather than from the president or faculty. At the meeting of the board in February, "the question as to whether the girls should dance in the College among themselves and attend the Theatres was discussed. It was unanimously voted that both should be discouraged by the College authorities and administration."[107] The student body apparently accepted this unwelcome edict good-humoredly, if facetiously, according to the account in

the year's *Bells and Pomegranates,* headed in black letters "In Memoriam."

It was the night after the "prohibition" lecture by Dr. Martin. The walls of the Woman's College no longer resounded with girls' joyous voices and happy laughter. No longer could be heard the fascinating glide of dancing feet. A heavy cloud rested above our grand institution—the prohibition of dancing.

A long train of kimono-clad girls bearing aloft their hymn books, wended their way thru the long, silent halls. On reaching their destination, the "gym" hall, not a word was spoken, all were sad and distrait. Taking seats upon the floor, they opened their hymn books and out upon the night's deep silence floated the melodious strains of an old song. Sweetly their voices were attuned, and mournfully rose the old familiar "Doxology." One by one the old tunes were sung, until at last "God Be With You Till We Meet Again" swelled upon the evening breeze, and sobbed itself into silence, in memory of that dear beloved friend that had departed from us. Peace be to her ashes! May she rest in silence![108]

The College sponsored a number of extracurricular activities that turned the girls' excess energy into legitimate channels. From A. C. F. C. there survived several organizations and the favorite sports. Shortly after settling in their new home, the ten transplanted Currer Bells and Ad Astras were "rushing" the new students, in an attempt to win the annual race for the largest literary society membership. Both the old Missionary Society and the newer Y.W.C.A. were reorganized. Tennis and basket ball teams were selected, as in the A. C. F. C. days, and in addition volley ball teams. In all athletics the Reds competed with the Grays. The tennis costume, according to the 1911 annual, was a white middy with a long white skirt, while for basket ball and volley ball the appropriate outfit included full bloomers but no additional skirt as two years before at A. C. F. C. Late in the winter a field day was proposed for the first Saturday in May,[109] though bad weather prevented its materializing that year.[110] The track team that prepared for this day had its difficulties that first year, according to Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant, later dean of women.

The track team for a time seemed doomed. The drives through the campus had not been graveled nor had there been time to make

a track. But just outside the campus lay one ready to hand (or foot!). The Narrow Lane—all graded and graveled with little travel over it, and no car line. The peaceful golf links bordered one side [of] the road, the campus the other. What better track could be found! So out went the team in their snappy suits. White middy blouses with black tie, and very full black bloomers reaching below the knee where long black hose joined them. "One, two, three, Go," and away they sped. Here was something to see! Dozens of girls racing down the road in bloomers! Forgotten was the Golf game. Every man left the links and lined up at the fence to enjoy the spectacle. That afternoon's practice broke up the Golf game, and also the practice training on Narrow Lane![111]

Also carried over from the old campus in Tuskegee, where *The Sagastaon* had been a big event in 1909, and perhaps also from the temporary Sullins College home where the *Rosemary* was published in 1910, was the idea of a college annual or yearbook. The faculty minutes record: "The names, 'Amaranth' and 'Bells and Pomegranates,' were decided by the faculty as the most suitable ones for the College annual, and it was voted to allow the student body a choice between these two names."[112] The students voted for "Bells and Pomegranates." This title had been suggested by Dr. Jesse T. Littleton, dean of the college from 1910 to 1914.[113] His daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Littleton Bradley, forty years later wrote that she still had her father's copy of Browning and remembered vividly his pointing out to her at the time the poet's explanation of the title which Dr. Littleton considered so appropriate for the annual.[114] The preface to the first issue of the annual quotes this explanation.

The name for our annual has been chosen from Robert Browning's *Bells and Pomegranates.* When he came to publish his *Pippa Passes* in 1841, Browning told the world later, he chose as the rather fanciful title for the general series of pamphlets in which it was to be included, that of Bells and Pomegranates [Exodus xxviii, 33], meaning, he said, "an endeavor towards something like an alternation, or mixture, of music with discoursing, sound with sense, poetry with thought." And it is with a very similar feeling that the same title has been chosen for our college annual, in the hope that along with the many pictures and the much dis-

coursing there may be found something of value, some sense, some poetry, some thought.

. . . And if on some future Saint Crispin day we can strip our sleeves and show our scars, can call our nieces and nephews about us and point with pride to our associations and our work of this year, can pull from its dusty shelf the first faded volume of Bells and Pomegranates and dream again of the troubles and joys . . . its mission in the world will have been fulfilled.

The first editor of the yearbook was Ruby Steele of Wytheville, Virginia, and the first issue, published in 1911, was appropriately dedicated to Mrs. John Jefferson Flowers, who continued her generosity to the College through this difficult period. Since that time over forty yearbooks have been published under the title *Bells and Pomegranates.*

The chief addition in the way of student organizations in the first year on the new campus was the Greek letter sororities, which had never existed at A. C. F. C. Four of these sororities were introduced in 1910-1911 and a fifth added the following year. Each group had its own room for meetings, either the "tower room" above the loggia or a room on the third floor of Flowers, in each case covering the walls with college pennants. From the beginning these organizations seem to have caused the faculty some concern. In March 1911 the faculty appointed a committee of three of their members to make rules governing the initiation of students into the sororities.[115] In the fall of that year they determined to "recommend to the Board of Trustees that the sororities now in existence in the Womans College of Alabama initiate no new member,"[116] but it was not until April 1913 that Dr. Martin himself took the initiative, afterwards approved by the trustees, in abolishing the sororities outright.[117] Student reaction is reflected in *Bells and Pomegranates* in an "In Memoriam" page dedicated to the sororities with the inscription:

'Tis better to have lived and died
Than never to have lived at all.

When the students brought their suitcases and chafing dishes back to the campus in the fall of 1911 they found a num-

ber of desirable changes. For one thing the road from Fairview to Flowers Hall had been graveled, and the now familiar oval shrubbery bed had taken its place in front of the entrance, to be joined shortly afterwards by a few small shrubs on either side. More important still, the windows had been placed in the chapel—the large "Green Window" to the south and the four clear-glass windows on each side. The plan for the chapel had called for all green windows, but the cost was prohibitive.[118] The rear wall of the chapel was also to have been of brick, but again the need to economize changed the plans and dictated the use of the plastered wall.

More important even than these material additions were the new human resources. The Montgomery campus had its first senior this fall, Lizzie Harry of Eutaw, originally a student at Tuskegee, who was to graduate the following May in solitary splendor. Even more interesting to the arriving students this fall than the possession of a senior was the acquisition of a "lady principal," Mrs. Janie McTyeire Baskervill, and her staff of two chaperons. The social life of the students was to be much more fully supervised during the last four years of Dr. Martin's administration. Nearly forty years afterward one of Mrs. Baskervill's younger colleagues on the faculty recalled her as "towering above all the lesser lights," and "a woman of dominant personality, charm of manner, brilliant mind and a wonderful gift in public speech."[119] In her the forces for law and order on the campus found a powerful general.

After the vexing problems of the first difficult year on the new campus, the College advanced rapidly in many ways during the years 1911-1915, although the financing of the new plant still taxed the ingenuity and energies of its president. In spite of the crowded rooming quarters in Flowers Hall and the Cottages, Dr. Martin had increased the enrollment to 128 in the fall of 1911, and therefore felt justified in demanding a dormitory. The Alabama Conference of 1911 authorized the trustees to borrow money for its erection.[120] The cornerstone was laid on May 31, 1912, with an address by Dr. L. C. Brans-

comb, [121] and by the following September Pratt Hall was completed and filled with students. As a result the enrollment had leaped to 175.[122] The new dormitory, whose architectural features harmonized with those of Flowers Hall, was erected at a cost of slightly more than $52,000.[123] It was named in honor of Mrs. Julia A. Pratt of Prattville, Alabama, a loyal friend of the College whose generous offer of ten thousand dollars at a most critical period earlier had helped to make the new College possible.[124]

The opening of Pratt Hall brought a number of changes in Flowers. The removal of Dr. Martin and his family and about 120 girls to Pratt released many improvised bedrooms for classroom use. The dining room and kitchen were moved to the basement of Pratt, and the library filled the newly vacated east wing of the first floor of Flowers, where it remained until the completion of the Houghton Memorial Library in 1930. With no more stoves and pots and pans in the basement of Flowers, the astronomy class conceived the idea of a swimming pool there and initiated the excavation by scooping the first spade of dirt.[125] The rest of the students became interested in the project and contributed funds for it. The pool was presented to the College by the student body of 1914-1915 and named in honor of Dr. George B. Clinkscales, professor of mathematics and astronomy, who was the chief faculty sponsor of the excavation.[126]

The student body increased from 95 in 1910-1911 to 192 by 1914-1915, with no sub-freshmen after 1912. The need for yet further expansion of the College plant was a challenge to the alumnae. As always when there has been a need of more equipment or buildings, the Alumnae Association responded. First organized in 1873, it collected a library for the College, then worked as the "Alumnean Association" to help Dr. Massey build the study and music hall and buy the Annex in the 1880's. It had reorganized to give support to the building of the laboratory in the early 1900's, hoping in vain to erect a combination library and laboratory worthy of being named

for Dr. Massey. Now in 1912 the A. C. F. C. alumnae reorganized again in order to throw their weight behind the new president. Under the leadership of Mrs. May Flowers Steiner as president, they set out to raise funds for a Massey Hall on the new campus.[127] Although this building, originally intended to be a library, was not to be erected during Dr. Martin's administration, the alumnae began to labor for it at this time.

Besides doubling both the student enrollment and the campus buildings, Dr. Martin made a constant fight for recognition of the academic standards of Woman's College. The chief standardizing agency for the College at this time was the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Both the College catalog for 1911-1912 and the Alabama Conference minutes of 1911 announce that this board had ranked Woman's College as an A-grade college. To maintain this rating Dr. Martin was forced to forego the admission of subfreshmen, to raise the number of units required of conditioned freshmen, and to struggle for increased endowment. The College easily qualified for membership in the Association of Alabama Colleges. As early as 1912 the Board of Trustees was asking Dr. Martin to raise the standards to meet those of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and to apply for membership in that agency.[128] Although it was a number of years before the College could win this distinction, it was an advantage to have the goal set so early.

Meanwhile the curriculum was being broadened, though the broadening was often in a direction frowned upon at this time by the Southern Association.[129] There was an increasingly large proportion of courses and instructors in the so-called special departments. In the first year on the new campus seven instructors taught in the fine arts in comparison with ten in the liberal arts.[130] As the course of study broadened to meet the demands of the students, the expansion was often in the special fields. At the end of 1912 the Board of Trustees recommended the immediate establishment of a department of home eco-

nomics, a plan first sponsored in the Executive Board meeting by Fred M. Jackson, a trustee from Birmingham.[131] For the following year the College added the B. S. degree, which allowed a year in home economics to be substituted for one in the literary course. It also introduced certificates of proficiency in home economics as well as in music, art, and expression. To satisfy the vocational needs of the graduates, a two-year teacher-training course was added. The expression classes grew in popularity and size. Woman's College inherited from Tuskegee its reputation of possessing a distinguished music department, and through the years that department continued to be one of its strongest. By 1914 the enrollment in the fine arts was so large that the faculty passed a motion to set up two divisions, the College and the Conservatory.[132] Requirements for the B. A. degree remained the same except for the addition in 1914-1915 of two year hours in English history and three more year hours in Bible. Majors at the end of Dr. Martin's administration included Bible, chemistry, education, English, French, German, history, home economics, Latin, and mathematics.

After the trying first year both the morale of the faculty and the college spirit of the students improved greatly. The attitude of the new teachers who came in the early "teens" was later expressed by Dr. Alfred P. Hamilton, then the red-headed young professor of languages: "The Woman's College was still in the formative stage, and I felt I was there to help give its form and that the work before us was to be of a creative sort."[133] Of course the salary level was still low, since Dr. Martin had to struggle each year to find the necessary funds. In addition, many physical conveniences were still lacking. In the fall of 1913 the faculty was finding it necessary to appoint committees to secure better street car service, the first fire escapes, and satisfactory telephone service.[134]

Most of the faculty sessions were still occupied in voting on new methods of punishing class absentees and in condemning individual unsatisfactory students to the three-hour study hall

held for delinquents each evening in the chapel. But the meetings were cluttered up with other details concerning student discipline and extracurricular activities. Although the Student Committee was revived in 1913-1914 as the "Executive Board of the Student Body," with Mary Dobbs of Talladega as first president,[135] all serious offenses were still reported to the faculty for disciplinary action. For instance, in a series of called meetings in May 1914, the faculty determined that three students "guilty of meeting young men clandestinely on the campus after nightfall" not be allowed to return next year, and in the meantime "remove to the back infirmary and there remain in solitary confinement until 4:15 each afternoon; . . . that all communication with the student body be denied them."[136] As for other more legitimate student activities, the faculty had the deciding word again. "The object of the meeting," declared the secretary of the faculty on May 2, 1914, "was to decide whether in a game any girl playing on the first team should be elegible to play on the second team." (The faculty decided in the negative.) This transitional period in the history of student affairs was not of one-man presidential rule, as at Tuskegee, nor yet of student rule, but largely of faculty rule.

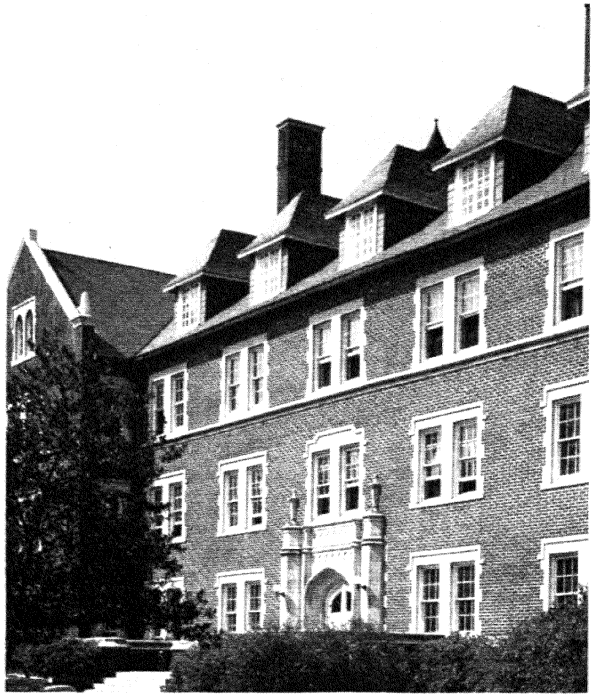
The rise of college spirit seems to have been the result chiefly of the development of a large extracurricular program. When the sororities died in 1913, social clubs replaced them, but the chafing-dish sessions over welsh rabbit and chocolate fudge never achieved the same glamour as under the banners of the national organizations. In the same year in which Dr. Martin gave the axe to the national sorority chapters, the literary societies, which included all students in the College, began to spread their influence. Athletics showed it first. No longer were the teams the Reds and Grays but the Currer Bells and Ad Astras.[137] The literary societies competed for the essay prize at commencement and for numerous other honors.

But the climax of their rivalry each year was the commencement debate, when battles were waged over such subjects as

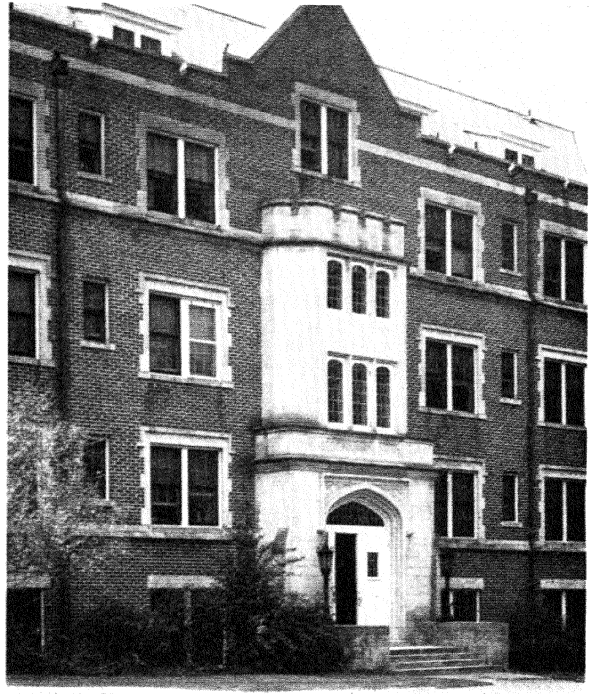


FLOWERS HALL, SOUTH VIEW

Chapel and Cloister



PRATT HALL, ERECTED 1912



HANSON HALL, COMPLETED 1924

"Resolved: That married women should, by productive activity, strive to achieve economic independence."[138] This occasion originated in 1912 but grew more heated as the years went by. The subject was selected early each year and by spring the chosen debaters were hard at work on their speeches, practising their delivery in the privacy of the Hawthorne Hedge.[139] When the evening of the debate arrived, the audience was usually so great that it overflowed into the corridor back to the stone pillars. Groups of eager girls met the guests at the gate and pinned their society colors on them, thus compelling them to pledge their support in advance. In 1914, when the subject was the desirability of married women's securing economic independence, the judges determined that the purple and white of the Currer Bells, represented by Eloise Liddon and Mattie Key, must bow to the gold and blue of the Ad Astras, represented by Louise Caldwell and Wyness Tate.[140]

Among the activities not dominated by the literary societies, some were departmental and some were not. The music department had produced a glee club by 1912 and an orchestra by 1913, the orchestra including among its six violinists freshman Christine McCann photographed in a large hair-ribbon.[141] The expression department at the commencement of 1912 sponsored the first campus Shakespearean production, after first securing the opinion of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees "as to whether it would be fitting to give a play 'As You Like It.' "[142] The English department in 1914-1915 and 1915-1916 sponsored a magazine, *Woman's College Bulletin,* to succeed *The Sagastaon* of A. C. F. C., and encouraged an annual competition among the poets represented in *Bells and Pomegranates.*[143]

Other campus activities varied from the country hikes of the Camp Fire Girls to the militant petitions of the Equal Suffrage Club. The latter organization grew rapidly after the Woman's College girls heard lectures on woman's suffrage in February 1915 from both Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (addressing

the state legislature) and Jane Addams of Hull House. As the *Bells and Pomegranates* of 1915 was to remark, there were advantages in "being near the Capital City."

Among the enduring traditions that originated in Dr. Martin's administration are examples of both the serious and the humorous. The words of the College "Alma Mater" appear first in the first issue of *Woman's College Bulletin* (October 1914) and in the *Bells and Pomegranates* of 1915, an adaptation by Miss Blanche Loveridge, dean from 1914 to 1916.[144] So also does the first account of a "faculty roast," entitled "First Class Vaudeville." According to Miss Lily Byron Gill, member of the faculty 1912-1929, "faculty roast" was an annual event from her first year on the campus.

In the same year in which such unchanging traditions were taking root on the campus, there came a great change in the office of the president. Dr. Martin, after five years of hard work under most difficult circumstances, offered his resignation to the Board of Trustees on March 30, 1915, to take effect at commencement. After a year as vice-president of Ward-Belmont College in Nashville, he was called back to the presidency of the new and larger Sullins College, which position he retained until his retirement in 1952. On later visits to the Montgomery campus, he was still able to laugh good-naturedly over the hardships of the pioneer days of 1910-1915 and at the same time to recall with delight the beauty of the primroses blooming ankle-deep on the Green.

The tribute of the Alabama Conference at the end of his first year on the new campus is appropriate for his entire administration: "Dr. W. E. Martin, the President, deserves our sincere thanks for what he has been able to accomplish under adverse conditions."[145] He had presided over the difficult transition from Tuskegee to Montgomery. For a year or two he had the unpleasant task of reconciling his colleagues and students to a sort of pioneer life. He worked faithfully to finance an enterprise that was more costly than its instigators had dreamed, during a period when the average price of cot-

ton had dropped from 13.9 cents a pound in 1910 to 7.5 cents in 1914.[146] During these trying years he held up democratic ideals in the social and civic life of the students and in his relation with his faculty, erring if at all on the side of kindness rather than firmness. Keeping the College alive during its first years in its new and unaccustomed home was undeniably difficult. Yet in 1915 he handed it on, very much alive though in debt, to its new president, Dr. M. W. Swartz.

VIII. *Economy and World War I*

PRESIDENT SWARTZ

In the fall of 1915, when the guns were rumbling in far-off Europe, the College was in need of a strong business manager to restore its impaired credit and consolidate its gains of the past five difficult years. It found such a man in its ninth president, Dr. Mifflin Wyatt Swartz, a native of Winchester, Virginia, and a classical scholar.

Dr. Swartz, son of a Methodist preacher, had taken the B. A. degree in 1897 and subsequently the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees, all from the University of Virginia, where he won membership in Phi Beta Kappa. His doctoral dissertation was entitled "Personal and Dramatic Characteristics of the Old in the Dramas of Euripides."[1] Later he pursued additional studies in Greek at the University of Chicago. When he came to Montgomery he had served as professor of Latin and Greek briefly in Fort Worth University and Milwaukee Academy, and for eleven years at Millsaps College.[2] He was a man of average size, with dark hair and rather prominent large, round eyes, which glanced out alertly from round, thick-lensed glasses. He talked energetically and walked rapidly, with as much decision if not as much dignity as Dr. Massey. Strangers sometimes thought him brusque, but he quickly won the respect of his

faculty and the loyalty of his students. He placed a firm hand on the reins, especially of the College finances.

As a first measure to restore financial equilibrium on the campus, Dr. Swartz instituted economy, not large-scale economy only but many small economies besides. The trustees had lowered salaries at commencement, but Dr. Swartz now determined to lower household expenses. For a while he drove his model-T Ford down to the city each morning after breakfast and did the necessary marketing himself. To cut down on maid service, he gave instructions that the servants were to clean the bedrooms only once a week. If a new broom, dust pan, or waste basket was needed, it was purchased by the individual faculty member or student, not by the College.[3] It was said humorously at that time that as long as a chair would stand on three legs Dr. Swartz would not replace it. Such economies were probably very necessary, if sometimes startling.

Throughout his administration Dr. Swartz watched the pennies in the College bank as faithfully as the dollars. The dean of the College from 1916 to 1919, Dr. Lena Hawks, records an instance of his efforts at thrift: "I think it was the summer of 1918, when help was difficult to get, that several cars of coal were on the college siding, costing money every day. Finally Dr. Swartz rented some trucks and with Mr. Cawthon Bowen and a couple of Negro men on the campus they hauled all the coal until the cars were empty, Dr. Swartz and Mr. Bowen coming in every afternoon simply black."[4] Dr. Hawks adds that a Halloween skit shortly afterwards discovered Dr. Swartz in Hades shoveling coal. It was in the session 1917-1918 that Dr. Swartz, in an effort to economize and also to relieve a servant shortage, first introduced student waitresses in the dining room.[5] By all these measures and others like them, Dr. Swartz gradually reduced the over-head of running his academic business.

Also in the interest of economy Dr. Swartz erected a number of campus buildings. In the war years, when a part of the Southern Negro population was flocking to the North for

higher wages, he found it expedient to build a row of servants' houses in the campus woods near the present location of the president's home in order to offer the added attraction of free lodging.[6] To provide for his own living at less expense to the College than the rent he was paying for the house on College Court, he conceived in 1919 the idea of building a cheap home on the campus. He bought a ward from the then unoccupied Camp Sheridan hospital for $300, paying another $300 to have it torn down and brought in, and in a short time the frame cottage at the corner of the campus and Woodley Road had been erected as the president's home.[7] Another investment of a similar nature was the building of the brick cottage facing Narrow Lane Road, originally intended as the home of two faculty families, the L. E. Williamses and the Cawthon Bowens, each of which lent the College part of the sum needed for the project.[8] The rental from this house would increase the College income as the president's cottage would decrease the "outgo."

Although Dr. Swartz's first thought was to decrease expenses, his second was to increase income, and one way to achieve this aim he recognized as cautious expansion. In his first summer of canvassing for students, so he reported to the Methodist Alabama Conference in December 1915, he ceased trying to secure new students before the summer was over for fear he should not be able to provide for them.[9] During 1915-1916 Pratt and Flowers were badly crowded with an enrollment of 208 students,[10] compared with 182 the year before. Dr. Swartz therefore fell in immediately with the alumnae's plan to erect Massey Hall, which he conceived as a much-needed dormitory.

Since the reorganization of their association in 1912, the alumnae had been enthusiastically at work throughout the state increasing their funds for a College library to bear Dr. Massey's name. In 1915 their treasurer, Mrs. Mary Martin McAndrews, reported a total of $2,146.05 on hand, much of it collected from newly organized local chapters.[11] The $406.05 contributed that year by the Montgomery chapter, boasting seventy active members, was said to have been "raised by entering a prize contest

in the Montgomery Journal [prize $100], by an apron sale, by dues, by life membership contributions and by voluntary contributions." According to Miss Bessie Teague, the Montgomery chapter at other times in this campaign for $5,000 tapped other sources of revenue. Her father had earlier donated a barrel of sugar which launched the group in the cookie and candy industry. Bazaars and barbecues were sponsored time and again, and for one of the barbecues Miss Teague was emboldened by necessity to carry a recently contributed and very much alive pig to Robinson Springs in the back seat of an automobile.[12] By such methods the enthusiastic graduates of the College had by May 1916 raised their total assets to $3,024.82, in addition to engaging actively meanwhile in the work of collecting books for the library.[13]

By commencement of 1916 Dr. Swartz and the trustees had agreed that an additional dormitory was a more pressing need than was a library building. The Board of Trustees authorized the building of a dormitory to cost not over $47,000 (actually it was to cost over $56,000),[14] and won the consent of the alumnae to divert their funds towards the erection of this building, appropriately to be called the John Massey Memorial Hall.[15] Dr. Massey himself was a great support in securing the dormitory. He had donated to the Alumnae Association his recently published *Reminiscences*, "with all the royalty that may accrue,"[16] and he had agreed to Dr. Swartz's request that the A. C. F. C. endowment fund of $17,500 be borrowed for the building.[17] At this same commencement of 1916 the alumnae presented to the College in a chapel ceremony a portrait of Dr. Massey, which was later to hang in Massey Hall. Afterwards Dr. Massey was guest of honor at a luncheon in the College dining room, at which Mrs. Elizabeth Winston Sheehan was toastmistress. He was as erect as in days gone by, but his eyesight was so badly impaired that he was unable to distinguish one graduate from another until each spoke, whereupon, it is said, he immediately called her name, though in many cases after not having seen her for twenty years.[18]

Although Dr. Massey was growing feeble, he was spared to lay the cornerstone and later to be entertained in the completed building. Actually there were two cornerstones, the official one laid by Bishop James M. McCoy, and the transplanted Tuskegee Female College cornerstone, appropriately laid by the man who had initiated the removal of the College to this new campus ten years earlier. On a sunny afternoon in December 1916, the students, dressed in white and accompanied by the faculty, marched from Flowers Hall to Massey, where Dr. Swartz and the trustees, Dr. Massey and several of the oldest A. C. F. C. graduates, and Bishop McCoy occupied the platform constructed for the occasion. After the singing of the hymn, "Almighty Lord, with one accord we offer thee our youth," Bishop McCoy laid the Massey Hall cornerstone in its traditional place and made the dedicatory address. Next Dr. Massey presided over the placing of the old Tuskegee cornerstone in the vestibule wall of the main entrance.[19] This stone, badly chipped and scarred when the old building in Tuskegee was torn down, had been sent to Montgomery by Dr. Massey, and Dr. Swartz had had it polished and the original inscription, "Tuskegee Female College, February 22nd, 1855," recarved on it. According to the *Montgomery Journal* quoted in the *Bells and Pomegranates, 1917,* which preserves pictures of the event, "While the old A. C. F. C. cornerstone was being placed in the new dormitory, Dr. Massey's words fell as a benediction over the entire audience just as the sun was sinking."

By May of 1917 Massey Hall had been completed, and the alumnae entertained Dr. Massey in the reception room.[20] At only one more Christmas he was to receive his annual shower of cards from hundreds of his graduates, read to him each year now by his daughter, Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb.[21] Writing of him later, Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie said: "As his physical sight grew dimmer, the eyes of the spirit burned with a clearer, more confident light. He sat with folded hands in the midst of his beloved books among whose rich treasures it had been his greatest earthly joy to browse."[22] He died on April 22, 1918, in his eighty-fourth year.

At the time of Dr. Massey's death the residence hall that was to make his name a household word on the new campus had been occupied for not quite a year. Already, however, Dr. Swartz was declaring the need of still another dormitory. The total enrollment of 275 students, an increase of fifty boarding students over the previous year, was all the College could possibly accommodate, he told the trustees.[23] Nevertheless, the following year—1918-1919—saw an increase to 311 students,[24] and 1919-1920 to 362 students.[25] With such yearly increases in enrollment, it is little wonder that by the end of Dr. Swartz's seven-year administration a third dormitory was already being planned, although it was not built until 1924.

Besides realizing the plan for Massey Hall and initiating the plan for Hanson Hall, Dr. Swartz effected one further bit of expansion of a different sort. The rolling campus of fifty-eight and a quarter acres in the yet unincorporated Cloverdale seemed quite sufficient for the needs of the College. One day, however, Dr. Swartz suddenly realized that he must buy at least three more acres. The reason for his sudden resolution was the news that the three acres adjoining the College property on the west were "on the point of being sold to the ladies of Montgomery for a Home for Incorrigibles."[26] As Dr. Swartz explained to the trustees: "By dint of earnest effort I succeeded in preventing the sale, for such use of the property adjoining the college, where fifty or one hundred bad boys and girls are incarcerated, would be injurious to the college and its prospects. The owners of the property make the point that if we are not willing to have them sell to any purchaser they may find, we ourselves should buy. The owners of the property offer it to us for $5,000.00." With the help of contributions raised by Reverend J. E. McCann, Dr. Swartz added the three acres to the campus.

With the expansion of the buildings and campus, Dr. Swartz was concerned also for an expansion of endowment. At the meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in Nashville in October 1916, he had appeared before the committee authorized to grant membership and renewed

the application of Woman's College, which had been before the committee for two years. In his subsequent report to the faculty, Dr. Swartz optimistically "stated that the prospect of our being admitted to membership by the next annual meeting is very encouraging. The only obstacle might be endowment."[27] For many years the chief obstacle remained endowment. In constant efforts to secure the necessary funds Dr. Swartz visited the headquarters of the General Education Board and of the Rockefeller Fund,[28] always securing encouragement but never the great gift he hoped for.

In 1919 the General Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, raised its requirements for equipment and endowment, to take effect in September 1921.[29] In order to retain the A-grade rating of the College with this board it was necessary to enlarge the chemistry laboratory, which was done in the summer of 1919 at a cost of $2,000, and also to secure immediately "a permanent productive endowment of one hundred thousand dollars and [or?] an assured annual income of ten thousand dollars."[30] The Alumnae Association came to the rescue, as so often before, and sponsored a campaign for the $100,000. At the meeting of the Alabama Conference in November Dr. Swartz was able to announce that nearly half the sum was already provided, and at the 1920 session declared that $10,000 had recently been added to the endowment.[31] The following year he reported the promise of a munificent gift. "With good will toward us the General Education Board of New York is now paying five per cent per annum, or $5,000 a year, to this college on its gift previously announced. Surely this will spring us to our utmost to match that $100,000 with raising the $20,000 in the five years' time allowed us in the condition of the gift."[32] But Dr. Swartz was to leave the College before this promise could be realized.

One further financial accomplishment of this administration was the beginning of a definite scholarship program. Scholarships available to students were first listed in the catalog published during Dr. Swartz's first year in office, and others

endowed by individuals and organizations were gradually added during the years. The John Massey Scholarship Fund of $1,000 was established in 1919 by the Alumnae Association.[33]

Even if Dr. Swartz's special interest had not lain in the business management of the College, he was necessarily so preoccupied with business matters that he naturally left the supervision of the curriculum chiefly to the dean.[34] At his first faculty meeting, however, he announced a division between the schools of liberal arts and of fine arts.[35] By thus avoiding for students in the special departments the usual fourteen-unit requirement, he encouraged the rapid expansion of the school of fine arts, of which Miss Lily Byron Gill was in 1919 appointed dean.[36] Another innovation that he suggested early in his second year as more in keeping with the four-year college program of that period was a six-day class schedule, which he put into effect at the beginning of the second semester in spite of the protests of the students.[37] He was responsible, of course, for the revival of the foreign language choice between Latin and Greek, for with his arrival to teach two classes in Greek that language was offered again after being discontinued during the past year.

Under the leadership of Deans Blanche Loveridge (1914-1916), Lena J. Hawks (1916-1919), and Gladys Martin (1919-1922), the faculty tightened the requirements for graduation. Beginning in 1915, only the B. A. degree was offered. Neither freshmen nor sophomores were allowed an option in the history requirement, as in the past, though optional sciences (biology and physics in additon to chemistry) were now introduced for sophomores as well as for juniors. Seniors, who had hitherto been free to choose electives (nine hours with the guidance of major professors and nine of their own choice) from nine departments ("groups"), in 1916-1917 selected three hours from literature of language or science, and three hours from history or philosophy. Students entering with four units of Latin were compelled to continue the subject for one year in college. Requirements for graduation were increased by one

year hour in English and three year hours in history, but the philosophy course and two of the six year hours hitherto necessary in Bible were dropped. All of these changes, recorded in the announcements for 1915-1916 and 1916-1917, remained in effect throughout the Swartz administration except for the additional hour in English, which was dropped in 1920-1921. The year 1917-1918, in which Dean Hawks took office, witnessed an important academic advance. The catalog stated for the first time the graduation requirement of a fifteen-year-hour major and a nine-year-hour minor, instead of a major of nine year hours "together with related subjects," as in the past. Courses in library science and stenography were offered for the first time. In 1920-1921 the sixty-one year hours demanded for a degree were increased to sixty-two hours, including two hours of physical education, for all students beginning with the Class of 1924.

Most of the changes in curriculum, such as the requirement of the minor field in 1922 and the restriction of the number of hours permitted a B. A. candidate in the special subjects,[38] resulted from demands either from the State Department of Education or from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which continued to flirt with its faithful suitor Dr. Swartz. In 1921 the State Department's new requirement of supervised practice teaching for all those seniors desiring teachers' certificates posed one of the most difficult problems of Dr. Swartz and Dean Gladys Martin. They solved it for this year by offering to the crowded Cloverdale School two rooms in Flowers Hall, equipped by the College for grade work, on the condition that for $1,000 in cash the county superintendent allow his supervisor to take charge of the seniors as they did their practice teaching in these two classes.[39] It was left an open question as to what arrangements could be made the following year when the new Cloverdale School Building with its adequate quarters would be completed.

While all these developments were occurring on the campus, the noise of public events became so loud that it began rever-

berating even in the quiet cloisters of Woman's College, behind the big iron front gates so firmly locked at sundown each day. The life of the College was affected more deeply by national affairs of 1916-1919 than it had been since the great war of the 1860's. Although students of the last generation had gathered with curiosity to hear President Theodore Roosevelt speak from a platform of cotton bales in Tuskegee, the student body had never registered any open interest in a presidential election until 1916. The then militantly Democratic *Montgomery Advertiser* noted this interest and its outcome approvingly:

> The young women of the college were very much interested in the recent campaign and no one in the city or State rejoiced more than they in the success of Democracy. When the belated returns came in giving the Presidency to Mr. Wilson for another term the student body of the college called a mass meeting, sang patriotic airs, declared themselves a holiday in celebration of the event and sent the following telegram to the White House:
>
> Hon. Woodrow Wilson, Washington, D. C.: The student body of the Woman's College of Alabama rejoice in your reelection. They have always believed in you and congratulate you upon the outcome of your campaign.
>
> In answer to this telegram they received yesterday an autograph letter from Mr. Wilson as follows:
>
> The White House,
> Washington, Nov. 24, 1916.
>
> To the Student Body:
>
> Allow me to thank you most warmly for your message. It gave me the greatest satisfaction to be so remembered.
>
> Cordially and sincerely yours,
> Woodrow Wilson.
>
> The Student Body, Woman's College of Alabama, Montgomery, Ala.[40]

This letter is preserved in the Huntingdon Room of the College library.

America's entrance into World War I the following April brought excitement of other types to the campus. Most important to the girls, perhaps, it brought Camp Sheridan to Montgomery. When in the fall of 1917 the student body made

their annual pilgrimage to downtown Court Street Methodist Church, dressed as usual in all the heavy finery of new winter clothes on a sweltering September day, the well-chaperoned line caught the eye of lonely soldiers from Ohio. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant, "lady principal" throughout Dr. Swartz's administration, received a letter from a group of these young officers, guaranteeing themselves all college men and requesting permission to meet some of the young women.[41] The College at this time still had strict rules regarding masculine visitors. Under certain conditions friends were allowed to call on Sunday evening, at which time they were entertained in the chapel under the eye of a chaperon stationed on lookout in the small balcony above. The little Green Parlor was available for one couple, a fact which gave rise to a *Bells and Pomegranates* epigram: "A girl in the green parlor is worth two in the chapel."[42] But Montgomery men as yet were granted no privileges of calling.

The request for such privileges by men in Montgomery who had the additional stigma of being both strangers and soldiers alarmed Dr. Swartz. Anxious to retain the reputation of the College as a safe home for girls even during the demoralization of war times, he hastened to Camp Sheridan to explain his position to the commanding officer.[43] As a result the commanding officer stationed two military police, one at each entrance to the campus, every Sunday from one o'clock till seven o'clock, and the College became known to the entire camp as "No Man's Land." Dr. Swartz also made an earnest appeal to the faculty to give him their hearty cooperation in "severing all social relations with Camp Sheridan."[44] In spite of these precautions, if not indeed because of them, at least one student was expelled for a number of offenses including "clandestine meetings with soldiers."[45] The College annual of 1917-1918 satirized the relations with the camp in this fashion: "One of the most boring affairs of the season was the Woman's College-Camp Sheridan dance, which took place in the gym on the evening of February 14. The host of the evening was President

Swartz, who is very much interested in bringing College and Camp in close communication with one another."

The administration and faculty demonstrated their patriotism by other methods than welcoming the soldiers to the campus. Although he refused to allow the students to give musical programs at the camp, Dr. Swartz urged the members of the music faculty to "do their bit," and appointed Miss Gill chairman of a committee to arrange a program.[46] Nearly a dozen instructors volunteered to teach one hour a day at the camp.[47] Faculty members also led the campus drive for Liberty Bonds, which Dr. Swartz offered to buy for them, permitting them to reimburse him by monthly installments without interest.[48] They collected books for camp libraries, and the home economics department, in response to a telegram from Herbert Hoover, announced its determination to conserve food.[49] As patriotism mounted throughout the country, flag-raisings became popular. The city of Montgomery planned such an event, with a patriotic parade, to launch the Third Liberty Loan drive on April 6, 1918, an occasion which it was decided after considerable discussion to allow the students to witness.[50] By this time Dr. Swartz had ordered the erection of a campus flag pole, the appropriate gift of the senior class in 1918, so that the College might have its own flag-raising ceremony. As the program for this event on Thursday of commencement week, the faculty arranged to have patriotic songs, the music of a military band, and speeches by Governor Henderson and General Parker.[51] The flag pole, originally placed at the north end of the oval shrubbery bed in front of Flowers Hall, was later discovered to be rusting and was planted with more care in its present location west of the avenue approaching Flowers.

Flag-raisings and letters from the front so aroused the patriotic ferver of the students that they, too, undertook a variety of war work. On certain afternoons they discarded their starched middy suits and high-topped, pointed shoes for overalls and boots, according to drawings in the *Bells and Pomegranates* of 1918 labeled "War Gardening." Their digging and

planting was not as effective, however, as the work of the student Red Cross unit, presided over by Mrs. L. E. Williams. This unit of 118 members during 1917-1918 contributed $166.02, knitted 82 mufflers and sweaters and 38 pairs of socks and wristlets, and made 1,548 bandages.[52] The four classes kept up a competition in the purchase of Liberty Bonds, the members of the Class of 1920 later boasting that as sophomores they had bought the first Liberty Bond and as juniors adopted the first French orphan.[53] According to Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant, all of the organizations on the campus pledged a total of $3,168 during the war work drive, the largest sum promised by any college in the state and one of the few college pledges in the United States to be paid in full.[54] A great deal of this money was raised by the extra work of individual students. The bulletin board was covered with advertisements of fine laundering, mending, shampooing, manicuring, coaching, and even lessons in fancy dancing, all done to the tune of: "Think of all the giving that the boys have done, and give, girls, that's the style."[55]

All of this war work came to an abrupt and exciting end with the news of the armistice in November 1918. There had been rumors in the city on November 10 of a possible ceasefire, but about five o'clock on the morning of the eleventh newsboys were shouting the accomplished fact. The College night watchman, D. W. Martin, bought a newspaper to verify the report, and as soon as it was light he could wait no longer to announce it. Going down the hall in Massey, he shouted the glad tidings. Mrs. Sturdivant was afterwards to recall vividly what followed.

> There was such a scramble as those halls will never again witness. Girls in pajamas and bed room slippers, with bath robes and without, in various stages of dress and undress, came pouring out of their rooms. Ruth McCann secured the big drum and led a triumphal march across the campus into Flowers Hall, up one staircase to second floor and down the other to go over to Pratt, marching through the halls singing all the popular war songs, then back through Flowers, out the front door to the flag pole. . . .

Immediately after breakfast every one assembled in the Chapel where Mr. Bowen conducted a brief service of Thanksgiving for an end of the horrible conflict.

Scarcely was the service ended when the roar of air planes was heard. Every one rushed out to see the 75 beautiful planes fly over in V formation on their way to drop flowers over the city and participate in the celebration. Plans had been made for a great celebration when Armistice should become a fact, and these were now carried out. All schools gave a holiday. The fountain in Court Square was beautifully decorated by Rosemont Gardens and the basin floored over. This [stand] was assigned to the College girls who were still in quarantine. They were carried down in trucks and automobiles all dressed in white pleated skirts and middy blouses with black or yellow middy ties and little white sailor caps, and it can truthfully be said, added much to the beauty of their setting.

At 9 o'clock that night there was a huge bonfire on the Campus and songs and tableaux. Finally an effigy of the Kaiser was dragged about and beaten and then cast upon the bonfire! Looking back after a lapse of years we wonder at such brutality even to an effigy. But passions were hot in those days and human nature is human nature.[56]

During the month before the armistice celebration the first epidemic of influenza had broken out in Montgomery, spreading rapidly in Camp Sheridan and in the city. Hospitals were overflowing, and nearly all public buildings such as theaters were closed. Dr. Swartz with his usual decision immediately quarantined the College on October 3, having both front and back gates padlocked. When the quarantine was declared, a number of the girls went home and some of the day students moved into the dormitories in order to be allowed to continue their class attendance. During this period no one except the most necessary messengers passed in or out. Dr. Swartz went to the bank and attended to the other necessary college business, and Mrs. Mary Browder, chaperon, shopped and ran errands for students and faculty alike.[57] Only two vehicles were allowed to come within the gates: a wholesale grocery truck appearing once a week with food, and Dr. Swartz's Ford coming every two weeks to take all the male faculty members to the barber shop.[58] Survivors of this hectic period recall only

one violation of the quarantine. A student, seeing her father standing between the outer and inner gates of the College, forgot the quarantine and, opening the inner gate, which happened to have been left unlocked, ran into his arms. She was immediately seized and carted off to Dr. Swartz's home, at that time on the corner of College Court and Fairview, where she was kept until the quarantine was lifted. Fortunately she did not develop flu.[59] The only time the students were allowed to pass through those gates was the memorable day of the armistice celebration when they were isolated in trucks.

As long as the quarantine lasted, the College did not have a single case of flu.[60] But with the approach of Christmas the girls grew restless and so did their parents. Dr. Swartz wrote the parents suggesting that both classes and the quarantine be continued through December, promising to make up the vacation time in the spring. But the great majority of the parents voted that Christmas would not be Christmas without their children at home. So it was that Dr. Swartz, against his better judgment, lifted the quarantine on December 12, even canceling the afternoon gymnasium classes the last few days in order to allow the girls to do their Christmas shopping downtown.[61] Then he and his staff anxiously awaited developments.

Those developments began to occur by the middle of January. The secretary of the faculty recorded them: "A meeting of the faculty was called for 2:15 p. m. January 14th to discuss the critical situation with respect to turning the fourth floors of each of the dormitories into infirmaries in order that the sick might be segregated. A schedule for faculty supervision, until trained nurses could be secured, was made out." Mrs. Sturdivant gave castor oil to all the afflicted ones, recalling later that her first case was the present Dr. Louise Branscomb. A faculty committee was appointed to take all the students' temperatures every night for several weeks, an operation which was said to require three hours each time. By January 20 Dr. Swartz estimated that there had been about seventy cases of flu and that ninety girls had gone home.[62] Mrs. Sturdivant later

thought that before the epidemic abated there were 175 cases of students in addition to faculty, only one of which, however, developed into pneumonia, not a fatal case.[63] After thirty-five years the experience was still vivid in Dr. Swartz's memory. "All the girls were sick, or nearly all of them," he wrote, "and I myself almost went away."[64]

A pleasanter aftermath of the war than the flu epidemic was the welcoming home of the 167th Infantry to Montgomery in the spring, an occasion on which the College students were requested to occupy a special stand and to sing some appropriate songs.[65] By December 1919, when the faculty, upon request, was busy drafting a statement for its congressmen concerning its attitude toward the peace treaty,[66] the students had apparently forgotten the war and were completely engrossed in their usual campus activities. The only reminder of the conflict in the 1919-1920 *Bells and Pomegranates* is the joke assigned to the naive freshman: "Do those three stripes on Dr. Swartz's gown stand for eighteen months in the service?"

Dr. Swartz's administration was a period in which student extracurricular activities developed rapidly. After earlier attempts to manage with a faculty-appointed Student Committee, the faculty in 1914 had agreed that a nominating committee of both faculty and students should choose for each place on the Executive Board of the Student Body two nominees from whom the students would elect their choice.[67] Student government, thus feebly planted, grew stronger under the leadership of an especially active and capable group of girls during Dr. Swartz's period. The Executive Board was now composed of its officers, representatives of the four classes, and the house presidents, all duly nominated as well as elected by the students. The faculty continued to keep the right of the final decision on the punishment for serious offenses, such as cheating, "smoking tobacco and inducing others to do the same," and driving with young men.[68] The faculty also exercised the right of abruptly ending such student activities as they deemed excessive. In the fall of 1916 "it was the sense of the faculty that

hazing for this year should cease at once on the ground that it interferes with college activities and that the president should speak to this effect to the student ringleaders in this sport."[69] (The historian of the Class of 1919, then sophomores, was later to boast that "ratting reached its height that year."[70])

Yet, on the whole, the Executive Board's prerogatives increased considerably during the years that encompassed the First World War. The faculty even honored the board with the perennial subject of its own headaches, the handling of class cuts, as long as the students were willing to attempt it.[71] The honor system as it was interpreted during this period made the Executive Board responsible for reporting all cheating in classes to the teachers of those classes.[72] Student government was given added dignity with the new custom of a public inauguration for the student president. The faculty suggested this innovation in the fall of 1916, and at the commencement of 1917 Olive M. Stone, president-elect for 1917-1918, was the first student to be publicly inducted into this office.[73] After this year the inauguration was an event of May Day. Among the many advancements during the presidency of Olive Stone, who had a genius for organization, was the first Grand Council, a group formed of the heads of all the student organizations on the campus.[74] Through it all of the extracurricular activities except social clubs were for the first time brought under the surveillance of the student government president and into some kind of coordination with each other.

Of these extracurricular activities the oldest, the literary societies established in the 1880's, remained among the most popular. They grew during the war years and immediately thereafter under an increasing degree of faculty supervision. For several years, beginning in 1916-1917, the faculty appointed critics and graders from its own number to attend the society meetings, in an attempt to improve their programs by competition for a loving cup.[75] Of their many activities the commencement debate continued to arouse the greatest enthusiasm, not only among their own members but also among

the faculty and especially the townspeople. Since no event of the year was attended by a larger audience from the city, the faculty anxiously offered more and more privileges and guidance in preparation for it. On March 18, 1919, the faculty ruled that debaters should be excused from final examinations in all subjects in which they had a passing grade. Members of the faculty conferred with the students in the selection of such debate topics as government ownership of railroads, pertinent in 1917.[76] The departments of history and English made an attempt to shift the responsibility for the debaters' speeches back and forth between themselves, finally dividing their duties. On May 16, 1922, the faculty minutes record: "Mr. Dorman reported the debates finished from a historical standpoint, but Miss Byrd reported a lack of literary style as yet."

After the founding of a third literary society in the spring of 1918, the debate became a three-cornered affair. Each year the winner of the past year challenged the society that had not been represented in the last debate. The new society was formed in order to take care of the increasing number of students and was achieved only by appealing to the school spirit of seven outstanding girls in each of the two original societies to act as charter members.[77] The name of the organization they formed was Philokalean, symbolizing "lovers of the beautiful." This name was suggested by Sir Edward Baxter Perry, the blind musician who had joined the music faculty in January 1918.[78] As Professor Perry, this unusual pianist had given lecture-concerts at the College as early as 1893, when it was A. C. F. C.[79] Since that time his concert tours of Europe had won him the honor of knighthood and the decoration of "Chevalier de Melusine" at the hands of Prince de Lusignan. As the only American ever to win this decoration, he was very proud of it and wore it constantly.[80] This former student of Franz Liszt and of Madame Clara Schuman was for nearly four years "professor of musical interpretation and aesthetics" on the campus, and during that time showed a generous interest in many student activities.

The literary societies continued their platform competition for many years, but after the beginning of Dr. Swartz's administration they no longer sponsored the athletic contests. All intramural games were played now among the classes. Tennis, hockey, swimming, and hiking were popular, but basket ball was the best-loved campus sport. In Dr. Martin's administration it had been practised in a large room in the west wing of the second floor of Flowers Hall. By the time Dr. Swartz arrived on the campus, basket ball activities had dislodged a huge piece of plaster in the ceiling below and as a result the new president drove the bloomer-clad teams to an out-door court.[81] But with the acquisition of Massey Hall in 1917 the College provided a gymnasium in its basement, and basket ball enthusiasm rose higher than ever, especially as during the preceding year the first Woman's College varsity had, according to the 1917 *Bells and Pomegranates,* been rounded into shape by Professor L. E. Williams.

It was Mr. Williams, a slender young mathematician new on the campus in the fall of 1916, who conceived and for a number of years executed a program for making the College shine in intercollegiate basket ball. He arranged an annual schedule with Judson, Alabama College, and the co-eds of the University of Alabama, and often included the co-ed teams of Birmingham-Southern, A. P. I., and Peabody also.[82] Of them all the Alabama College team was the opponent most feared and also most liked. These games soon rivaled the commencement debate in the crowds they brought out from town, and excelled it in the intensity of excitement they stirred up. When the match was played on the campus, the galleries of the gymnasium and the sidelines on the floor were a packed mass of cheering spectators. When it was played at a rival college Mrs. Sturdivant's office was crowded all afternoon with girls sending boosting telegrams from every organization in school, besides from many individuals.[83] When the hour arrived at which the game was expected to end, excitement reached its highest pitch. In the eight years during which Woman's Col-

lege engaged in these intercollegiate contests, its varsity won a large majority of the games.[84] Through the years the team gave a great share of the credit for their victories to Coach Williams. Standing quietly to one side, apparently the coolest person at a game, he watched every move intently but rarely spoke a word, and if his team made a mistake or lost a score it is said that he still smiled his cherubic smile.[85]

Among the campus organizations of this era, none was more increasingly active than the Young Women's Christian Association. Its representatives were more widely traveled than the basket ball team and it undertook a greater variety of work than did the literary societies. Besides attending intercollegiate meetings throughout the state, the Y. W. C. A. Cabinet sent a delegate to national sessions as far afield as Des Moines, Cleveland, and Little Rock.[86] The Y. W. C. A. was the only student organization whose achievements Dr. Swartz itemized annually for the trustees. In a sample year such as 1919, he could report that it had sponsored a week's evangelistic services conducted by Dr. Charles Lane, a week of prayer in November and a day of prayer in February, both missionary and temperance meetings, a mission study course, four parties for students, and several chapel programs including a White Christmas service. It had collected for various causes $3,141.67, of which $2,736.27 had been contributed to the war work drive.[87] In other years, when the flu quarantine had not shut them in so closely, its members could report social service at the North Montgomery Settlement House, where they equipped and taught a class in home economics.

White Christmas was first observed in 1916 under the leadership of Y. W. C. A. president Maud Buck. According to the 1917 *Bells and Pomegranates,* which carries a picture of the white-draped platform on this occasion, the first observance was a consecration service. "The chapel was appropriately decorated in white. In the foreground was a white cross, over which in the distance could be seen the Bethlehem Star. The service was opened with the hymn, Silent Night, sung by mem-

bers of the Glee Club who wore white robes and carried candles. After the singing of an anthem, Professor Bowen made a very inspiring talk, the theme of which was the consecration of one's life to Christ as the Christmas gift of the greatest value."

Another Y. W. C. A. tradition of this period was Pill Week, instituted under the leadership of Grace Griffin, president in 1920-1921.[88] Each student drew a capsule containing the name of another student to whom she secretly sent messages and small gifts and to whom her identity was revealed at the end of the week. This device for getting the students (and later the faculty) better acquainted with each other remained popular into the 1940's.

The greatest single accomplishment of the Y. W. C. A. was probably the conceiving and building of a campus social center, to be known as the Hut. On November 3, 1920, Y. W. President Rosa Lee Walston, speaking from the platform in the chapel, unfolded the plans for the project and aroused so much enthusiasm that each student pledged ten dollars.[89] On the estimated cost of $11,000 Dr. Swartz subscribed from the College treasury $1,000. In addition to that sum, the Y. W. C. A. had raised $2,690.05 by commencement of 1921.[90] Until the Hut was completed in the fall of 1922 its members continued to give Christmas bazaars, candy sales, and various kinds of entertainments. Each class pledged its senior gift to be used for the building fund. The Class of 1921 by its efforts raised $500, which it designated for the purchase of ornamental brick chimneys and hearths for the Hut.[91] When the building was finally opened in the fall of 1922, the students could strum their mandolins and guitars in the midst of other gifts—some chairs and rugs from the administration, sofa cushions stuffed by the students, and an immense University of Alabama banner presented by the University student body president, later to be known as United States Senator John Sparkman.[92]

As financiers, the seniors were far the most active students. In the fall of 1919 they began having bimonthly social and

business meetings called Senior Lodge, for which three girls usually volunteered as hostesses.[93] From these and other sessions of their clan they evolved many stratagems. In order to make money for their gift to the College, the seniors annually gave a comedy, sometimes called senior vaudeville, which included a variety of numbers and often ended with a minstrel.[94] As another source of revenue the class continued the tradition of "faculty roast," begun under Y. W. C. A. sponsorship early in Dr. Martin's administration.[95] One of the seniors' most ambitious projects was the Senior Tea Room, created in Massey reception hall in the fall of 1918 to raise money for Liberty Bonds and used by subsequent senior classes for other causes, including the Hut.[96] The girls rooming nearest the reception hall moved their beds and dressers out and installed oil stoves and other kitchen equipment, while they crowded in to live with their friends.[97] The home economics students in the senior class planned the tea room menus for each day and shopped for their supplies where they could get the best bargains. In a short time they were encroaching on the business of the popular tea room on College Court.

The seniors of this World War era established a number of traditions besides senior comedy. They "led" senior chapel, singing "Gaudeamus Igitur" as a processional, and receiving a memory book from the sophomores, to whom they sang the traditional "little sister" song.[98] Once a year they held "Senior Inspection," antecedent of a present well-known senior custom, in this fashion: "SOME GHOSTS aroused every Freshman, Sophomore, and Junior, and Junior again, from her quiet slumbers for a nice promenade in the coolness of 2 A. M. and a stay in the regions unknown. An association with the spooks proved to be fun and the bad part came not from the goblins that might hurt [but] from the unsympathetic faculty the next morning who strangely are not accustomed to Senior Inspection!"[99] For the seniors of 1920 Fred Cramton of Montgomery built the Crow's Nest, a tree house below the Green,[100] a popular student retreat until it finally rotted down in the early

1940's. By 1921 the custom of Senior Howl was established.[101] This brief pre-commencement house-party in the country was later provided each year at Camp Rotary by the same kindly Mr. Cramton and, like the tree house, endured as a College institution until the early 1940's.

From Dr. Martin's administration the student body had inherited two publications: the yearbook, *Bells and Pomegranates*, and the literary magazine with news features, *Woman's College Bulletin*, published six times in 1914-1915 and five times in 1915-1916.[102] In the fall of 1916 the magazine took a new name, *Wo-Co-Ala*, suggested by the head of the English department, Miss Zoe Dobbs.[103] Its first editor, nominated by the senior class and approved by the faculty, was Carolyn Lane.[104] Each issue was bound in gray paper with its title in bright red Chinese lettering.[105] By 1917-1918 the magazine was succeeded by a newspaper, which took the name of *Wo-Co-Ala News*, a title it was to retain until it became *The Huntress* in December 1936. It was published three times a month and its first editor was Louise Burns, who, with all her staff, was nominated by the English faculty.[106]

Several other campus institutions originated during these eventful war years. Mary Pepper's "College Song," with its chorus beginning "Hail to thee, O Woman's College," came into general use and became so popular that the *Wo-Co-Ala News* questioned the students as to the advisability of its supplanting the "Alma Mater."[107] In 1918 the first scholarship society was organized on the campus, the Distinguished Scholarship Order, proposed and named by Miss Zoe Dobbs.[108] Eligibility as originally determined by the faculty required three years of college work and a "majority of A's, with not more than five B's for the three years work" and a resulting forfeiture of membership if the honored one chalked up more than one B during her senior year.[109] At the commencement of 1919 a new event was the luncheon given the Distinguished Scholarship Order.[110]

The first May Queen also belongs to this period. May Day observance was by no means standardized as yet, although some kind of play was usually presented on the chapel stage. For May 3, 1916, a "Shakespeare Festival" was planned, and for the 1920 May Day fete a performance of Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen's play "The Battle of Mobile," was agreed on in the preceding fall.[111] In 1921 a May Queen was crowned for the first time. Edith Shields was notified that she was to receive this honor. "We had lots of fun keeping it a secret," Zora Ellis, one of her two roommates, later wrote, "deciding on what she should wear, and helping her write a speech to say when she was crowned."[112] After the crowning of this first May Queen on the Green, each class gave a pageant composed of colorful folk dances.[113] Then a herald blew a trumpet and the new student body president, Marion Neal, was inaugurated. During the early 1920's the sophomores always placed May baskets of flowers outside their senior sisters' doors early on the morning of May Day.

Departmental clubs, Camp Fire groups, and social clubs sprang up through the late "teens" and early twenties. The 1916 *Bells and Pomegranates* lists the History, Chemistry, and Mathematics Clubs, besides the old Shakespeare Club and the Glee Club. The Shakespeare Club produced Shakespearean plays under the direction of Miss Virginia Garner, and the Glee Club went on tour in the charge of Miss Marie Van Gelder.[114] In the following years Music, French, Art, Philosophy, and Dramatic Clubs arose, and an orchestra reappeared in 1917-1918. But the social clubs were more numerous and more popular. Surviving from Dr. Martin's administration were the D. I. K., Kewpie Club, X Club, Breakers Club, and S. O. L. Club, and added to them in the year 1915-1916 were the Double Six, Zwisters, and Zig Zag Clubs.[115] As memberships graduated, some of these clubs became extinct and new ones were formed. By 1918-1919, when the girls were enamoured of black silk clocked hose and *The Sheik*, a Pan-Hellenic council

was considered necessary. By 1921-1922 Dr. Swartz granted permission for the social clubs to become local sororities in name as well as fact.[116]

In a period when the heavy iron gates were locked every Sunday afternoon and when the *Literary Digest* could ask faculties, "What are the causes of and remedies for the evils of modern dance?"[117] the president, the faculty, and even the trustees felt a certain responsibility for making their own contributions to the girls' restricted social life. In the fall of 1916 Dr. Swartz created a diversion by taking a group of students and faculty on an expedition to Mammoth Cave.[118] The faculty as a whole, usually under the direction of Miss Lily Byron Gill, provided an exciting entertainment each fall in its Halloween party for the students. This party was first given in the fall of 1917.[119] The usual procedure was to escort the students, who were both giggling and quaking, down to the darkened swimming pool, filled with bedsprings for the occasion. After a period in the "torture chamber" the faculty led their victims to the chapel, where they threw off their disguises as witches and ghosts and gave a vaudeville that the students always applauded hysterically.[120] In the twenties the setting of the party was moved to the "gym" in Massey.

The faculty also made some conservative attempts to introduce their cloistered charges to socially eligible young men of Montgomery. In the fall of 1917 they resolved "that once a month a formal reception be given to the students and their friends, and that after recitals the young ladies be permitted to talk to the young men for only ten or fifteen minutes."[121] In the fall of 1920 a committee, consisting of Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant, Mrs. Mary Browder, and Miss Lily Byron Gill, was appointed "to devise ways and means of getting up a list of the young men who would be permitted to visit the young ladies at the College."[122] The faculty perceived both the delicacy and the awkwardness of the task. After much discussion "it was deemed best to get a list of callers from the girls and have the faculty pass on them. In case certain ones were not

known to the faculty Dr. Swartz is to ascertain the type of men they are by consulting some of the men in town."[123] On February 21 Miss Gill was finally able to announce that the entertainment for these carefully selected young men of Montgomery would take place on the following Saturday evening. The occasion was evidently a success, for in the following fall invitations were sent out for another reception to be given "the young men of the calling list."[124] Meanwhile the 1921 *Bells and Pomegranates* celebrated the innovation by announcing: "Old social regime ends with a reception in honor of Montgomery beaux."

Even some of the trustees felt impelled to make a contribution to the social life of the students. Alumnae from this era recall both M. B. Houghton's annual picnic in their honor at his home, Morningview, and Fred M. Jackson's annual ice cream party on the campus,[125] a custom that he was to continue until his death on May 3, 1945.

One further occasion that the students looked upon as an annual social event was President's Day, as they named it. When they discovered that October 12 was Dr. Swartz's birthday, they began treating themselves to a holiday at that time. The event was usually celebrated by a day in town, relaxation in the dormitory, or a hike and picnic in the balmy Indian summer weather, according to the whim of the students. After tolerating this maneuver good-naturedly for a few years, Dr. Swartz sent an annual request to the Executive Board to forestall such action, though always in vain.[126]

In the fall of 1922 the students felt especially justified in observing the day in honor of Dr. Swartz, for it was to be his last birthday on the campus. At the commencement in May they had been saddened by the announcement of his resignation. He was still with them in October because, out of courtesy to the trustees, he had agreed to remain in charge until his successor could arrive in that month. Laughing over his failure on October 12 to enforce the usual class schedule, Dr. Swartz said: "Be it resolved, that my successor, Dr. Agnew, be so fortunate

as to have been born within the dates June first and September tenth—unless he like holidays."[127] The students considered it fitting that Dr. Swartz, with whose encouragement they had built the Hut, was still on the campus on the first evening it was opened for inspection, October 14. On Sunday evening, October 15, he was honor guest there at both the Y. W. C. A. meeting and the Senior Lodge.[128] The following morning he graciously welcomed the newly elected president, Dr. Walter D. Agnew, to the College, and immediately left with Mrs. Swartz for their new home in Jackson, Mississippi. He had taken a position with the Building and Loan Association in Jackson, where he was to become a valued official. Within a few years he was offered the presidency of the People's Bank of Indianola, Mississippi, and in 1954 he is still active in this position.

Although Dr. Swartz made many other contributions during his seven years on the campus, he is remembered most for his services as an economical and systematic manager. He placed the College on a business-like basis, cutting its budget so that its running expenses, if not its building program, could be met each year within its income. He restored its credit in town and put it on a firm footing for the period of development that it was now about to experience.

IX. *Expansion and Depression*

PRESIDENT AGNEW

THE NEW PRESIDENT whom Dr. Swartz welcomed to the campus on October 16, 1922, was destined to lead the College through one of the most dramatic periods in its history. In the sixteen-year administration of Dr. Walter D. Agnew the College was to experience in almost equal proportions the fulfillment of the boom years and the frustration of the Great Depression.

Born in Littleton, Illinois, the son of a Pennsylvania father and a Virginia mother, Dr. Agnew had spent most of his adult life in Methodist colleges. He took his B. A. degree in 1897 from Chaddock College in Quincy, Illinois, and his S. T. B. degree in 1901 from Boston University, at both of which schools he developed the theological liberalism that was to distinguish him in Alabama.[1] Shortly after his marriage to Mary Baker, daughter of Reverend and Mrs. B. W. Baker, he was admitted to the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church, but he was called to devote a great part of his life to administrative work in Methodist colleges. Before coming to Woman's College of Alabama he had served as president of Wesleyan College in Missouri, as dean of the University of Chattanooga, and as president of Hedding College in Illinois. He had re-

cently completed both the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees at Columbia University, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation on college administrative programs. Fresh from these studies he came in the fall of 1922 to Montgomery. According to the *Wo-Co-Ala News,* his introductory talk in chapel "was warmly received by the students, who recognized in Dr. Agnew a president with not only ability and culture, but a very charming personality."[2] The 1923 *Bells and Pomegranates* spoke of the seniors' sadness over Dr. Swartz's departure but declared that they "soon learned that Dr. Agnew, too, had a sympathetic heart and a helping hand."[3]

The general policy of the new president was one of expansion. He saw that Woman's College was the only college for whites in the capital city of Alabama—in fact, the only one in the entire area of south Alabama and west Florida, except for the Catholic college at Spring Hill. The sixty-one-acre campus was occupied as yet by only an administration building, two dormitories, a student social center, and two faculty residences. The new president had the imagination to see what Woman's College might mean to the city and the region if it were expanded, physically and otherwise, to meet the demands of both. Such an expansion, he realized, could not be financed by making small economies but must be accomplished by securing larger and more stable income.[4] To this end he set about extending the College's sphere of influence by cultivating friendly relations with the city through greater participation in civic activities and by giving the College more planned publicity throughout the state. For example, on the occasion of Governor William Brandon's inaugural parade in the following January Woman's College was represented by students with elaborate floats. (The sophomore float showed Minerva relentlessly driving an unhappy girl on to Education.)[5] One of the first attempts at broader publicity was a then novel radio broadcast by the fine arts faculty. Dr. Agnew counted on city and state financial campaigns and on patient applications to endowment agencies to produce the necessary income eventually.

Meanwhile the program for physical improvement and expansion was rapidly initiated. It began with the campus, which in the early twenties was still chiefly a large pasture. On it J. C. Moore, superintendent of buildings and grounds, and his assistants annually harvested a hay crop of from seven to eight hundred bales.[6] They often found it difficult to get the hay baled because the College girls liked to play in it, thereby giving the men the job of reshocking the crop. Besides the hay field, there was a dairy barn located in the southwest section of the grounds where the heating plant was later to be built—the same barn in which some ten years earlier a stranger had discovered President Martin milking and asked where he might find the president of the College. By the fall of 1923 the Board of Trustees agreed, on the motion of M. B. Houghton, that the president be instructed to dispose of the cattle owned by the College,[7] and eventually the barn was razed.

Another request that Dr. Agnew made of the trustees almost annually was for a landscape gardener who would plan the beautification of the campus. In January 1923 "a reasonable expenditure was authorized for landscape gardening," according to the minutes of the board.[8] It was made chiefly in procuring and planting pecan trees to the north and west of Massey Hall and forest trees at other places on the campus.[9] In February 1925 Judge W. H. Thomas, authorized by the board, had additional pecan trees planted,[10] and two years later a hundred others were added, besides many forest trees.[11] J. C. Moore dynamited holes in which to set the pecan trees, and brought back from hunting trips many of the yellow poplars, dogwoods, cottonwoods, and sycamores and some of the oaks that cover the campus.[12] Under Mrs. Agnew's direction, he grew Massey Hall's cedars in little tin cans until they were large enough to set out, and planted many of the campus shrubs. Through the years Mrs. Agnew gave constant care to the beautifying of the campus.

Since the new president had been unable to take charge of the College until after the 1922 fall semester began, he was forced to wait until the following summer to carry his improve-

ment program into the buildings. He reported to the Board of Trustees: "The college buildings are all somewhat out of repair. Some new floors are needed and much painting should be done to improve the sightliness of the buildings and prevent rapid deterioration. The Executive Committee has authorized the expenditure of $1,000 for this purpose."[13] When the students returned in the fall of 1923 the campus newspaper editor reported: "Every one was delighted when they entered the dormitories to find new runners on the steps, clean walls, painted floors, new shades, brooms, waste paper baskets and dust pans. 'What's going to happen? Brooms! Goody. Now I won't have to go all over third to borrow one. Guess we'll have to keep our rooms spic and span now.' "[14] As no pianos had been bought since President Martin's first year, thirteen were purchased,[15] and gradually equipment of other types was added.

These improvements were a prelude to a vigorous program of developing the College buildings and grounds. The boom years, which witnessed an era of building throughout the country, brought to the yet comparatively undeveloped campus in Montgomery a president who was essentially a builder. Under his leadership the number of structures on the campus was doubled by the end of the 1920's.

The first and most constant encouragement for this program came from the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees. Fred M. Jackson of Birmingham, at this time president of the Perfection Mattress Company and chairman of the executive board of the National Cast Iron Pipe Company,[16] was himself a builder. In his youth, perhaps while he was a student of Dr. John Massey at the Centenary Male Academy, he had caught a glimpse of what the church-related college could contribute to the good life, and in his mature years he gave active support as trustee and friend to both Birmingham-Southern and Woman's College. He was a member of the original commission to establish Woman's College on its new campus in Montgomery, and through the years he had

been one of the guiding hands on the Board of Trustees. It was he who suggested Dr. Agnew for the presidency, and in Dr. Agnew's administration he became the best friend and the most generous benefactor the College had yet known.

The students and faculty were less conscious of Mr. Jackson's frequent gifts to building and endowment in the 1920's than they were of the time and friendly interest he gave so generously. He made frequent visits to the campus, where he became acquainted with all the faculty and as many of the students as possible. The train from Birmingham was scheduled to arrive at noon each day, and so when the students began a hearty clapping at lunch every one knew that Mr. Jackson had entered the dining room.[17] He won his popularity chiefly by giving an ice cream party for the student body every fall and individual gifts to the seniors at each commencement. But he showed his thoughtfulness of the students in many other ways, too. He established the dormitory housekeeping prizes, which he permanently endowed in 1923.[18] In 1926-1927, when students of Miss Minna Grote's embryology class wished to study the development of the chicken in the egg, Mr. Jackson erected at his own expense the houses for the chickens hatched from eggs contributed by Mrs. F. G. Bridges of Notasulga, and when they wished to sell their charges at the end of the year Mr. Jackson bought them for fifty dollars.[19] On a tour of Europe in 1928, he bought a telescope for the College in London.[20] Earlier, when the president recommended to the trustees that the ground next to Flowers Hall should be graded and the driveway from the gate to and around Flowers Hall should be paved,[21] Mr. Jackson came forward with plans for the project, including also a driveway to Pratt Hall and sidewalks for the campus, towards which he contributed the sum of $25,000.[22]

The contribution for which future generations will best remember Mr. Jackson is the College infirmary. The Miriam Jackson Home was the first building to be erected in the Agnew administration and symbolized the initiation of the expansion program. Its beginning was a campus occasion. "After

lunch Thursday," said the *Wo-Co-Ala News* of September 25, 1923, "the school assembled on the ground where the building is to be and Mr. Jackson cast the first shovel of dirt. Dr. Agnew and Mr. Jackson made impressive talks." The ceremony was concluded with the singing of "America" and the "Alma Mater." During the winter months Dr. Agnew had what he called "the strange experience of watching a building go up on the campus as if by magic, without having the slightest worry to provide the money for labor or equipment. In all our twenty years' experience in college administration, we have never known a college benefactor to take the complete responsibility of financing an enterprise of this kind."[23] When the building was completed at a cost of nearly $42,000, Mr. Jackson equipped it in every detail from hospital beds to bandages. At the formal dedication of the Miriam Jackson Home on March 6, 1924, it was observed that "a spirit of optimism and enthusiasm pervaded the entire program."[24] Woman's College was now one of the first Southern colleges to possess a well-equipped infirmary building, and the spirit of optimism and enthusiasm aroused by this distinctive gift was to pervade the entire expansion program of the 1920's.

The next building must of necessity be a dormitory. Crowded conditions in the residence halls had already dictated a campaign for building funds in the city in the spring of 1921, with the hope of erecting what Dr. Swartz had planned to name Montgomery Hall, but the effort had been unsuccessful.[25] By the fall of 1923 about $10,000 had been collected on pledges made in that campaign, and it was estimated that other subscriptions of at least the same amount were yet collectable.[26] In an intensive three-weeks campaign in October 1923 pledges for a little more than $50,000 were secured for the new dormitory. Of this amount the faculty subscribed $1,250. Victor Hanson of Birmingham, who had given the campaign generous space and support in his *Montgomery Advertiser,* made the largest single contribution, $10,000, on condition that the dormitory bear his wife's name, Weenona Hanson.[27] At the

suggestion of the architect, Frank Lockwood, Hanson Hall was to be connected with Pratt Hall in order to provide basement space for a large kitchen joining the dining hall in Pratt. Late in January, while the walls of the Miriam Jackson Home were going up, ground was broken nearby, quietly and without ceremony, for Hanson Hall.[28] The expense of the building was estimated in advance at $75,000, but when it was completed in the fall it actually cost nearly $114,000, besides which the College paid $13,000 for equipment.[29] With its living quarters arranged in suites of two rooms and a bath, Hanson Hall was considered one of the most up-to-date residence halls in any college in the South. This dormitory, with the addition of the remodeled house on Woodley Road,[30] which was to serve for several years as Faculty House, took care of the immediate overflow of students and staff, and made possible a new peak enrollment of 555 in 1924-1925.[31]

After acquiring three buildings within the second year of his administration, Dr. Agnew and his trustees paused in the program of physical expansion to give their chief attention for a few years to financial expansion, now demanded by the standardizing agencies. In order not to lose its much prized A-grade rating with the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the College was forced to raise its endowment to $250,000 by 1925. Since the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, whose approval the College had coveted for many years, required twice that amount, it was determined to set the objective of an endowment campaign at $500,000.[32] The current endowment was only about $50,000, not providing enough income to cover the annual interest on the building indebtedness of over $70,000 inherited from the preceding administration and now gradually being liquidated.[33] Dr. Agnew was confident that the new standards of the Board could be reached. He told the trustees: "Since the conditional gift of $100,000 from the General Education Board of New York must be secured, if at all, by January 1, 1927, let us set this date as the time by which

we shall undertake to secure the full amount of $500,000 endowment. It is a reasonable expectation that we shall secure $200,000 from the Educational Movement Fund, which is already subscribed. This together with the gift of $100,000 from the General Education Board, would leave us with only $200,000 to secure in additional contributions."[34]

The two campaigns for endowment and debt-liquidation were successful. The first, to satisfy the Board of Education of the Methodist Church, was waged intensively in the spring of 1925 to meet the April 10 deadline set by the Nashville officials, and produced more than the first $100,000 necessary.[35] The second, to reach the $500,000 endowment or its equivalent in productive income as required by the General Board of Education in New York, went more slowly, but in the end it too was a triumph for the College. Miss Bessie Teague quietly presented several thousand dollars in bank stock. Mr. Jackson stood back of both campaigns, always stimulating other gifts by his own contributions. He secured a gift of property valued at $25,000 from the Munger estate, and by his own conditional gift he challenged the supporting Methodist conferences to grant an increase in appropriations.[36] He himself gave a total of $115,000 in cash and stocks.[37] In addition he personally endorsed some temporary notes that the College was compelled to give the banks,[38] and, in the last days before the offer of the General Education Board was to expire, came forward with a loan of $10,000 to cancel the balance of the College debt, a loan that was paid back to him as the pledges materialized.[39] In each separate emergency Mr. Jackson stepped into the breach—few people on the campus realized how often.

Clear with the banks and clear with the church Board of Education, the College found it was still not clear with the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Now that it had satisfied the Southern Association's endowment requirement, it turned to another assignment—to enlarge the science department.[40] Since the quarters that the departments of biology, chemistry, and physics occupied in Flowers Hall

were not capable of expansion, the only solution was to erect a new building. Nearly two years earlier Dr. Agnew had expressed to the trustees his consciousness of the need of such a building. "We dare not even hesitate," he said, "until we have erected four additional buildings,—a science hall, a fine arts building, a library building, and a building to house our secondary demonstration school."[41] At the time, however, the most pressing need was endowment, and so the renewal of the building program had to wait. Now, with the stimulus of the Southern Association's ultimatum and with the encouragement of "good times" still on every side, it was possible to return to the task so congenial to the president and to the leaders of the trustees. During the two years from the spring of 1928 through the spring of 1930 the College engaged in three more building projects: a science building, a library, and the central heating plant that these additional buildings made necessary.

Already, in the spring of 1927, the second phase of the building program had been launched by the erection of the campus Little Theater. The Pierrette Club, established in 1922 by the director of dramatics, Miss Virginia Sherman, had conceived the need for a small, well-equipped laboratory for play production and had assisted in raising the $1,871 that it cost.[42] It was a decided asset in the workshop movement soon to develop, and it remains one of the most distinctive features of the speech department.

Dr. Agnew presented to the trustees at their mid-year meeting the general plan for "a building enterprise which is essential in order to meet the requirements for membership in the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States," declaring he was not in favor of entering upon any program elaborate enough to require another mortgage on the property.[43] At its 1928 commencement meeting Mr. Jackson addressed the board on the necessity of proceeding at once with the building of a science hall, a library, and a new heating plant and laundry, presenting figures to show that the resources available would be at least $200,000. On his motion the board

authorized the Executive Committee to push this building program as speedily as possible, and to secure temporary loans from the banks for necessary funds.[44] Mr. Jackson himself immediately gave $15,000 on the cost of the science hall. Later Mrs. W. A. Bellingrath donated $25,000, in appreciation of which the building was named Bellingrath Hall.[45] At this 1928 meeting of the board Harry S. Houghton and Robert G. Arrington appeared as representatives of the heirs of M. B. Houghton, an active member of the Board of Trustees and treasurer of the College until his death on November 4, 1925. For the construction of a library to be known as the Houghton Memorial Library, they offered $70,000 on the condition that the College pay any cost in excess of that amount.[46] The second phase of the building program of the 1920's seemed to have begun auspiciously.

When Frank Lockwood, earlier the architect for Hanson Hall and the Miriam Jackson Home, offered his estimate of the expenses necessary to build the science hall, the library and the heating plant, the total, including architect's fees, ran to about $240,000. As a result it was necessary to borrow not $32,000, as originally intended, but $100,000,[47] for which the First National Bank required a mortgage, authorized by the Board of Trustees at the 1929 commencement to include the west side of the campus.[48] It was this mortgage executed in the last optimistic boom days of 1929 that was to hang heavy over the College throughout the Great Depression now lurking, unsuspected, just around the corner.

At the moment there were no fears for the future. There were only excitement and relief over the fact that, with Bellingrath Hall actually completed, at a cost of $85,000, and occupied early in December 1928, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, in session at Fort Worth that same month, had admitted Woman's College to its membership at last.[49] Among many celebrations of this event the most original was perhaps the May Day pageant of the following spring. "Womans College Unbound," written by Frances Tur-

ner, with choreography by Miss Katherine Hardeman of the physical education department, dramatized in eleven interpretive dances the stages through which the College had passed in its struggle for recognition, concluding with its triumph.[50] In the birthday celebration held for Dr. Agnew on December 9, a few days after his return from Fort Worth, a student speaker in chapel declared, "Dr. Agnew's years of work at the college have just reached a climax in the recent recognition given the college by the Southern Association of Colleges."[51] His program for physical expansion as well as for academic recognition certainly achieved its peak about this time. The central heating plant had been built in the fall of 1928 at a cost of nearly $60,000,[52] and plans were already under way for the beautiful $76,000 Houghton Memorial Library, which was dedicated on April 23, 1930, in a ceremony at which more than forty colleges were represented.[53] One other structure was to be added later in the administration—Trimble Hall, a faculty apartment building for which the will of John E. Trimble provided a gift of $25,000 in 1936.[54]

This program of physical and financial expansion in the 1920's was accompanied by a curricular expansion. Additions to the curriculum were dictated partly by the standards of the president and the faculty and partly by the State Department of Education's certification requirements and the Southern Association's rulings. In 1923 the Bachelor of Music degree was added in an attempt to strengthen the music department. The School of Fine Arts, already strong, possessed during the following year fourteen regular teachers under Dean Lily Byron Gill in comparison with sixteen in the College of Liberal Arts directed by Dean L. E. Williams.[55] In 1929-1930, however, the divisions of the School of Fine Arts were reduced to departmental status within the liberal arts curriculum, as demanded by the Southern Association.

Among other scholastic changes, the dean's office in 1924-1925 adopted as the unit of credit the semester hour instead of the year hour. Academic standards were raised in 1928-1929

when the faculty ruled that a candidate for graduation must have earned as many quality points as semester hours, thus requiring an average grade of C. (A was equivalent to three quality points, B to two, C to one, and D, the lowest passing grade, to none.)

Several changes accompanied the evolution of the practice-teaching class required by the State Department of Education for the teacher-certification of graduates. After paying $2,000 to the County Board of Education for the privilege of placing student-teachers in the schools and subsequently receiving unsatisfactory cooperation, the College authorities saw nothing to do except establish a model secondary school of their own.[56] In 1923 they bought land on Fairview Avenue, running west from College Street, for the purpose of erecting a building for the model school sometime in the future.[57] In the meanwhile classes for the "prep school," as it was called, were held in the basement of the new Miriam Jackson Home, and dormitory quarters for these younger students were provided on the third floor of Flowers Hall. After five years of diplomatic dickering, the College persuaded County and City Superintendent W. R. Harrison to admit Woman's College students for observation and substitute-teaching in the local schools.[58] The arrangement, which was soon changed to include regular practice-teaching, worked out satisfactorily for all concerned. As a result the model school was discontinued in 1929.

Other departments also grew and changed during the 1920's. In the first year of the new administration the department of Bible and religious education was expanded, a development that was cheered by the Board of Trustees.[59] Meanwhile the College continued training students for religious education work in its regular Sunday School program. It was announced also in this first year that the College planned to create majors in home economics, biology, sociology, and philosophy, and later in physics and chemistry.[60] L. E. Williams, dean of the College from 1922 until 1937, worked as steadily as he could toward these ends, achieving all except philosophy and physics

in the next few years. Within the first two years eleven faculty members were added, and throughout the decade the percentage of advanced degrees in the faculty was constantly increased. In this way a teaching staff was provided to keep pace with the growing number of courses offered and also with the increasing number of students who flocked each year through the entrance of Flowers Hall.

By the end of the decade the administration was called upon by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools to place special stress on the hitherto comparatively neglected natural sciences. Bellingrath Hall was erected for the purpose of enlarging the laboratories in order to provide for the increased number of courses specified by the Southern Association. Dean Williams, declaring that he had no desire to appear partial to any department, explained in a faculty session that "the crisis in the life of the college, however, demanded that special effort be made to build up science courses, particularly in biology and physics."[61] Dr. Harry C. Heath was brought in at the beginning of this 1928 fall semester to develop the department of biology.

The B. S. degree was added in 1930-1931 in order to give degree status to specialists in art, home economics, physical education, public school music, and speech, in which fields it had hitherto been possible to secure only certificates of proficiency. This B. S. degree differed from the B. A. in requiring only six semester hours of mathematics or science instead of six hours of mathematics and fourteen hours of science, and only six semester hours of Bible instead of eight hours of Bible and religious education. In order to strengthen the bachelor of arts program, it was withdrawn in 1938 at the beginning of the following administration. The B. M. degree was offered to majors in theoretical and applied music until 1936-1937.

While Woman's College was occupied in this expansion program of the 1920's its president was interested also in the expansion of what he liked to call the expressional life of the students. In his doctoral research at Columbia University he

had given special study to the extracurricular program of college-age students, and he brought to Woman's College his concern to promote personality development through individual and group counseling and leadership in group activities.[62] His administration was to be especially distinguished for the growth in extracurricular activity.

In this as in the curricular reforms Dr. Agnew found the task was congenial to his faculty, who gladly supported him. At one of the first faculty meetings in the fall of 1923 he outlined his conceptions of the coordination and development of student activities.[63] He called a meeting of the town students, at which he encouraged them to organize and to secure representation on Grand Council.[64] In the fall of 1924 he and the faculty, in the interests of campus democracy, rejected the petition of a student committee for the introduction of sororities.[65] Later he discussed with the faculty the necessity of preventing a coterie of girls from directing all the college activities and the advisability of urging classes and clubs to use a budget system in planning their functions.[66] In 1928 he called a meeting of heads of departments to discuss club life.[67]

In order to encourage leadership as well as scholarship the faculty set aside the old Distinguished Scholarship Order in favor of a new honor society, representing the three requirements of scholarship, spirit, and service by the Greek letters Sigma, Sigma, Sigma, as suggested by Dean Williams.[68] The charter members of Tri Sigma were members of the Class of 1925: Virginia Drewry, Zuleika Eanes, Mildred Lock, Annie Parker, Elizabeth Smith, Gertrude Stanford, Margaret Tate, Madolyn Troup, and Nadine Turnipseed.[69] The ritual for its annual installation ceremony was composed in 1932 by Annie Campbell Hale. Its constitution has been frequently revised by the faculty through the years, but the general purpose of Tri Sigma in encouraging a well-balanced college life has remained the same.

In the fall of 1924 the College created the position of social director, to which Miss Clara B. Williams was appointed. While

Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant, called "lady principal" throughout Dr. Swartz's administration but dean of women from 1922 until her retirement in 1929, was to be responsible for the dormitory life of the girls, Miss Williams was assigned the task of stimulating student activities. Her most enduring contribution was the campus institution of Fire Frolic, which was introduced on October 23, 1925.[70] The ceremony was inspired by Miss Williams' natural liking for pageantry, by her years of experience with Camp Fire celebrations, and particularly by an impressive Japanese lantern parade and ceremony that she once saw at a Y. W. C. A. camp. In the 1920's the College Fire Frolic began with a picnic supper for each class and for the faculty around five separate fires in the "valley," near the present location of the heating plant. After the supper, accompanied by an exchange of singing among the five groups, there was the parade. According to Miss Williams, each group carried a different kind of light, and the whole ceremony, then as now, symbolized each student's pledge of loyalty to the College.

> The seniors had Japanese lanterns, the freshmen sparklers, the faculty candles, etc. The procession did not go immediately to the Chapel, but took a circuitous route, then filed into the Chapel for a Student Government program and ceremony. Perhaps my main objective was to add to the prestige of Student Government. I recall that everyone took a pledge of loyalty and signed the constitution at a lighted table near the stage. The officers of the Student Government seemed to feel that this occasion had real value in binding the students more closely to each other and to the college.[71]

In the late 1920's many campus organizations achieved distinctive innovations. Under the leadership of their president, Charlotte Hereford, the students studied and revised the constitution of student government. The Athletic Association, stimulated chiefly by Miss Dorothy Supple of the physical education department, led the students to reject intercollegiate athletics by a unanimous vote and in its place to develop campus-wide participation in a play program.[72] By the spring

of 1928 May Day was sharing its honors with Play Day, and the campus community was convinced that it was wise to have chosen "the spirit of fellowship in play instead of championship in athletics."[73] Under Miss Katherine Hardeman's inspiration students made contributions in the field of interpretive dancing, as evidenced each year in the late twenties and early thirties by the May Day pageant.

Much of the creative spirit expressed itself in dramatics. Only a year after the Pierrette Club was organized by Miss Virginia Sherman in 1922, that group was taking plays upon the road.[74] During this period the Classical Club sponsored Greek and Latin drama on the campus. Its director was Miss Cora E. Kercher, classical scholar from Northwestern College and the University of Chicago. On becoming professor of Greek and Latin at Woman's College in 1923 she organized the Classical Club as an instrument for bringing the customs and philosophy and especially the drama of ancient Greece and Rome to life on the campus. Under her direction the group gave many original programs. On several occasions in the twenties and the thirties, with the assistance of the Home Economics Club, it entertained at a banquet at which its members, dressed in Roman costumes, served Roman food according to Roman customs.[75] In 1924 the club presented an Easter miracle play which had originated in the medieval Latin church service,[76] and in 1925 performed *Cleopatra* as the commencement play.[77] Also under Miss Kercher's direction, in 1926 and again in 1932 Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* and in 1928 his *Alcestis* were acted in the natural amphitheater on the campus.[78]

In the first decade of the League of Nations, when a new generation of college students was keenly aware of the errors of its allegedly war-mongering elders and eager to remold the world nearer to the heart's desire, there was a stronger interest than ever before in current political issues. The hobby of the first president on the Montgomery campus, Dr. Martin, had been current events, and he had required the students to recite them to him in chapel.[79] In the 1920's the study became an or-

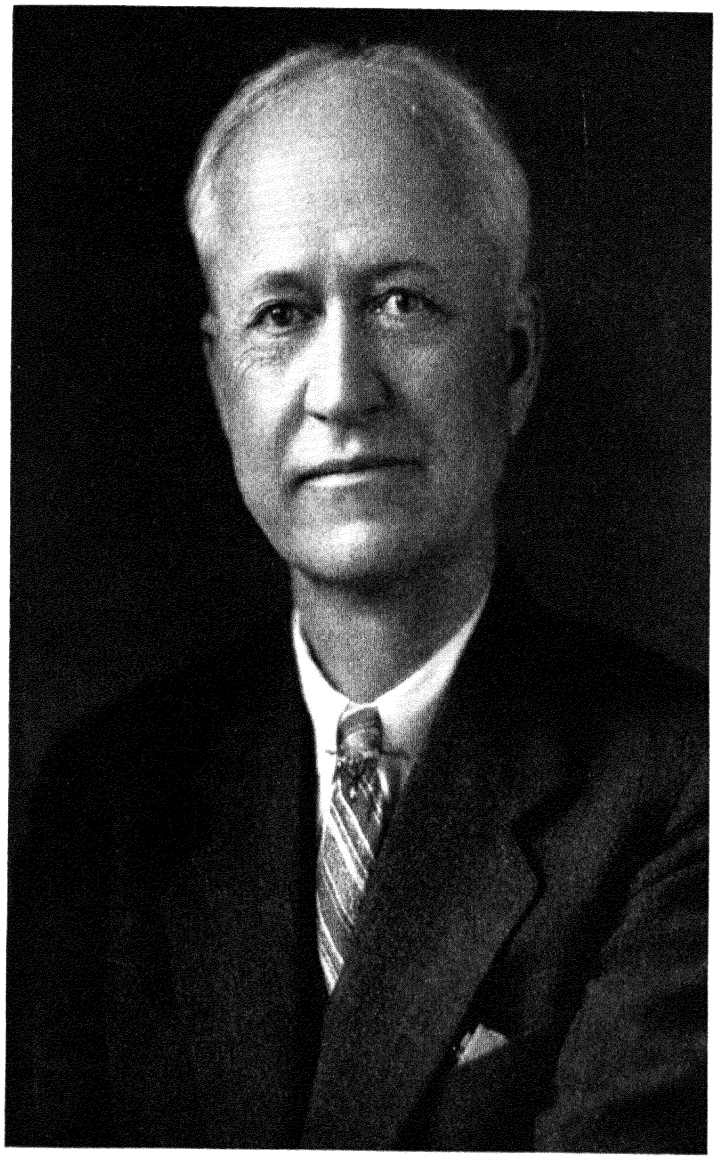
ganized extracurricular activity. Under the stimulation of Dr. Ruth Higgins, who was appointed head of the history department in the fall of 1926, a group of interested students affiliated with the International Relations Club movement that had arisen in American colleges early in the twenties, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Elizabeth Jolly became the first president of the group when it was organized in May 1929.[80] The International Relations Club, which has the distinction of possessing its own library, remains one of the chief honor clubs on the campus. Also in the mid-twenties another group of girls was organized as a campus branch of the League of Women Voters.[81] Students found this organization useful not only for the purpose of stimulating thinking about national and local problems but also as a training ground in parliamentary procedure.

In this creative movement of the late twenties campus publications took on new life, and a new publication was produced under the encouragement of Dr. Frank T. Thompson, who became head of the English department in the fall of 1926. The English department at this time already sponsored a writers' club and an English club, both first organized by Dr. Tremaine McDowell as early as 1922 and 1924 respectively and active in such projects as bringing Vachel Lindsay to the campus in 1924.[82] As further stimulus to composition on the campus, Dr. Thompson in 1928 initiated exclusively for freshmen the Scribblers' Club, whose first president was Montine Lisenby.[83] Also in this 1927-1928 of widening horizons, when students were electing Hoover by straw votes[84] and growing romantic over Lindbergh,[85] the English department introduced an advanced course in creative writing, taught by Mrs. Margaret Gillis Figh. From it emerged some of the best compositions so far produced on the campus—enough to fill an issue of the College bulletin in the spring of 1928.[86] Encouraged by the output of this class, Dr. Thompson decided the time had come to establish the literary magazine that it had been his ambition to found ever since coming to the College.

Therefore, in 1928-1929 Editor Laura Berkstresser supervised the first issue of a new literary quarterly. Its title, *The Prelude,* was inspired by Wordsworth's poem describing his youthful preparation as a poet. The first number carried a Whitmanesque and Thompsonian application of the title to the Alabama campus on which it appeared:

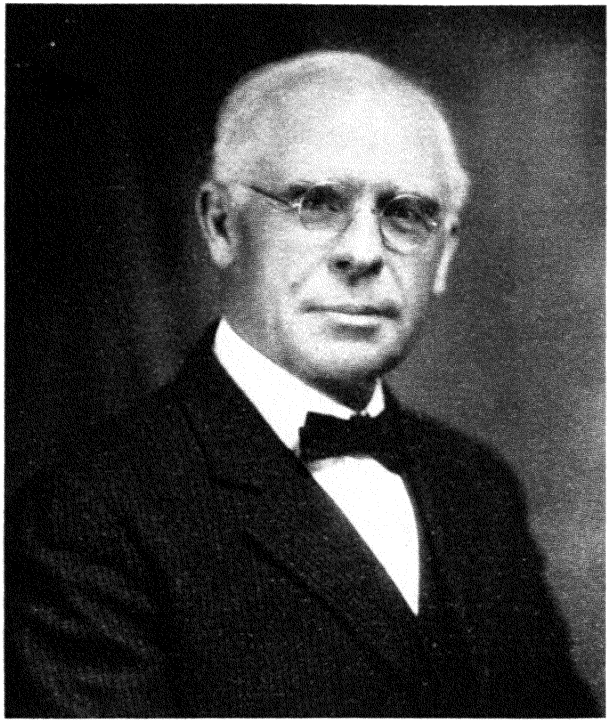
> The Prelude is a hope in the heart of youth for a lyric rhapsody to come; for youth has felt the pulse of the South, and found it throbbing with life, joy and old romance. Perhaps the rich traditions have been found in the past, but they have scarcely been touched, not exhausted; nor have they been recolored with the glow of imagination. The time has come when there must be a prophet—many prophets—to see the dark path into which Alabama is so rapidly, blindly plunging, and to voice her half felt hope. Alabama must unfold and expand her mighty potentiality, temper her new-found power with culture and vigor. In her very heart is Womans College, dreaming, stretching out to the ends of the state; and desiring to go further, even to the dim tracts of time and space. On the eve of her greater power there comes a struggle, a thirsting, a hope, the first note of song, the prelude perhaps to a perfect song of the South.[87]

The rapid growth in the late 1920's of student activities in general and of the publications in particular was encouraged by the addition for the first time of a student activity fee to the tuition charge of each student. Until 1927 campus organizations were financed by the institution of Pay Day, a much-dreaded occasion in the fall when dues were collected at a student-body meeting in the chapel. Many of the girls, caught at the time without a check from home, failed to subscribe to certain activities. *Bells and Pomegranates,* for example, left a deficit year after year for the College to absorb. The administration, which was sympathetic with the idea of more adequate financial backing, ruled that to enable a blanket fee to be added all the organizations must present individual budgets.[88] Stimulated by forward-looking advisers, students waged a campaign to persuade all campus groups to work out budgets that would entitle them to their share of a student activity fee.[89] The campaign was successful, and as a result the



DR. WALTER D. AGNEW

President 1922-1938



FRED MITCHELL JACKSON

Chairman, Executive Committee of Board of Trustees 1910-1942



MRS. W. A. BELLINGRATH

Chairman, Executive Committee of Board of Trustees 1942-1952

session of 1927-1928 opened with the assurance of definite financial support for all student organizations.[90]

The campus activity program received additional support in the fall of 1929 in the person of a new dean of women. Student and faculty leaders had already experimented with a variety of modes of self-expression including campus government, athletics, dancing, acting, forum discussion, and writing. It was to be the chief function of Olive M. Stone to promote an even wider student interest in these and other activities, and to integrate this variety in an over-all pattern. Miss Stone, who later took her doctorate at the University of North Carolina and eventually became professor of sociology in the University of California at Los Angeles, was a native of Dadeville, Alabama, and had served as student body president at Woman's College in 1917-1918. She had recently received her master of arts degree in social service administration and during the two years before coming to Montgomery had taught case work and group work at Alabama College at Montevallo. Now she was to put her two social-work methods into practice at her alma mater for five years. In the college finances those were to be the leanest of the lean years, but in the student program, partly because of her leadership, they were a memorable period.

The position of dean of women, as she conceived it when she entered upon her duties, had three main functions:

> (1) to provide through a staff of head residents, administratively responsible to the Dean of Women and through her to the President, the kind of home atmosphere in their "home-away-from-home" that would be both security-giving and growth-encouraging to students, (2) to help individual students with non-academic problems of growing up, making social adjustments, and getting the most out of their educational experience and their group living, and (3) to help groups and individuals-in-groups discover their talents, release their energies, and move toward their own goals (within of course the value system of society and of the college community) in their own way and through their own decision-making processes.[91]

In the fall of 1924 Dr. Agnew had placed a head resident in charge of each dormitory and reduced the number of full-time

chaperons employed. Now the old dormitory police system was rapidly replaced by one that put more responsibility on the student and at the same time allowed her more freedom. Both through personal conferences and through the freshman orientation program that Dr. Stone introduced on the campus and that was to remain fundamental in the college program, she gave professional help to students in their personal and social development. In addition, her office facilitated a wide participation in student activities and a new organization of them.

Departmental clubs, already increasing before the end of the 1920's, were important in encouraging this wider participation. From nine in 1926-1927 and 1927-1928, the number of these clubs had already reached fourteen in 1928-1929, chiefly as a result of faculty efforts. By the end of Dr. Stone's second year as head of student activities, the number had reached nineteen.[92] The old literary societies, which the departmental clubs had replaced and which had been considered lifeless at least since 1927,[93] were officially buried in 1930.[94]

Another type of organization that the departmental clubs tended to replace and that died a quick death in the 1930-1931 session was the Greek-letter social club.[95] The movement to kill these clubs came first from some members who found it difficult in the early years of the Depression to maintain the spending standards of the late twenties.[96] Dr. Stone had early seen the possibilities of the Y. W. C. A. and the League of Women Voters for forums on many important questions and thus had given these organizations a broader usefulness.[97] (She was eventually to convert Y. W. C. A. Retreat into a discussion period for all student officers and the League of Women Voters into an instrument of student government, League Forum.) With student leaders she now planned a forum to bring out into the open the students' attitudes and desires on the question of social clubs. After a series of discussions the students themselves voted to disband the clubs. It was felt that this decision represented a realistic adjustment to the Depression and an advance in democratic practice on the campus.

Greek letters were henceforth reserved for such national honorary sororities as Alpha Psi Omega (dramatic) and Chi Delta Phi (literary), chapters of which were established at Woman's College in 1929 and 1930, respectively,[98] and for the campus honor society, Tri Sigma. The Greek letters also added prestige to the rapidly growing organization of town students, named Theta Eta in 1930.[99]

One of the chief difficulties from which the student activity program had suffered for years was the tendency to give a few students most of the important offices and therefore most of the experience in leadership. Although at the suggestion of the faculty[100] a point system was inaugurated in 1925, it had never actually functioned. One of the earliest tasks undertaken by Dr. Stone, with the assistance of such leaders as Fannie Corbitt, student president in 1929-1930, was to overhaul this system of limiting offices for the individual student and to make it work. In order to make it positive rather than negative, emphasis was placed on the value of each student's participating in the extracurricular program. The motto of the new system was: "Every student a functioning student." "This means," explained *Wo-Co-Ala* editor Annie Campbell Hale, "that every student is expected to do something for her college in the way of her own self-development. . . . Student activities are really games to play in leisure time—games that are worth more than mere undirected recreation. . . . Everybody possesses some kind of talent, to a greater or lesser degree."[101] To implement this wider participation along with a greater distribution of leadership, the administration created a student activities committee, which functioned for many years.[102] Also to vitalize the work of the individual clubs, the faculty cooperated in developing the first system of official faculty sponsors.

One of the greatest advances of the early thirties was probably the organizing of the campus activities into an integrated whole, giving some kind of order and system to what had been a multitude of unrelated yet often overlapping student affairs. Many of the student leaders caught Dr. Stone's vision of an

overall pattern. Grand Council, a student group that she had herself created while she was student body president in 1917-1918, proceeded to work out a better correlation of activities, financial and otherwise, and also to publish a definite club schedule to prevent as much conflict as possible. Although Publications Union had been formed on November 26, 1928, "to develop a high degree of efficiency . . . and to build up a fine spirit of cooperation among the different staffs,"[103] actually each staff had continued to go its own way until at this time it saw the possibilities for financial cooperation in its revival.[104] In this and other ways Dr. Stone's administration brought the wheels of student activities to turn together and work more efficiently.

The ideal of cooperation between student organizations, each supported by the appropriate academic department, was realized to some extent in the Woman's College Workshop in 1929-1930. This idea was inspired chiefly by the creative work being done at the University of North Carolina in the field of the drama, and by the success that had already attended efforts at artistic creation in a number of the departmental clubs at Woman's College.[105] The original plan was that the Workshop would sponsor several productions during the year, including an evening of original one-act plays in December, the senior musical comedy, the May Day pageant, and the Greek play at commencement.[106] In each case several departmental clubs were to cooperate, each doing the work appropriate to its talents. The literary groups would write plays and pageants, the clubs sponsored by the history department would do the necessary research, the dramatic clubs would direct the productions, the music club would provide the music, the art club would make the stage sets, and the home economics department would design and make the costumes. This cooperation was not entirely new on the campus, for the departments of music and physical education had assisted Miss Kercher in the production of the Greek plays, for which, how-

ever, she was the supervisor of all details, herself interpreting the music and teaching the dances to the performers.

One of the most successful experiments in this interdepartmental work in 1929-1930 was the production of three one-act plays on December 6,[107] followed by two road performances after Christmas.[108] The plays had been written by Louise Goodwyn, Frances Turner, and Laura Berkstresser, all members of the Quill Club (later Chi Delta Phi), and their performance was directed by speech students. On several occasions during the 1930's Chi Delta Phi and Alpha Psi Omega cooperated in repeating the experiment, as when a performance of original one-act plays was planned for visiting high school seniors during the week end of April 23, 1938.[109] Other effects of the Workshop program remain in a certain amount of departmental cooperation given each year to the productions of White Christmas and the May Day pageant.

Other innovations in extracurricular activities of the early thirties survive in certain ceremonies still popular on the campus. The ritual repeated each fall in the lantern ceremony at Retreat was composed by Dr. Stone. Under her influence Fire Frolic lost its casual camp-fire jollity and developed more dignity and symbolic character. In 1930 it added "a pageant of the flame," danced by ten muses and presided over by the goddess of the fire dramatizing the spirit of the College.[110] The pageant has gone through many changes during the years, but in the 1950's it still retains the presiding spirit of the fire to symbolize the spirit of the College.

Of these symbolic occasions, one of the most popular among the students of a later generation has been the Oracle Hunt, introduced by the dean of women in 1930 in an attempt to lend dignity and meaning to seniorhood. Like Fire Frolic it was to add many original features in the next twenty-five years. The Class of 1931 was the first class to be required to find the Oracle before being admitted to senior privileges. Its members received the code on the day after May Day, 1930.

In advance they and the rest of the curious student body had read this account of how the exciting ordeal was to be initiated and endured:

> The Oracle Committee and the officers of the Senior Class will stand on the platform of the Tree House with the rest of the class standing near it, while the Juniors will stand at a respectful distance from it. The Oracle Committee will say what costume the Juniors must wear. This, of course, will be appropriate to their lowly position in life.
>
> The Committee will then issue a command in cryptic or Oracular terms which the President of the Junior Class will accept on behalf of her class. This command places upon their shoulders some duty which they must fulfill before they present themselves to the Seniors again. The Seniors now will move away in majestic style, thus leaving the others to solve the mystery of just what their duty is to be.
>
> This ordeal through which the Juniors prove their worthiness will probably last two or three days during which time the Juniors will be treated as nonenities. They will enjoy no privileges at all other than eating and sleeping, but they will be expected to attend classes. . . .
>
> As soon as their duty is done and has been reported to the Seniors, the formal initiation will take place. Then the Seniors will let fall on the shoulders of these candidates the Senior mantle. . . . [111]

Oracle Hunt soon became firmly established as a "tradition," though not yet participated in enthusiastically by all the classes and even the faculty and staff as it came to be during Mrs. Marylee Collins' period as dean of women in the 1940's and early 1950's.

The burst of creative spirit continued through the Depression, showing itself in the work of a number of campus organizations. It was during the Depression that the Y. W. C. A. established the custom of original programs for its weekly chapel hour. Dr. P. H. Lotz, of the religion department, first conceived the idea of the weekly formal worship service with the use of the vested choir in 1931-1932, but only under the direction of Mrs. Lessie Mae Hall Stone, beginning in 1933, did these programs become student-planned. Ever since Professor Cawthon Bowen initiated it in 1916, the Y. W. C. A. had

presented an annual White Christmas service, at which for many years the nativity scene was depicted in a simple, impressive tableau and white-wrapped gifts were brought for the children of the North Montgomery settlement house. Since 1933, when Mrs. Stone became responsible for them, these White Christmas programs have been planned by a student committee in cooperation with Mrs. Stone. Another custom inaugurated by the Y. W. C. A. in the 1930's was the sponsoring of an annual chapel appearance by the choir of the Alabama State College for Negroes, under the direction of Dr. Frederick Hall.

Other student organizations besides the Y. W. C. A. made certain innovations or reached new standards of performance during the Depression. Alpha Psi Omega, under the direction of Miss Frances Cattrell, adopted in 1933 the custom of the annual Shakespearean play production,[112] which was to be carried on for the next twenty years. The Music Club produced an original operetta, "I Smell Smoke," a travesty on grand opera.[113] The Glee Club, under the direction of Professor Orville Borchers, reached new heights of achievement in its home concert and also in its week's tour in the spring. It also assisted Mr. Borchers in the annual performance by the community chorus of Handel's "The Messiah," which he initiated in 1929.[114] The Art Association, in cooperation with the Woman's Club and the Federated Clubs of Montgomery, brought a series of art exhibits through these years, the most remarkable being the private collection of sixty-one Renaissance paintings owned by Samuel H. Kress of New York.[115] This exhibit, which was secured chiefly through the efforts of the Art Association's sponsor, Mrs. W. W. Rivers, head of the College art department, hung in the Houghton Memorial Library art museum for three weeks, beginning October 21, 1934, and attracted thousands of visitors.

The students of the early 1930's scanned their extracurricular program with a more critical eye than had their predecessors of the carefree boom days, and realistically found it heavy now

for the decreased size of the student body.[116] But college spirit was strong. The Depression produced a tribute to it in "The Green Window," composed in 1935 by Professor Olaf Jensen of the music department. Through the years a number of poems had been written in honor of the chapel window. One of the most popular was Louise Long's blank verse "Green Window," which was featured in the first issue of *The Prelude.* The poem for which Mr. Jensen furnished a musical setting was a short lyric by Sarah Jane Westerbeke of the Class of 1935. Mr. Jensen, a graduate of the University of Copenhagen, looked like a Danish elf. With his flashing blue eyes and red goatee, he was one of the most temperamental and charming of campus personalities. For several years he had played organ preludes for chapel services and had taught organ students, always under the light of the Green Window. It had come to be to him, as to the students, a symbol of the college spirit, and in his composition he attempted to express that spirit. On May Day, 1935, the *Wo-Co-Ala* said: "Today we use the Green Window as the theme of pageant and song. Mr. Jensen's new anthem will be presented for the first time, under the benediction of the very glow it commemorates."[117] Since it was a composition arranged for organ, piano, violin, soprano solo, and chorus, it could not be presented in full until the Glee Club under Professor Erle Danley's direction had mastered it. On February 28, 1938, the occasion of one of the first annual performances given it by the Glee Club, the *Wo-Co-Ala* music critic declared: "The music reveals the playing of sunlight and shadow upon the panes and the sparkle of the green hue, symbolic of the hope to be cherished through the years. The instrumental detail portrays the majesty of the hall and lends a reverent atmosphere to the prayer which the white-vested choir voices for its Alma Mater."[118]

While Mr. Jensen renewed his spirit and that of his listeners in the glow of the chapel shrine and the beauty of his music, Dr. Thompson found an antidote for the later Depression years for himself and truckloads of students in a Wordsworth-

ian return to nature. In September 1934 he conducted the first of a long series of expeditions originally known as "geological picnics."[119] This first expedition had Catoma Falls as its destination, and it was followed by many trips to other nearby spots of natural beauty. In the spring of 1936 Dr. Thompson led the first truckload of students up to Cheaha for vaster views and longer hikes.[120] This trip was to become an almost annual event during the next two decades.

The financial and economic depression of the 1930's did not defeat the extracurricular program or destroy the spirit that gave it vitality, but it had almost disastrous effects on the College finances. The expansion program had already caused the first annual deficit of Dr. Agnew's administration in the session 1928-1929, a deficit that could have been absorbed if the stock market had not crashed. After the crash the College was faced not only with the shrinkage of its endowment, much of which was invested in stocks affected by the crash, but also with the failure of many of the building campaign pledges. Pledgers wrote apologetic letters asking to be excused from their promises, alleging that recent financial reverses had dissipated their estates.[121]

The two supporting conferences of the Methodist church in Alabama meanwhile were failing to meet the $10,000 appropriations to which they had agreed in order to secure Mr. Jackson's conditional gift in 1927.[122] As a result the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was dissatisfied with the total endowment income. "Woman's College . . . has erected one splendid building for which it has incurred an indebtedness, which can be liquidated without embarrassment," the College reported hopefully to the conferences in December 1930.[123] Mrs. W. A. Bellingrath, who had already given $25,000 for this building, Bellingrath Hall, now loyally rose to the occasion and offered $50,000 conditional upon the College's raising the $350,000 for debt and endowment that the trustees in conference with Bishop Ainsworth had agreed to campaign for in the emergency.[124] But, though the confer-

ences again accepted the challenge, they were unable to meet it, and general conditions made it necessary to cancel the plans for the campaign.[125] A canvass of Montgomery for a sustaining fund of $9,000 was substituted for the more ambitious campaign, while the College marked time in the hope that the Depression would soon end. ("Hope Triumphant" was to be the theme of the 1933 May Day pageant.) There was some comfort and encouragement in 1930 in looking over the results of the past ten years' development. They revealed that capital accounts at the College had multiplied almost two and a half times, that endowment had increased from almost nothing to over $353,000, that the budget of operating expenses had increased about two and a half times, and that attendance had nearly doubled (reaching its peak of 592 students in 1926-1927.)[126]

Other troubles descended fast upon the College in these unfortunate years of 1930 and 1931. The city authorities had let the contract for paving Fairview Avenue in 1929, and now in 1930 they prepared to pave Woodley Road.[127] It was estimated that both streets would cost the College an exorbitant figure, and the figure grew more frightful because the College was not actually billed during the current administration.[128] Another more serious threat to the security of the institution was the failure of the Methodist Memorial Hospital in Montgomery. As early as 1929, when it became apparent that the Alabama Conference could not pay the debt incurred in building the hospital,[129] the rumor began to be circulated that the College property belonged to the conference and so the College would be liable for the debt. The president secured a legal opinion from the College attorney, Fred Ball, to the effect that the College as a trust was vested in the trustees and could not be answerable for conference financial liabilities.[130] Not until February 1, 1938, however, did a similar decision from Judge Walter B. Jones in Chancery Court set the rumor forever at rest. Through the Depression years it was a constant shadow over attempts to secure financial aid.

Another matter for concern in the year 1931 was Dr. Agnew's illness. With the approval of the trustees he took a leave of absence during the fall term of 1931.[131] During this term the campus was under the government of an administrative committee composed of Dean of the College L. E. Williams, Dean of Women Olive M. Stone and Business Manager Paul T. Stone, under whom the College community worked harmoniously during the president's absence. It had required the crisis of the Depression to gain the appointment of a full-time business manager—later treasurer—a measure Dr. Agnew had urged upon the trustees ever since his first years in office.[132] In this position the former professor of chemistry and later dean was to serve the College for the next fifteen years. A *Wo-Co-Ala* columnist announced Dr. Agnew's return to the campus at New Year's by commenting that the student body would be shortly called upon to sing again hymn 407.[133] This was the familiar hymn entitled "Be Strong," known to be Dr. Agnew's favorite because he so regularly called for it in chapel exercises during this period.

> Shun not the struggle, face it. . . .
> Say not the days are evil . . . and fold the hands.
> Stand up, speak out. . . .
> Faint not, fight on! Tomorrow comes the song.

With the support of the trustees, the College now tried a number of measures calculated to tide it over the Depression. One of the first and bitterest was the renewal for another term of three years of the mortgage with the First National Bank, now of necessity raised from $100,000 to $150,000 in order to take up a floating indebtedness of about $50,000.[134] By the requirement of the bank, this new mortgage attached not merely the west side of the campus but, for the first time in the history of the College, the whole property. Attempts to avoid a deficit, as endowment shrank and enrollment dropped, were planned to include doubling the scholarships offered,[135] reducing the staff and faculty, reducing expenses of operation, increasing charges, and raising a sustaining fund equivalent to the in-

terest on $200,000, the amount of endowment needed.[136] Of these the one that turned out to be most practicable was the reduction of operating expenses, and, of the operating expenses, faculty and staff salaries were most easily and effectively trimmed. By the fall of 1932 the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees determined that the year's deficit—a deficit resulting from the building debt and not from operating expenses—should be borne by the faculty and staff.[137]

Acquiescence in this emergency measure saved the College from failing as did seventeen other Methodist colleges during the Depression.[138] Each year Woman's College was able to retain its membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools by reporting no deficit, since the faculty and staff accepted whatever salary was available without causing a deficit. It was also possible for the College to pay its bills for current expenses and keep its very necessary credit. It thus retained both its academic standing and its financial credit at the expense of the faculty and staff, whose salary reductions varied from ten per cent in 1931-1932 to sixty-one per cent in 1933-1934,[139] the year of the smallest enrollment. These reductions were taken with a realistic acceptance of the situation, faced then by many other colleges also. The Southern Association, to satisfy itself that a faculty so under-paid was yet able to maintain its standards of effectiveness in the classroom, included all the written work of Woman's College classes in a survey that it was making of ten harassed colleges in the spring of 1934.[140] In May the faculty learned with relief that it had passed its examination and that the College therefore still retained its membership in the Southern Association.[141] Two years later the Southern Association finally began to insist on standard salaries, and placed the College on probation until it could pay them. Meanwhile in the spring of 1936, after hearing a detailed financial report from Treasurer Paul T. Stone and his considered opinion that the policy of using the salary schedule as the absorbent was reducing the efficiency of the faculty besides having other ill effects,[142] the Executive Com-

mittee of the Board of Trustees recommended the guaranteeing of fifty per cent of the scheduled salaries for the following year.[143]

While this financial struggle was going on, the College adopted two measures which some of its friends considered questionable. The first was the admission of some young men to the classes. Many Montgomery families could not afford to send their sons away to college during the Depression, and some of these young men requested, as a temporary accommodation, to be allowed to pursue their studies at Woman's College. With the approval of the trustees, thirty-seven of them (twenty-eight full-time and nine part-time students) were admitted in the 1932-1933 session.[144] These strange newcomers arrived five minutes before class and took over the east end of the front porch, then went quietly to class and occupied the back seats, speaking only when spoken to. Freshman Silas Garrett commented on the unusually friendly attitude of these embattled boys to each other. "Everybody shook hands two or three times a day during the first three days," he observed.[145] Although some of the girls resented their presence, a questionnaire revealed that most of them found that the young men contributed a broader view in the class discussions and that, surprisingly, they gave no trouble outside class. It was remarked, editorially, that the men had by their presence had good effects on the grooming of the girls.[146]

By the second year that this Depression measure was in force, the young men had banded together for their greater comfort and protection and elected Ben Lacy their president. Although these pioneers restricted their activities almost entirely to class attendance, one of their hardier members within the first month was honored with a position as columnist on the *Wo-Co-Ala* staff, which he retained for three years. Ellis Andrews wrote "Co-ed Corner," a facetious treatment of the problems of the young invaders at what he called "The Female College for Men and Women."[147] The first man to be graduated from Woman's College was Reverend Frank Moseley, who came

back from a distance in order to walk across the platform on commencement day of 1934 to the tremendous applause of the audience. Although this admission of men was only a temporary Depression measure, adopted chiefly as a service to Montgomery, it began the sentiment for coeducation on the campus. A large group of College supporters felt that it should be continued on a wider scale, but that experiment had to wait for several years.

Another change was brought about during the Depression by the renaming of the College. This measure involved breaking down the opposition of many friends in both the Alabama and the North Alabama Conferences and converting many dissenters among the alumnae. The movement grew out of the practical need for a name that would not be confused with that of the Montevallo college, which in 1923 had become Alabama College for Women.[148] There had long been a feeling among the students that the name of Woman's College of Alabama sounded like that of a state school and was neither fitting nor distinctive.[149] Various substitutes were suggested by members of the Board of Trustees, who finally agreed, however, to leave the decision to the Alumnae Association since it was the group most concerned.

Meanwhile Dr. Agnew, acting on the idea that a Methodist college for women could not be more appropriately named than for a distinguished Methodist woman, had done research in the history of the church. He emerged from his studies with the names of two women who had given great service to the church, Barbara Heck of colonial fame in America and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, of eighteenth-century England. "The contribution of the Countess was so far in excess of any other person in early Methodism that there was no room for debate between these two women," he later said.[150] When members of the Executive Committee of the Alumnae Association came to request his suggestions, Dr. Agnew was ready with the euphonious name of Huntingdon College, which was instantly popular with the group. Mrs. Kate Samford Smith, president

of the Executive Committee, was largely responsible for securing the early endorsement of the alumnae. After their approval, the Board of Trustees in May 1934 voted for the new name without a dissenting vote.[151] From that body it was taken to the two supporting conferences, both of which accepted it in their fall sessions. Governor B. M. Miller signed the charter of Huntingdon College on January 11, 1935, in a ceremony in the chapel.

The woman who a hundred and fifty years after her death gave her name to Huntingdon College was the first member of the nobility to be associated with the Wesleyan movement. It is estimated that in the course of her life she gave no less than half a million dollars to help the poor and support evangelistic work both in England and in the mission fields.[152] One of her chief interests to Methodist educators lies in the fact that she founded a college for the training of Wesley's young ministers. This college was first located in 1768 at Trevecca, South Wales, but in 1905 was moved to Cambridge, England, where it took the name Cheshunt College.[153]

Lady Huntingdon was a remarkable personality. From the time she was nine years old this daughter of the second Earl of Ferrars was said to have been a devout young girl.[154] Her marriage at twenty-one to the ninth Earl of Huntingdon gave her great opportunity for benevolences. After she joined the Wesleyans she turned industriously toward evangelizing her own friends, a distinguished circle. She was a patron of the composer Handel and the famous violinist Giardini, and a friend of Chesterfield and Bolingbroke. She induced Chatham and Fox to come to hear Whitefield preach, and even the Duchess of Buckingham, who had thought it impertinent to be told by the Methodist preachers "that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth" and "other sentiments so much at variance with high rank and good breeding."[155] While some of the ladies at the court sneered at her for "praying with her beggars," the Prince of Wales, father of George III, declared that when he was dying he would be

happy to seize the skirt of Lady Huntingdon's mantle to lift him up with her to heaven.[156]

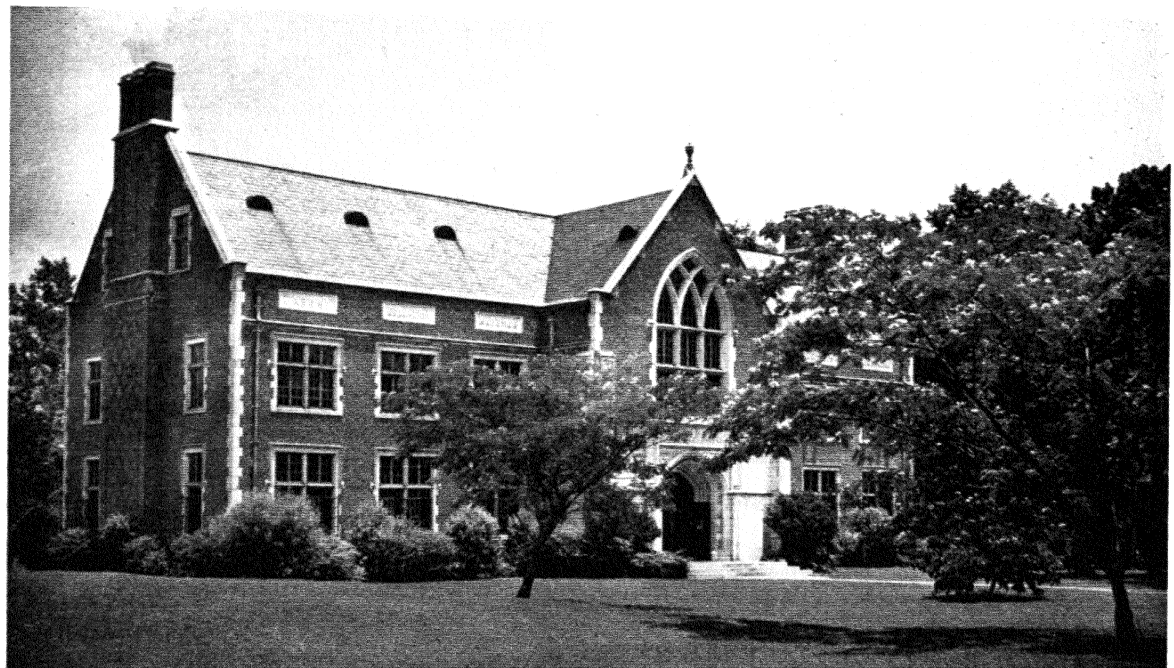
In her later years in order to increase her benevolences she allowed herself only one new dress a year,[157] and sold all her jewels for 698 pounds with which to build a chapel.[158] Before her death at eighty-four she had built seventy chapels for itinerant preachers,[159] whom the Church of England would never allow to preach in its own sanctuaries. It is said that some time after selling all her jewels she was in perplexity as to how to raise money for a chapel she wished to build in Birmingham. She always kept three hundred pounds in the house to defray the expenses of her funeral, for it was her wish to be buried in white satin. But the Queen of the Methodists, as Horace Walpole called her, decided that since she trusted God with her soul she would trust him with her funeral,[160] and so she gave away the three hundred pounds.

The students of Huntingdon College did not learn immediately what an interesting and unusual personality the Countess was, but they did respond at once to the beauty and distinction of her name. "A College with a Name," rejoiced *Wo-Co-Ala* editor Elizabeth Butler as early as May 1934, and when the name became official in 1935 Editor Sarah Jane Westerbeke published an outburst of poems contributed on the subject of Huntingdon.[161] Spring, which each year called forth prose poems from the editor on the beauty of the campus, in 1935 inspired an editorial poem expressing a sense of revival for the College as well as for nature:

Revival

Does your heart throb
with love
of Huntingdon?

View Hawthorne Hedge
as yet but thinly clad
in faintest green;
multi-colored blossoms
twinkling
midst fresh sprung grass;



HOUGHTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY, COMPLETED 1930



BELLINGRATH HALL, ERECTED IN 1928

songsters,
red and glistening black,
darting into
the "kiss-me-at-the-gate";
everywhere
beauty—
fragile, tender,
and indescribably lovely.

Feel your heart thrill with spring—
and quickened love
of Huntingdon![162]

The new name, adopted partly as a way out of a practical problem of identification, actually contributed to a strengthening of the college spirit in the later years of the Depression. The ceremony by which all former graduates received diplomas from Huntingdon "recognizing and ratifying all honors and awards previously conferred upon the candidate" renewed the loyalty of the alumnae.[163]

Through the Depression years the president and the faculty cooperated in a series of measures for preserving the security of the College, and as a result Huntingdon succeeded in weathering the storm. Now in 1936, when his students were happily escaping from their own problems by reading *Gone with the Wind* and gossiping about "Eddie and Walley," Dr. Agnew faced his approaching sixty-fifth birthday. He announced to the trustees that he wished to retire at the commencement of 1938 just before that birthday occurred, and leave the presidency of the Depression-shaken college to a younger man.[164] In May 1937 he suggested that he retire by December 1, in order to let a new president take charge of the campaign planned for the spring of 1938, but the trustees declined his resignation and gave him a vote of confidence.[165] By the fall of 1937 the new president had been found and on October 21 Dr. Hubert Searcy was introduced to the Board of Trustees and offered the position.[166] During the spring term the elderly president and the young president-elect worked side by side harmoniously while the young man studied his new duties and

took charge of the financial campaign. In May Dr. Agnew turned his office over to Dr. Searcy, and gave his valedictory to the Board of Trustees.

Dr. Agnew's last report to the trustees showed that the College had gained nearly a million dollars in assets during his administration.[167] Kate Timmerman, editor of the newly named campus newspaper, *The Huntress*, gave a more revealing account of his contribution in an editorial entitled "Dr. Agnew, The Builder of Huntingdon":

> Picture, if you can, the Huntingdon of sixteen years ago. It was a young institution which went by the name of Woman's College of Alabama. At that time there were only three large buildings on the campus, Flowers, Massey and Pratt. The Hut had only just been completed. Flowers was not encircled by a paved drive. There were fewer trees and almost no shrubbery. The library and infirmary were in Flowers Hall. The college boasted a fairly good enrollment but very little equipment.
>
> This was the college to which Dr. Agnew came as president in 1922, and with his coming began an era of building. In sixteen years Dr. Agnew has built Huntingdon from that meagerly equipped institution to a modern college with the most beautiful campus in the South.
>
> It was with sorrow that we read in the Advertiser Tuesday morning that Dr. Agnew is retiring. Not only has he left an indelible mark on Huntingdon through the material improvement he has brought about, but his personal charm, his tact, his kindly manner, and his unsurpassed goodness have left every student far better for having known him.[168]

X. *Financial Stability and Academic Enrichment*

PRESIDENT SEARCY

WHEN Dr. Hubert Searcy came to Huntingdon in 1938, at the age of twenty-nine, he was one of the youngest college executives in the United States. Except for Dr. George W. F. Price, who was the same age when he assumed office in 1859, he was the youngest president in the history of the College. Huntingdon, just struggling out of the Depression and still heavily in debt, needed the imagination and energy of a young president. It needed also a great many other qualities that Dr. Searcy possessed and that in the years to come were to strengthen the academic life of the College.

The new president came to his position with the advantage of an intimate knowledge of the Alabama scene. Like Dr. Price, Dr. Massey, and Dr. Martin, he was brought up on an Alabama farm and made his way through college. A native of Skipperville, he achieved such an excellent record in the Dale County High School at nearby Ozark that President Guy Snavely was moved to lend him a hundred dollars on his tuition at Birmingham-Southern. On the strength of this loan young Hubert Searcy entered Birmingham-Southern, where he paid for his expenses by carrying the *Birmingham News,* clerking in a grocery store, and working as waiter and cashier in the

college cafeteria.[1] All of this additional work, however, did not prevent his becoming prominent in both extracurricular and curricular activities. He completed his senior year as president of the student body and valedictorian of his class.[2] Later when a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa was established on the campus he was made a foundation member. From Birmingham-Southern he went to Duke University, where he won both his M. A. and his Ph. D. degrees in the field of political science, writing his doctoral dissertation on "The Use of the Congressional Joint Resolution in Matters Relating to Foreign Affairs." While he was still a graduate student he married Christine Quillian, daughter of former Wesleyan College president, Dr. W. F. Quillian. In the fall of 1937 he returned to Birmingham-Southern as associate professor of history and political science, with the same slow smile and informal manner and the same love of simple things that had earlier made him popular on the campus and in the classroom.[3] The following month he was notified of his appointment to the presidency of Huntingdon and after a deliberate investigation of the situation accepted the assignment. A few years later the *Montgomery Advertiser* was to declare that his coming brought to Montgomery "the ideal mixture of financial wizard, philanthropist, school-teacher and gentleman."[4]

It was as financial wizard that Dr. Searcy first distinguished himself at Huntingdon. Coming to the campus in December 1937 before his accession to the presidency in the following June, he immediately set to work to study the internal affairs of the College—its personnel and curriculum, its history and traditions, and especially its financial condition. His chief task as president-elect was to organize a financial program that would eventually restore Huntingdon to full membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and also liquidate its large debt. The first step in this program was the "Forward Movement" campaign of 1938, in which Dr. Searcy won the active support of important civic groups, besides the aid of the Alumnae Association and

of the Alabama Methodist conferences under the leadership of Bishop J. L. Decell. The campaign to raise $250,000 was launched under the professional direction of George Williams, who had been in charge of the 1926 campaign for endowment, and by the end of May $78,843.25 had been pledged.[5] The Alumnae Association adopted a minimum goal of $50 for individual subscriptions. At its fall session the Alabama Conference voted Huntingdon an additional $5,000 annual appropriation, which Dr. Searcy observed was the equivalent of $100,000 endowment.[6] In June 1939 Dr. Searcy and Bishop Decell launched a six-weeks speaking tour in Alabama and west Florida for the purpose of raising additional funds to pay off the College debt.

While the two successive campaigns went steadily forward, Dr. Searcy was taking other measures to restore financial stability to the campus. He set about achieving a balanced budget and at the same time raising the salaries of the faculty. The deficit (the result chiefly of the payment of interest on the College debt) for 1936-1937 had been $20,000,[7] and that for 1937-1938 $10,358.[8] By a realistic program of eliminating small classes and part-time teachers, and by other economies in operation, such as the reduction of scholarships,[9] Dr. Searcy enabled the College to make the salary raises and even realize a small surplus for the year 1938-1939.[10] He continued the balanced budget and the salary increases each year, announcing in May 1940 that for the next regular session the faculty would receive the standard salaries required by the Southern Association. The financial improvement, he said, was the result of improved operation of the College, increased appropriations of the Church, and gifts, one of which was an outright donation of $10,000 for faculty salaries and another a conditional gift of $50,000, both anonymous.[11] At the same time it was announced that Mayor W. A. Gunter had made a generous settlement of the pavement assessment and that the College debt, which had reached $193,309 by June 1938, had been reduced to $154,240.

Mayor Gunter had done something even better than reducing the pavement debt. Persuaded by Dr. Searcy that Huntingdon, as a financial asset to Montgomery, must have assistance in order to win its full membership in the Southern Association again, Mayor Gunter arranged a $5,000 annual appropriation from the City Commission and, through Cyrus Brown, an equal amount from the County Board of Revenue.[12] The City Commission gave its annual grant to the College through the Chamber of Commerce "to promote a program to advertise Montgomery while attracting students to the school," as later Mayor John L. Goodwin was to explain.[13] The County Board of Revenue appropriated its $5,000 directly to the College "to help to advertise Montgomery County through bulletins, pamphlets and other advertising mediums of the college."[14] The promise of these grants gave the final measure of stability required by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which since 1936 had kept Huntingdon on probation because of deficient faculty salaries and library funds and a debt of disproportionate size.[15] In the spring of 1940, with all these deficiencies remedied, Huntingdon's full membership was restored.

The meeting of the trustees in May 1940 was a memorable one because it saw so many advances and especially because it marked the achievement of the first important goal, the return to full standing in the Southern Association. In an attempt to convey to his board something of the struggles he had passed through in these two years and also something of the compensations of his office, Dr. Searcy read the definition of "What It Is to Be a College President" as expressed by the late Chancellor James H. Kirkland of Vanderbilt.

> To labor constantly for the world with no thought of self, to find indifference and opposition where you ought to find active assistance, to meet criticism with patience and the open attacks of ignorance without resentment, to plead with others for their own good, to follow sleepless nights with days of incessant toil, to strive continually without ever attaining—this is to be a college president. But this is only half the truth. To be associated with am-

bitious youth and high-minded men, to live in an atmosphere charged with thoughts of the world's greatest thinkers, to dream of a golden age not in the past but in the future, to build up a great kingdom of material conquest and make life richer and fuller, to spiritualize wealth and convert it into weal, to enrich personal character and elevate all human relationships, to leave the impress of one's life on a great and immortal institution—this, too, is to be a college president.[16]

Encouraged by the achievements of his first two years in office, Dr. Searcy engaged in more intensive efforts than ever to liquidate the remainder of the debt that still cost the College heavy interest annually. Already, during his first year, in order to apply the proceeds on the indebtedness, he had arranged for the sale of the Fairview and Magnolia Curve property. There was no other property that the College would part with, but there were many potential benefactors within the state. The next step in the campaign for funds was to employ a full-time field worker. In the fall of 1940, with the consent of Bishop Decell, Dr. Robert R. Ellison, for many years chairman of the Board of Trustees, was taken from the Methodist ministry and given the task of soliciting funds under the direction of the president.[17] Dr. Ellison was to continue in this assignment, with the title of vice president of the College, until his retirement in 1952. According to Dr. Searcy, "he gave to the work a capable and vigorous leadership which could come only from one whose heart and soul were in Huntingdon College."[18] Through the unceasing efforts of Dr. Searcy and Dr. Ellison, the debt was rapidly reduced. Four years later, on May 20, 1944, the $150,000 mortgage that had originated in 1929 and been increased to its present figure in 1931 was finally redeemed.[19] It was returned to Dr. Searcy by W. C. Bowman, president of the First National Bank, at the commencement exercises of 1944. At the same time it was announced to the trustees that the remainder of the total debt of $243,310 would be liquidated by June 1, 1944. The second great goal in the financial program of Dr. Searcy's administration was reached before that date. After fifteen years Huntingdon was entirely

clear of indebtedness and free to concentrate on academic development.

The city of Montgomery, which from the beginning had warmed to "the drawling, calm-headed, good humored young man, . . . the 29-year-old Dale County boy,"[20] was impressed by the statement he made to the press in announcing a campaign for further strengthening the now debt-free College.

> We are sure that every man and woman in Montgomery rejoiced over the thrilling statement Dr. Hubert Searcy has just made about the condition of Huntingdon College, whose affairs he administers so ably. Within a few short years the college's debt of $243,000 has been paid off, and during the past six great years in the college's 90 years history the institution has operated within its budget. This is all the more remarkable because within five years the budget has grown from $174,000 to $333,000. . . .
>
> In the years he has directed the college Dr. Searcy has succeeded in a remarkable way in enlisting the active and sympathetic interest of this entire city in the school. Regardless of religious affiliations friends have been enlisted and the college has become a truly representative institution of the whole community. These friends have spread its name, they have given of their time and effort and there is organized teamwork that presages great things for the future.[21]

In the next few years, as the College continued its remarkable progress, the city repeated its attempts to analyse the advance in terms of its president. "From the start," declared the *Montgomery Advertiser,*

> Dr. Searcy has had his eye on the ball. First, he had to have more money for Huntingdon. This he went after. He found out where it was, he sized up the potential patron and went after it with a highly deceptive blandness. We would like to see the statisticians of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. calculate how remote were the chances of escape by those Dr. Searcy went after. . . .
>
> He is not a combative or contentious man; he has an Abe Lincoln softness and drollery. . . .
>
> He is a gentleman, a scholar and somebody who knows something about human beings and individuals as a race. He runs a college that is a boon to Montgomery culturally and economically. Montgomery is in Hubert Searcy's corner.[22]

More and more the public came to see, as the *Advertiser* did, that, as president of Huntingdon, "the quiet and purposeful young man from Skipperville" had "proved himself not only an able educator but a master of human relationships."[23]

While he was receiving these tributes from the press, Dr. Searcy was the subject of many honors from professional, religious, and civic organizations. He was elected president of the Association of Alabama Colleges in the spring of 1943. In the fall of the same year he was appointed by Governor Chauncey Sparks to head a seven-man commission to make an overall survey of Alabama colleges. In the Association of American Colleges he was appointed to serve on the Commission on Citizenship. By the end of the decade he was made chairman of the same Committee on Admission to Membership of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools whose approval Huntingdon had anxiously desired only a few years earlier.[24] He was also elected to the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education, Southern Association, and to the Emergency Committee for the Present Crisis in World Affairs, Association of American Colleges. In addition to the recognition he received from professional organizations, Dr. Searcy was placed in responsible positions in both the church and the city. He served as chairman of the Board of Stewards of the First Methodist Church of Montgomery, as lay delegate to the Uniting Conference of 1939, the General Conference of 1944, and numerous conferences of the Southeastern Jurisdiction.[25] In addition he was made a member of the University Senate of The Methodist Church.[26] He gave civic leadership as president for two years of the Montgomery Civic Music Association and as a director of the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts and, for ten years, of the Montgomery Rotary Club.

While the College was being honored through the recognition of its president's leadership in professional, religious, and civic groups, it was in turn honoring several of its friends who had assisted in securing its financial stability. Only two faculty chairs had been endowed before the 1940's. The Fred Mitchell

Jackson Chair of Home Economics was named in recognition of a generous contribution from Mr. Jackson, and the Camilla Key Ellison Chair of Biology honored the mother of Joseph A. Ellison of Hurtsboro in appreciation of his gift of $25,000.[27] On Founders' Day in 1942 the Chair of English was appropriately named for Miss Bessie Teague, who had loyally continued to give her alma mater $1,000 a year during the past twenty-five years.[28] On Founders' Day, 1945, another friend who had been generous through the years was honored when Mrs. W. A. Bellingrath received the first LL. D. degree that Huntingdon had ever awarded.[29] At commencement of this same year the Chair of Religion was named for two other good friends and benefactors, Mr. and Mrs. Walter D. Bellingrath of Mobile, in whose honor, it was announced, each future graduate of Huntingdon would be presented with a copy of the Bible.[30] In 1950 Mr. Bellingrath gave his famous Bellingrath Gardens to a charitable, religious, and educational foundation with the arrangement that twenty per cent of its net earnings would go to Huntingdon College.[31] Two years later he presented the new Green Window to the College chapel.

At the end of the six years during which the College sought successfully to free itself from debt, Dr. Searcy announced a further financial campaign in order to strengthen the academic life of the campus. Meanwhile, however, the course of world events had brought about a war whose results were to affect that academic program profoundly. Only two months after Dr. Searcy and Bishop Decell made their tour for funds, Hitler marched into Poland. In the same month in which Huntingdon again won full membership in the Southern Association, Nazi forces occupied Denmark and Norway. Just before May Day, 1940, Mrs. Miriam Arrington Schilder, an alumna, was giving Scribblers and Chi Delta Phi an account of Hitler's occupation of Vienna, when she herself had seen the conqueror riding into the city, "a little insignificant rat of a man with a pasty complexion and bulgy under the eyes."[32] By the following January a student poll revealed that the campus favored aid to

Britain but not the sale of airplanes to Russia.[33] Later in the spring *Huntress* editor Barbara Hasson thought that, after earlier betraying the Czechs, Britain had now redeemed herself by aiding the Greeks.[34] Student concern about events in Europe continued to increase in the fall of 1941, when Editor Margaret Lee Jones declared in November "We Must Fight" and with satisfaction in December "We Are Fighting."[35] The Second World War was on, and the College was to be more conscious of it than of any other war since the great conflict of the 1860's.

Eager to do their part on the home front, the students engaged enthusiastically in the national defense program. Largely under the direction of Dean of Women Marylee Collins, they organized a Student Defense Council and participated in various campus drives. The Student Defense Council, organized in January 1942, appointed committees to take charge of selling war bonds and stamps, saving waste paper and metal, knitting and bandage-rolling for the Red Cross, and enrolling students in first aid courses,[36] activities that were later divided among the four classes.[37] In 1943 the College was hostess to all the Alabama college defense councils, of which Huntingdon's Jane Greene was general chairman.[38] Students collected old textbooks for service men,[39] conserved electricity by storing percolators and toasters for the duration, and submitted willingly to meatless meals.[40] They also had their blood typed for Red Cross emergency transfusions, studied nutrition for defense, and broadcast programs on home-front problems. In the city they assisted in ration-book registration and worked with rehabilitation centers.

Perhaps the most effective student war work was done in the selling of war bonds and stamps. In a campus competition among the dormitories in May 1942, Pratt Hall residents were winners, having bought bonds worth $3,032 in a student total of $7,530.60.[41] Beginning in January 1943 the sale was placed on a competitive basis among the classes. According to the rules, each class nominated one of its members to represent it

in the competition for the title "Miss Liberty Lass." Each penny spent for war stamps counted as one vote for a candidate, and each bond paid for a hundred votes. At the conclusion of the contest, in which thousands of dollars' worth of stamps and bonds were bought, Nellie Ruth Lloyd was declared Miss Liberty Lass of 1943.[42] In the fall of 1944 the Sixth War Loan Drive was opened with a skit in League Forum, and interest in bond-buying continued to increase on the campus.[43] On the streets of Montgomery, as well as on the campus, Huntingdon students proved effective salesmen. "Minute Maidens," in costumes bought by the College, had entire charge of the sale of bonds and stamps in downtown Montgomery every Saturday.[44] On one day in the spring of 1945 their sales totaled $46,400.

Aside from the defense work of the students, the war produced many other effects on the campus, both on its academic program and on its general outlook. After speaking with pride in 1944 of the number of alumnae and faculty who were serving in the armed forces, Dr. Searcy declared: "It may be that our greatest contribution at Huntingdon is to keep alive and strengthen those ideals for which we are fighting. When we see the tragedy of a world at war, we see the need for greater understanding among men, for keener appreciation of the aspects of life that endure, for love of beauty, and acquaintance with music, literature, and art, and a deeper knowledge of the relations of people."[45] From the beginning the conflict had brought the College the recognition that the maintenance of a high standard of study was the best service it could render. The war also produced certain new classes in the curriculum,[46] and, more important, it resulted in the accelerated program whereby a student could complete the college course in three years of both winter and summer sessions.[47]

There was a growing campus emphasis on an international outlook and an enlightened attitude toward American problems. In an attempt to understand the world situation, students and faculty attended numerous addresses and discussions

on international policy by experts brought to the College during the war years, as, for example, in the Institute of World Affairs in 1943.[48] The international interest dominated the 1942 May Day. The annual pageant, which had dramatized freedom after the first entrance into the Southern Association in the late 1920's and hope during the Depression of the early 1930's, now reflected the campus mood again in the unfurling of the flags of the twenty-six United Nations as the climax of "V for Victory."[49]

Foreign students on the campus were an effective force for encouraging international sympathies that transcended even the United Nations. For many years Huntingdon had from time to time enrolled students from various parts of the world: Mexico, Honduras, Sweden, France, Serbia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, China, and Japan. After the war, through the sponsorship of the Huntingdon Christian Association, a "Displaced Person" from Estonia was to enter and in 1952 to be graduated from Huntingdon. One or two foreign students lived in the dormitories almost every year. The Oriental students always attracted special interest. In the 1930's a Chinese girl roomed with a Japanese from the ill-fated city of Hiroshima. In 1942 Mary Eoyang registered at Huntingdon and became the subject of astonished but approving comment throughout the United States because she requested to room with a Japanese girl, explaining that, even though the Japanese were at war with the Chinese, she did not hate the Japanese. "I knew," said Mary Eoyang, "that a Japanese and a Chinese girl rooming together would create a democratic atmosphere."[50] Such a philosophy differed so radically from the war spirit common in the early 1940's that it made a deep impression on campus thinking.

The war also brought social changes to the campus. There had been earlier social gains, sturdily supported by both President Searcy[51] and Dean of Women Marylee Collins. At the end of her first year in office Mrs. Collins was praised for "the emancipation of dates and elimination of much red tape regulations."[52] A letter to the editor of *The Huntress* declared,

"The progress that has been made by student government, with the assistance of Mrs. Collins, during the last few years, amazes me."[53]

In addition to this liberalizing of rules, the war years saw increased opportunities for social life because of the large number of cadets that passed through Maxwell and Gunter Air Bases and that eagerly cultivated the acquaintance of Huntingdon while taking their aviation training. Their airplanes were heard all day and half the night, and great was the campus interest in the lieutenants.[54] In the first fall of the war young British cadets were learning to fly at Maxwell during the week and making friends at Huntingdon on Sunday afternoons.[55] One R. A. F. pilot, trying to express the charm of the campus, dashed off this fragment which Editor Ruth Miller afterwards published with apologies in *The Huntress:*

To Huntingdon

Fair flower of knowledge tree,
Set delicately midst campus green,
Your reddened hue softened by the years,
Kissed by the sun, sweetened in the rain.
Loving Mother, exulting in her daughter's joy,
Giving, yet asking little in return,
Happy in the knowledge of her part,
Epitome of charm and dignity.[56]

Later the French cadets came, and were entertained with equal hospitality on the campus and in the homes of faculty members.

The largest number of campus callers were, of course, the American pilots, navigators and bombadiers from the two air fields, outnumbering even the visitors from Auburn. In the last months of the war, declaring "Wings and Bars Keep Girls Up in the Air," *The Huntress* recalled how the first Maxwell cadets had swarmed out to Huntingdon in their officers' blouses and convertibles, and how, after their training was over, came the invasion of B-24's and brand new second lieutenants, and finally more cadets with B-29's for Maxwell and B-25's for Gunter.[57] The young men reciprocated campus courtesies by entertaining at cadet balls at the air fields, for

which at one time it was popular for the escort to present a "victorage," a victory corsage of U. S. war stamps.[58]

Only a year after Huntingdon's drive to free itself from debt had been successfully completed, World War II was over. With victory and peace came the great return of American G.I.'s, who were to bring more changes to the campus than the cadets had done. The aftermath of the war at Huntingdon was coeducation. In every year except one (1945-1946) since the thirty-seven local boys were admitted in 1932 during the emergency of the Depression, there had always been a few male students on the campus. But in the fall of 1946, because of the crowded condition in colleges for men, Huntingdon officially opened its doors to men as day students "to cooperate with Governor Sparks, the Veteran's Administration and other educational institutions in the state so that men who served in the armed forces who wish to enter college may have the opportunity to do so."[59] The move was applauded by Montgomerians, who saw the act as a courtesy if not an obligation to the city. A few years later the *Montgomery Advertiser* declared, in applauding the admission of men: "The fact is that our state-owned institutions simply aren't located where they should be, but where the population indicated scores of years ago."[60] The *Alabama Journal* quoted approvingly Dr. Searcy's statement that, since first admitted to the campus in the early 1930's the men "have by their cooperation, loyalty and hard work, earned their place on the campus," and become student leaders, holding high offices.[61]

The first effect of this invasion of about a hundred men was curricular. The College opened the 1946-1947 session with a special effort to offer courses for the benefit of the veterans. As time passed and the men remained, more pre-professional courses were added, and the faculty was expanded accordingly. Pre-professional courses of from one to four years were available by 1954 in such fields as agriculture, architecture, dentistry, forestry, journalism, law, medicine, optometry, physics, pharmacy, and theology.[62] The new department of business ad-



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enthusiastically, and they added their talents to Fire Frolic, White Christmas, the Senior Comedy, the Pierrette play, and such memorable May Day pageants as "Circus Big Top."

Only in student government did the men feel left out. On a campus where the majority of the matriculants had always been dormitory residents, the governmental set-up was dominated by these dormitory students, and the influence of day students, both men and women, was strictly limited. Inspired largely by realistic criticism from the men, the student body of 1950-1951 set about adjusting student government to include dormitory and non-dormitory matriculants on a more equal footing. After the suggestion of reorganization was made at the Retreat of student officers in September 1950, Dr. Searcy secured campus government and activity plans from twenty colleges and universities as a basis for comparison and evaluation, and, at the request of the students, appointed an over-all college committee of students, faculty, and administrative officers to take charge of the reorganization.[66] The new constitution of Student Government Association, framed by this group and accepted by a large majority vote in May 1951, created an Executive Council with responsibility for the entire student program. It also added to the Dormitory Section of Student Court a much-needed Town Section for the non-dormitory students, both men and women.

Student enrollment at Huntingdon increased phenomenally during the 1940's. Even before the entrance of two hundred men brought an all-time peak of 860 matriculants from seventeen states and thirteen denominations during the session of 1947-1948,[67] enrollment figures had already doubled during Dr. Searcy's administration. To take care of such an increase a certain amount of repairs and expansion was necessary. From year to year extensive improvements were made in the buildings. For instance in the summer of 1941, in preparation for a capacity enrollment, the interior walls of the buildings were painted, the porches of the dormitories repaired, the chapel redecorated and supplied with a handsome new curtain, the

Hut redecorated, and the dining room supplied with new tables, chairs, china and other equipment. The most popular improvement of this summer was the purchase of new beds equipped with innerspring mattresses for all the dormitories. In the fall *The Huntress* commented appreciatively in a headline, "Spring Air Mattresses, Water Coolers, Telephones Make Sissies of Students."[68] Among many improvements to follow, the executive offices in Flowers Hall were air-conditioned in 1950 and the Little Theater was renovated in 1953. The campus, too, received more care from workmen than it ever had before. From the time in 1944 when Paul T. Stone directed that the pleasant hawthorne thicket back of the Green be cleared except for the adequate backdrop provided for the outdoor amphitheater by Hawthorne Hedge,[69] the campus grew constantly trimmer and neater. Under the supervision of Business Manager C. M. Reaves, who assumed office in 1945, it attained its present smooth, rolling vistas and park-like appearance. Generous plantings of azaleas and camellias were provided by Alfred Delchamps, chairman of the Board of Trustees, and O. H. Delchamps.

The late forties necessarily brought the erection of some new buildings and the expansion or conversion of some old ones. With war-time restrictions finally removed from building activities, Dr. Searcy in 1946 let the contract for a new $200,000 woman's dormitory on the east campus.[70] This was completed in the fall of 1947, and in February 1948 a hundred girls moved in. In recognition of a gift from the Ligon family, it was named Ligon Hall in honor of the long-time president of the Board of Trustees, Lieutenant-Governor Robert F. Ligon, who had been a member of the board from the original chartering of the College in 1854 until his death in 1899, and in honor of his son, Robert F. Ligon, Jr.[71] Also in 1946, in order to make room for the expansion of the chemistry department in the basement of Bellingrath Hall, the new book store was built under the Hut.[72] Across the campus driveway from Ligon Hall, in April 1949 workmen began the erection of the new

home for the president, the gift of the Delchamps family of Mobile.[73] By the 1953-1954 session the clamor of a group of men students for lodging on the campus resulted in the use of the upper floor of Faculty House as the first men's dormitory. Yet the chief expansion necessary for the men, most of whom were Montgomerians, was in the laboratories and in the chapel.

In the 1950's the chapel underwent numerous changes. Built to seat 530 people, it was unable to hold the increased student body, and on such public occasions as Carl Sandburg's appearance visitors and students were forced to stand in the cloisters or were turned away.[74] In 1949-1950 the College undertook the enlargement of the chapel by means of a balcony planned to seat 220 people, an improvement for which the Alabama Conference recommended raising $50,000.[75] In 1952 friends of the College added new chapel windows of Belgian and French stained glass, specially designed by A. W. Klemme, president of the High Point Glass and Decorative Company, High Point, North Carolina, and made by his company. Mr. Klemme, who emigrated from Germany when he was a young man, is descended from a family that has made stained glass for three hundred years and that all those years has kept the secret of its own particular method.[76] Mr. Klemme, now an octogenarian, is an artist who refuses to design a window unless he has an inspiration for it. He was especially interested in the creation of the new Green Window. The windows were dedicated on May 13, 1953, in honor of distinguished citizens and friends of the College. The Green Window honors Mr. and Mrs. Walter Duncan Bellingrath, and the eight side windows bear the names of Dr. George W. F. Price, Mr. and Mrs. William Henry Purcell, Sam Jones Carroll, Ruth Lawrence, Doretta Elisabeth Kaacks, Charles E. Estes, Annie Delchamps Moore and Mrs. Marylee Collins.

Although he was realistic enough to insist upon the physical improvements and expansion necessary to accommodate the campus community comfortably, Dr. Searcy's greatest interest from the beginning lay in the strengthening of the scholastic

program itself. After restoring Huntingdon to financial stability during the Second World War and expanding the plant to take care of the much greater enrollment that came during and after the war, he could devote somewhat more thought and financial support to specific programs for academic improvement. He expressed his own philosophy of education to the trustees: "Those calm, inspiring words carved in stone over the entrance to Flowers Hall serve admirably as our motto: 'Enter to grow in wisdom; go forth to apply wisdom in service.' We have dedicated our college to a program which combines academic excellence with spiritual motivation to provide a foundation for a useful and happy life. That is sound education and sound religion."[77] Insisting that all the rest of college life, no matter how good, is only the trimmings, Dr. Searcy has continued to emphasize academic excellence as the real thing.

The new president did not wait until the College was free from debt before attempting to build up academic excellence, though he was later able to adopt a stronger program when the financial strain was eased. His first concern was to raise teacher standards by selecting the faculty for their advanced degrees and their citizenship qualities. In addition he more than doubled their salaries within his first eight years in office, placing Huntingdon in this respect among the upper ten per cent of Southern colleges.[78] He gave further financial security by introducing plans for a retirement fund in which the College matched an annual five per cent of the teacher's salary, paid to the Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association, an organization fostered by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.[79] The retirement program was strengthened by the admission in 1951 to the government's social security benefits.[80] In order to provide advantageous professional contacts and intellectual stimulation Dr. Searcy encouraged faculty attendance at scholarly meetings and offered to have the College pay half the necessary expenses to one session each year[81]—a provision later increased to include

two sessions for the individual teacher, one state meeting and one regional or national meeting. Meanwhile he continued to insist on the importance of the quality of instruction and on increased reciprocity in faculty-administration relations.[82]

One of President Searcy's contributions during the 1940's to his faculty's continued development was the series of faculty grants-in-aid that he secured from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Huntingdon was one of only two colleges in Alabama singled out by the Carnegie Foundation for inclusion in this program. These grants totaled $4,000 annually for a period of five years, supplemented by $1,000 each year from the College.[83] They made possible either reduced teaching loads or leaves of absence for a semester or summer while the recipients cultivated their fields of special interest. While the program was in effect, from 1946 to 1952, eighteen members of the Huntingdon faculty enjoyed a total of forty-nine grants. Over $36,651 was made available to them for research and creativity during the six years. "A List of Work Published or Accepted for Publication, and of Creative Work Exhibited or Performed," appearing in the final report of the Carnegie Foundation on this project, records forty-three items from Huntingdon teachers—chiefly scholarly articles and books, with the addition of some compositions in music and painting.[84] Not only the recipients but also the entire campus felt the new impetus to learning and creativity that the Carnegie grants brought. Teaching both inside and outside the classroom was enriched by the new achievements of the faculty and by the interest awakened in their continued research and composition.

Dr. Searcy sought to improve classroom instruction not only by offering the faculty opportunities to increase their capacity and zest for teaching but also by improving the College equipment with which they taught. By applying to the Carnegie Corporation and to the General Education Board of New York City, a Rockefeller agency, he was able to procure substantial additions to the resources of the music and art departments,

the chemistry and physics laboratories, and the library. The Carnegie Corporation in the fall of 1942 presented Huntingdon with a music record set consisting of an electric record-player, 600 records, a walnut cabinet, fifty-four record albums, and a card index file, with which a record room in Flowers Hall was furnished. At the same time the Carnegie organization sent the College 159 volumes dealing with art and the history of art, a valuable addition to the library's collection of art books. In the fall of 1946 the General Education Board of New York announced a grant of $20,000 over a four-year period. Half of this amount was ear-marked for additional books for the Houghton Memorial Library and the other half for equipment for the chemistry and physics laboratories.[85] During Dr. Searcy's administration the library holdings have been tripled and the science laboratories have become well equipped. The most recent department to be refurnished is that of home economics. In 1952 a trustee, C. R. Rew of Birmingham, re-equipped the department in order to make it complete with the most modern appliances before the fall term opened.[86] Mr. Rew's most recent gift was the television set placed in the College book store in the summer of 1953.

Another step in the qualitative program of Dr. Searcy's administration has been an increase in the selection and guidance of the students in order to improve the academic possibilities of the group. During his period in office, 1937-1945, Dean L. L. Clifton increased the use of the results of the standardized tests given to all entering freshmen. Since that period candidates for admission have been screened with increasing care. Dean of the College Paul T. Stone, Dean of Women Marylee Collins, and Executive Secretary Charles C. Turner cooperated in the development of this program. Background, character, and citizenship qualities, as well as the academic record, are recorded and considered in detail before the candidate is admitted. Dean Stone has invented efficient methods of both recording and registering. Since he took office in 1945 upperclassmen have registered in the spring for their fall courses and

freshmen have registered by mail before their arrival in the fall.[87] As a result Recorder Jean Rodgers has time to work out problems and conflicts in schedule and thus prevent much confusion and shifting of sections later.

Once registered, the Huntingdon student becomes the object of a counseling and guidance program, first introduced in its present comprehensive form in the fall of 1951. This counseling attempts to be educational, vocational, personal, and social.[88] For first-year freshmen it is administered by Dr. R. Glenn Massengale, who is also dean of men, and carried on by faculty members designated as part-time general counselors. The freshman's appointed counselor makes a systematic effort through personal conferences to arrive at an understanding of his abilities and disabilities and his special interests, and through this knowledge to help him to select appropriate courses. This personal counselor also gives advice concerning vocational and social problems. After the student has chosen his major subject or field of concentration, the guidance concerning his academic program is given by the head of his major department or adviser of his pre-professional field under the supervision of the dean of the college. The dean of men is responsible for vocational counseling after the freshman level and serves as placement officer. He and the dean of women take charge of personal and social guidance for the men and women students, respectively. An advisory committee of the faculty reviews and evaluates the program periodically.

Throughout the past decade, under the leadership of Dean Stone, the faculty has broadened the curriculum and raised scholastic requirements. Available fields of concentration listed in the 1954-1955 catalog include departmental majors (requiring twenty-four or more semester hours) in art, biology, business administration, chemistry, education, English, French, history, home economics, mathematics, music, psychology, religion and philosophy, secretarial science, sociology, Spanish, and speech. Interdepartmental fields of concentration (requiring thirty-five or more semester hours) are premedical studies,

premedical technology, and teacher education. The faculty in 1954 introduced a pattern of general studies in support of the field of concentration, though the traditional minor of eighteen semester hours is still offered as a possible substitute. In the general studies program, the object of which is to give the student a broader background than the minor in one field permitted, options are allowed among a group of appropriate courses chosen by the faculty from almost all departments and listed specifically in the catalog. A student's plan of general studies must include courses from at least four departments, the minimum acceptable from any one department being two semester hours and the maximum six.

Specific courses required of all students for graduation include twelve semester hours of English, twelve of a foreign language, eight of a laboratory science or of mathematics, six of history, six of religion, and six of philosophy. Each student must complete 120 semester hours in academic courses and four units of physical activities, and must show twice as many quality points as semester hours. (In 1954 the value of quality points has been revised so that a grade of A becomes equivalent to four quality points, B to three, C to two, and D to one.) In addition to this minimum requirement, the student must earn during the junior and senior years twice as many quality points as there are hours remaining on the degree requirement at the time junior classification is attained, and must have a satisfactory cumulative grade point average. A grade point average of 2.00 is required in the courses presented for meeting the requirements for the field of concentration.

In keeping with the administration's emphasis on the qualitative rather than the merely quantitative possibilities of the academic program, special inducements and aids to scholarship have been added. Dr. Searcy announced to the trustees in May 1943: "We have instituted for next year courses of independent study for the superior students in order that they may have full opportunity to develop and prepare themselves for graduate study or explore fields which the aver-

age student cannot attain."[89] This opportunity for a senior, or in rare cases a junior, to pursue independent study under the general direction of a professor within the department of major interest has become one of the most significant academic offerings at Huntingdon. Candidates are carefully screened before admission to such study, and their topics scrutinized by a faculty committee set up for the purpose of administering the program. The project is usually an intensive, independent examination of some area of learning which the student has already explored in class work. Each special study is expected to involve some understanding of the methods of research and the guides to literature in the chosen field, and is concluded with the student's submission of some kind of formal written report to be determined by the nature of the project.[90] The work in independent study has proved to be good introduction to graduate school. Many of the topics pursued in independent study have been continued on the graduate level, sometimes providing the basis for the master's thesis. Some of the written reports on scientific experiments have been accepted for publication in professional journals.

A second stimulus to superior academic work is the emphasis placed on graduate study and the encouragement and counsel given students concerning it. A decade ago, shortly after the introduction of independent study courses, Dr. Searcy appointed a faculty committee on graduate study, whose special function was to interest students in continuing their studies after graduation and to give them information and advice in the matter.[91] Through faculty cooperation and the contagion of interest that spreads from recent alumni to undergraduates, the number of graduates who have gone on to do advanced study has increased considerably within the ten years. In the early 1950's an average of over twenty per cent of the senior class enrolls in either graduate or professional schools for the following year, and many others continue their studies after an interim of a year or two. This percentage is comparatively high among Southern colleges.

Dr. Searcy told the trustees in May 1944 that both the independent study courses and the graduate study committee were introduced for the purpose of strengthening scholarship on the campus, adding, "We have grown larger in numbers in recent years but we have not lost our interest in the individual student."[92]

Still another method of encouraging and recognizing the scholarship of the individual student was adopted in 1950, when Dr. Searcy appointed a special faculty committee to work out details for the formation of a scholarship society on the campus.[93] For some time a majority of the faculty had felt that the campus honor society, Tri Sigma, whose purpose is to recognize the combination of scholarship, spirit, and service among each year's seniors, needed to be supplemented by an organization that stood exclusively for scholarship. As Tri Sigma had been modeled on Mortar Board, the new honor society was suggested by Phi Beta Kappa. Established in the fall of 1950 as Alpha Beta, it requires an average of a 3.75 grade point ratio during the college course for membership the second semester of the junior year and a 3.5 grade point ratio (equivalent to half A's and half B's) for senior membership.[94] Dean Stone tapped the first members of Alpha Beta in a ceremony in assembly on January 19, 1951,[95] when Dean Marten ten Hoor of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Alabama, made the address. Charter members were Ruth Barnes, Betty Brunson, Betty Edgar, Sue Francis, Alice Knight, and Janeene Smith.

One of President Searcy's contributions to the intellectual life of the entire campus and also of Montgomery has been the long line of nationally known speakers whom he has selected and had the College bring to the campus for periods varying from an evening to a week. "The list of people who have appeared at this college in recent years is beginning to look like a chapter from *Who's Who,*" commented the *Alabama Journal* in 1945.[96] Citizens of Montgomery have crowded to Huntingdon to hear these speakers and have expressed their

obligation to the College for opening these events to the public without charge. A typical expression of the appreciation comes from the *Montgomery Advertiser* of several years ago:

> Several times within the space of a few weeks Dr. Hubert Searcy, president of Huntingdon College, has put Montgomerians deeply in his debt. Many of us have enjoyed the rare opportunity of listening to such authorities and men of international reputation as Joseph C. Grew, former ambassador to Japan; Robert Bellaire, noted correspondent; and Emil Ludwig, perhaps the world's outstanding living biographer. . . . Ruth Bryan Owen who is next on the schedule is one of the best known contemporary lecturers.
>
> What magical formula of persuasion Dr. Searcy has at his command that enables him to entice such noted authorities to Montgomery is not known to the public. What secret alchemy he has at his disposal that he may offer a sufficiency of the filthy lucre to these people who must surely be paid at least for their time and expense would make him a highly paid executive in any one of a thousand big corporations. Huntingdon's youthful president should prove an invaluable assistant to Secretary Morgenthau in these days of astronomical finance.
>
> But we suspect that Dr. Searcy . . . is dedicated to the task of bringing to Montgomery every cultural advantage possible with the means at his disposal. Whatever it is the young Doctor has in such abundance—and we have a vague feeling it isn't dollars, but sense—Montgomery is everlastingly grateful for the fortune which cast him into our lap.
>
> Thanks, Huntingdon![97]

Among many other prominent speakers who have appeared in the Huntingdon auditorium during the past few years are John Mason Brown, drama critic; William L. Shirer, Leland Stowe, and Larry Allen, foreign correspondents; Sir Hubert Wilkins, polar explorer and scientist; Charles Morgan, British novelist; Uland E. Fehlau, Goethe scholar; Mithrapurnam K. Alexander of India; Dr. Tibor K. Bebak of Hungary; Dr. Y. C. Yang, president of Soochow University; Mrs. Induk Pahk, first United Nations representative from Korea; Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the *New York Times;* Ruth Lawrence, missionary to Poland; Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review;* poets Carl Sandburg and Robert P. Tristram Coffin; Georgia author Willie Snow Ethridge; Georgia artist Lamar

Dodd; world traveler Louis J. Alber; R. D. Jameson of the Library of Congress; Dr. M. D. Peterson of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. As in the case of the poet Robert P. Tristram Coffin, some of these visitors have remained for several days of discussions in student groups. In commenting on the value to the campus of these stimulating visitors *The Huntress* declared succinctly in an editorial headline: "Horizons Are Broadened."[98]

The forum method of encouraging thinking and expression, always popular at Huntingdon, has grown in importance during the present administration. Not only student forums, long practised by Student Government Association and Huntingdon Christian Association (Y. W. C. A. until 1942, and Student Christian Association until 1952), but now student-faculty forums and faculty forums on current campus questions have increased mutual understanding and been a salutary influence in formulating new programs, especially in student activities. Among the valuable student-faculty forums held through one or more days at the beginning of the fall term was the one in 1951 on the subject of the honor system, at the conclusion of which there was appointed a joint committee that presented an eight-point plan for amending the honor code. In the aftermath of the West Point cheating scandal, the *Montgomery Advertiser* was moved to comment with admiration on a college which still believed in an honor system and could make it work.[99] It was interested to learn that since 1944 an Honor Council, an agency of student government composed of the members of the Executive Council, had fostered the ideals of honor and dealt with any cases of academic dishonesty. Another forum-born idea was the move to reorganize the Student Government Association in 1952. Initiated by student officers at Retreat, the plan was thrashed out in a series of sessions of students and faculty before being formulated for submission to a student vote.

At Dr. Searcy's suggestion, also, faculty groups have held forums in an attempt to define a program or an idea important

for the campus. One of the most rewarding of these was the curriculum committee's attempt to define its conception of the function of the liberal arts college. It was a method of evaluating the effectiveness of this liberal arts college. After all the members of the committee had contributed their conceptions, Dean Paul T. Stone shaped his own expression of them in a vigorous statement which was read to the faculty at their next meeting.[100]

While the curricular program has produced more innovations and justly received more emphasis, the extracurricular activities of the students have continued to develop and in their own way to enrich campus life. The pattern of these activities, in most cases, was cut during the late twenties and early thirties, but the observance of special events has often grown more colorful with the years, as in the case of the traditional Oracle Hunt, Fire Frolic, and May Day pageant. Athletic Association, Huntingdon Christian Association, Publications Union, and Student Government Association remain the Big Four on the campus. In addition, the departmental and non-departmental clubs and honor societies continue to flourish. Student activities are still designed to give every student on the campus an opportunity for creativity, and a system of activity points is still used to encourage as wide participation as possible.

The graduates of the College have engaged as a group in their own forms of activity, too. The Alumnae Association, first formed in 1873, has continued its support through this administration as through all others for the past eighty years. It took a leading part in subscribing funds for the Forward Movement drive in Dr. Searcy's first year and has continued its interest and its attendance from May Day to May Day ever since. In recent years alumnae have made a special effort to have Founders' Day observed annually around the world wherever alumnae live. Commenting on plans for this worldwide celebration, the *Alabama Journal* editor found it surprising to note how many states of the Union and how many cities of the states possessed Huntingdon alumnae.[101] He was especial-

ly interested to learn that there would be a Founders' Day celebration in Japan.

Huntingdon alumnae have won distinction in many occupations during the past century. They are leaders in civic and club life also, and, since their admission to the American Association of University Women under Dr. Searcy's leadership,[102] they are increasing their opportunities for influence both in national councils and abroad. The Executive Committee of the Association continues its custom of annually recognizing some outstanding alumna by selecting her for the Alumnae Achievement Award. Since its establishment in 1937 the recipients of this honor, all of whose names appear on the alumnae plaque in the loggia of Flowers Hall, are: Louise Crenshaw Ray, Olive M. Stone, Ellen Rush Sturdivant, Christine McCann, Louise Branscomb, Addie Lee Farish, Bess Adams, Alma Sims Martin, Eloise Liddon Soper, Mary M. Smith, Ruth Lawrence, Elizabeth May, Mary Elizabeth Skinner, Lorraine Buck, Zora Ellis, Lillie Maude Bell Alexander, Lena Vail Davis, Julia Walker Russell.

Now that Huntingdon has a growing number of male graduates it possesses an Alumni Association also. This group was organized in July 1950 with Jim Upchurch, Jr., as its first president.[103] Among other things, it has been instrumental in securing for Huntingdon three one-hundred-dollar scholarships as a gift from the Montgomery Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.[104] The possession of an Alumni Association is one measure of the distance Huntingdon has come since it was chartered a century ago as Tuskegee Female College.

The gains of all the years from 1854 to 1954 are being reviewed as Huntingdon graduates gather in 1954 to celebrate the centennial of their alma mater. Meanwhile, to take care of its needs for endowment and buildings, the College is establishing a Centennial Fund of $1,500,000. Vigorous leadership is being given to this movement by Bishop Clare Purcell of The Methodist Church, now head of the Birmingham Area, and Alfred Delchamps, chairman of the Huntingdon Board of Trustees. Bishop Purcell, a native of Columbia, Alabama, has

had many connections with the College. He served for a number of years as a member of the Board of Trustees. His sisters are graduates of A.C.F.C., and his mother and father are commemorated by one of the Huntingdon chapel windows. He has given more time and active interest to the College than have any of his predecessors in office. Mr. Delchamps, a business man and civic leader of Mobile whom *The Huntress* has called "the best friend we have," has been a member of the Board of Trustees since 1937 and chairman since 1948. He has the distinction of being the only layman to head the board in the past half century. With his brother, O. H. Delchamps, and his sister, Mrs. Annie Delchamps Moore, he gave the new president's home in 1949.

Endorsing the 1954 financial campaign, the *Montgomery Advertiser* quoted Dr. Searcy's statement that during his administration the College had paid a $243,000 debt and operated without a deficit, had doubled student enrollment, and had more than doubled faculty salaries and instructional expenditure per student, but had not yet increased either one enough for the desired academic strength.[105] "These achievements," declared the *Alabama Journal,* "warrant a Centennial Fund which will provide an even greater Huntingdon in the future."[106] It is planned to invest half of this Centennial Fund of $1,500,000 in endowment to increase further the financial stability of the College. With the other half three buildings are to be erected—a Religion and Fine Arts Building across the driveway from Bellingrath Hall, an extension of Bellingrath Hall in order to provide additional space for the science departments, and a gymnasium and swimming pool. These buildings and a more nearly adequate endowment fund will make possible the continued growth of Huntingdon's liberal arts program.

Although during the hundred years celebrated by the centennial of 1954 the College existed for approximately half a century on each of two different campuses and has been governed by eleven successive presidents, it has maintained a unity of purpose in its development. It is true that economically the

pendulum has swung back and forth, from the prosperity of the founding days in the 1850's to the threatened annihilation during war and Reconstruction and the panic of 1870's, from the stability and confidence restored in the 1880's and 1890's to the early insecurity in Montgomery in the new century, from safety during and after the First World War and optimism during the great expansion in the 1920's to the difficulty of surviving the Depression, and finally back to a greater security than the College had ever known with the beginning of the present administration in 1938. Throughout the hundred years the College has been largely a product of the times; when the country has prospered, the College has usually prospered, too. But it has also been a product of the governing spirit of its administrators and faculty. Though different periods have seen a difference in prosperity, and some administrations have contributed more financial stability than others have been able to, yet all have stood together in giving it unity of purpose. Huntingdon has been a liberal arts college ever since its establishment under the scholarly Dr. A. A. Lipscomb. Through the century it has constantly raised its standards, but its reputation for a serious liberal arts curriculum is now a century old. It has always aimed at "academic excellence combined with spiritual motivation."

In no period has there been a greater impetus to the development of the liberal arts ideal than in the current administration. Dean Stone's statement to the faculty at the conclusion of the curriculum committee's forum on the subject incorporates the ideal and the objective of Huntingdon. It should be pondered by all its students, graduates, and friends.

> The center of interest for the student of the liberal arts is occupied by the human side of civilization and the culture which represents the highest attainments of man's intellectual and emotional life.
>
> To seek these is a noble quest, an end worthy in itself. . . .
>
> Three pledges should be exacted of each one who undertakes the quest: first, that he will seek actively and sincerely to discover the nature of man and to comprehend his culture; second, that



MASSEY HALL AND LIGON HALL, ERECTED 1916 AND 1947



PRESIDENT'S HOME, ERECTED IN 1949

he will search widely enough to gain the most complete horizon consistent with his ability; third, that he will strive to learn to think accurately and to act wisely. These pledges cannot be fulfilled in a brief span of four years, or perhaps in fifty, but an attempt to achieve them can add zest to a complete lifetime.

The arena of the liberal arts is largely in the realm of ideas. . . .

Emphasis on intellectual processes should not overshadow the importance of emotions in the life of one who becomes liberally educated. The kind of emotional enjoyment available to him should be one of life's most coveted prizes. It gives him inner resources which free him from the bondage of forever needing external entertainment. The emotions most characteristic of liberal intellectual pursuits are so cultivated and so integrated with each other and with reason that they enhance life rather than confuse or destroy it. . . .

Much enjoyment comes from sharing with others experiences of many kinds with regard to man's physical environment. To be adequately rich, the experience shared must reach into the past, extend into far-away places, and penetrate beyond the limits of sensory discernibility into the wonders of the revelations of the natural sciences.

One who studies man's cultural achievements widely enough comes almost inevitably to a sense of man's dignity. He comes almost as certainly to the conviction that the individual realizes his own best development not by effacing himself nor, on the other hand, by aggrandizing his own selfhood. He comes to recognize that individual destinies are bound together almost inescapably with those of society, and that the greatest good results from enhancing the mutuality of this relationship.

This point of view leads naturally to interest in various fields of learning such as: (1) those which deal with the nature of man, with right relationships between men, and with man's relationship to ultimate realities, (2) history, which gives a comprehensive view of man's past; (3) the various fine arts; (4) languages and literature, both as means for exchange of ideas and as sources of aesthetic delight; (5) the subjects which contribute understanding of organized social relationships such as sociology, economics and government; (6) natural sciences and mathematics as pure sciences.

A characterization of the liberal arts, however brief, must stress the idea of individuality and individual freedom within proper social limits, for that is one of the essences. Without it the flavor is something altogether different. In the liberal arts situation there need not be uniformity of opinion. . . . The principle involved in the slogans "Think and let think," "Live and let live," is part and parcel of the liberal arts. Adventure and the liberal arts may walk hand in hand. . . .

It is recognized that not everyone will pause to enjoy the delights of the liberal arts. They are not for him who is in a hurry to begin a career toward material success. They are for him, however, who is willing to delay his climb toward material success in order to be able to climb ultimately to greater heights. They are also for him who values rich life more than he values livelihood. . . . The object of the liberal arts is "life and the life which is more abundant."

With this ideal set before it Huntingdon enters on its second century of service, happy in the continued administration of the president who has brought it the greatest measure of financial stability and academic enrichment.

Notes

CHAPTER I

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2. Minnie Clare Boyd, *Alabama in the Fifties* (New York, 1931), p. 79.
3. Letter of Dr. Sims, dated Jan 23, 1850, MS in Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.
4. Anson West, *History of Methodism in Alabama* (Nashville, Tenn., 1896), p. 611.
5. "Tuskegee in 1859," *Tuskegee Weekly News*, May 11, 1876.
6. *Alabama Weekly Journal*, April 14, 1855
7. "Tuskegee in 1859," *Tuskegee Weekly News*, June 8, 1876.
8. *Tuskegee Republican*, Sept 10, 1857
9. "Some Facts in the History of the College," *Sagastaon* III, iii (Mar 1905), 3
10. Information from dates on her tombstone, Tuskegee cemetery.
11. Letter dated Oct. 31, 1855, in possession of Mrs. Hunter's granddaughter, Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie, Tuskegee
12. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, p. 728.
13. *Acts of the Fourth Biennial Session of the General Assembly of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1854), pp. 396-398.
14. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, p. 729.
15. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference of the M. E. Church, South, 1853* (Mobile, 1854), p 8.
16. Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, Jan. 28, 1854.
17. Unpublished diary in possession of Dr. Andrews' grandson, Warren Andrews, Montgomery
18. Montgomery *Weekly Advertiser*, July 24, 1855.
19. Deed Book K, p. 265, Probate Office, Macon County Court House, Tuskegee.
20. Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, Feb. 21, 1865.
21. Tuskegee *Weekly News*, May 11, 1876.
22. Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, July 10, 1856.

CHAPTER II

1. Fielding Russell, "Andrew A. Lipscomb, Georgia's First Chancellor" *Georgia Review*, V, i (Spring, 1951), 84.

2. Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), IV, 1052
3. James B. Sellers, *History of The University of Alabama* (University, Ala., 1953), I, 76.
4. Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, Feb. 18, 1854
5. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1855.
6. *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1854; Apr. 28, 1855.
7. *Mobile Tribune*, copied in *Alabama Weekly Journal*, Mar 23, 1853.
8. Microfilm files in the University of Alabama newspaper collection.
9. Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, Feb. 17, 1855.
10. A. A. Lipscomb, "Character," *Harper's*, XV, lxxxvi (July, 1857), 270.
11. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, IV, 1052.
12. Merton Coulter, "University of Georgia—Old and New," *Georgia Review*, V, i (Spring, 1951), 18.
13. *Southwestern Baptist*, June 19, 1856
14. Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, Feb 7, 1856.
15. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, p. 729.
16. Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, Feb 21, 1856.
17. *Ibid.*, Feb 7, 1856
18. *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1856.
19. *Idem.*
20. Information in letter to author from Mrs. Inez Shofner Murray, Macon, Ga., Dec 15, 1952.
21. John Massey, *Reminiscences* (Nashville, 1916), p. 281 (hereafter referred to as Massey).
22. Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, April 1, 1854.
23. *Mobile Register*, quoted in Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, June 9, 1854.
24. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of Georgia, quoted by Fielding Russell, "Andrew A Lipscomb, Georgia's First Chancellor," *Georgia Review*, V, i (Spring, 1951), 84
25. Unpublished diary (1856 1868) of Carrie Hunter (later Mrs. J E Cobb) in the possession of her daughter, Mrs Carrie Cobb Laslie, Tuskegee—entry dated Sept 14, 1857.
26. Letter dated Feb. 1857, in the possession of Mrs Carrie Cobb Laslie, Tuskegee
27. Diary of Carrie Hunter, July 16, 1858.
28. Fielding Russell, "Andrew A Lipscomb," *Georgia Review*, V, i (Spring, 1951), 84.
29. Lipscomb, "The Education of American Women," *Harper's*, XV, lxxxi (Nov, 1857), 781.
30. Lipscomb, "How We Exhaust Life," *Harper's*, XIX, cix (June, 1859), 123.
31. Lipscomb, "Rights and Wrongs of Women," *Harper's*, IX, xlix (June, 1854), 77-78.
32. Lipscomb, "The Education of American Women," *Harper's*, XV, lxxxi (Nov., 1857), 781.
33. Lipscomb, "The Progress of Womanhood," *Harper's*, XVI, xciv (March, 1858), 492.
34. Lipscomb, "Glimpses of the American Future," *Harper's*, XVIII, cii (Dec., 1858), 123.
35. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, May 11, 1876.
36. Circular in Manuscript Room of Alabama Department of Archives and History; no printer named.
37. Letter of Carrie Hunter, dated Nov. 17, 1857, presented by Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie to the Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library, Huntingdon College.
38. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Oct. 8, 1858.
39. *Tuskegee Republican*, Sept. 15, 1859.

40. Louise Manley, *History of Judson College 1838-1913* (Atlanta, [n. d.]), p. 90.
41. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference*, 1856 (Montgomery, 1857), p. 21.
42. *Tuskegee Republican*, Dec 25, 1856
43. Letter dated Sept. 29, 1858, in Leak Collection, owned by Fannie Leak Warren's grandson, Warren Andrews, Montgomery.
44. Letter dated Nov. 1, 1858, in Leak Collection.
45. Letters dated Nov. 1 and Nov. 21, 1858, in Leak Collection.
46. Letter dated March 17, 1860, in Leak Collection.
47. Letter dated Nov. 21, 1858, in Leak Collection.
48. These account books, recently discovered in the tower of the Macon County Court House, are to be placed in the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.
49. Diary of Carrie Hunter, May 26, 1856, and Oct. 8, 1858.
50. Lipscomb, "Readers by the Million," *Harper's*, XIX, cxiv (Nov., 1859), 839.
51. Montgomery *Weekly Alabama Journal*, Mar. 1, 1856.
52. Tuskegee *Macon Republican*, May 8, 1856.
53. Lipscomb, "Education of American Women," *Harper's*, XV, lxxxix (Nov., 1857), 781.
54 Diary of Carrie Hunter Cobb, 1858-1859, *passim*.
55. *Tuskegee Republican*, Mar. 11, 1858
56. *Ibid*, Jan. 6, 1859.
57 Information from letters to Fannie Leak at I F C., dated Feb 6, 1859, and Feb. 13, 1860, in Leak Collection.
58. Letter of Carrie Hunter, dated Dec 22, 1858, in possession of Mrs Carrie Cobb Laslie, Tuskegee.
59. *Tuskegee Republican*, June 18, 1857.
60. Diary of Carrie Hunter, April 4, 1859
61. Lipscomb, "Teachers and Teaching," *Harper's*, XVIII, civ (June, 1857), 124.
62. Lipscomb, "How Ought the American Mind to be Cultivated?" *Harper's*, XV, lxxxv (June, 1857), 124.
63. Lipscomb, "Lectures and Lecturing," *Harper's*, XIV, lxxix (Dec., 1856), 123.
64. Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, Aug. 6, 1850, and Sept. 27, 1851.
65. *Tuskegee Republican*, June 17, 1858.
66. *Ibid*, July 14, 1859.
67. *Idem*.
68 Diary of Carrie Hunter, Apr. 9, 1859.
69. *Tuskegee Republican*, July 14, 1859.
70. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, p. 754.

CHAPTER III

1. Original, presented by Miss Minter's niece, Miss Rose Pettus Weaver of Selma, preserved in the Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.
2. Unpublished letter in Leak collection, owned by Tilman Leak's great grandson, Warren Andrews of Montgomery.
3. Letter in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library, presented by Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie, Tuskegee.
4. *Tuskegee Republican*, Sept. 24, 1857.
5. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Apr. 9, 1859.
6. Massey, p. 282.
7. James B. Sellers, "Student Life at the University of Alabama before 1860," *Alabama Review*, II, 4 (Oct., 1949), 278.
8. *Corolla*, University of Alabama, II (1894), 77.
9. Information in letter to author from Dr. Price's daughter, Miss Elizabeth Price, Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 8, 1951.
10. Thomas Palmer, *Register of the University of Alabama*, 1901, p. 86.
11. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, Aug. 2, 1877.
12. *Corolla*, University of Alabama, II (1894), 78.

13. Atlanta newspaper clipping, July 1867, title and day missing (owned by Miss Elizabeth Price, Nashville, Tenn.).
14. Quoted in *Montgomery Daily Advertiser,* Jan 23, 1872.
15. Quoted by *Tuskegee Weekly News,* Apr. 29, 1880.
16. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Feb. 14, 1861.
17. Letter to the author from Miss Elizabeth Price, Nashville, Tenn., Feb. 20, 1952.
18. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Aug. 7, 1861.
19. *Tuskegee Republican,* Sept. 15, 1859.
20. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference,* 1858 (Marion, 1858), p. 27.
21. Massey, p. 282.
22. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1859* (Marion, 1859), p. 64
23. Massey, p. 281.
24. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1859,* p. 27
25. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1858,* p. 27
26. *Tuskegee Republican,* Sept. 15, 1859.
27. *South Western Baptist,* Nov. 8, 1860.
28. *Tuskegee Republican,* Sept. 15, 1859.
29. *Ibid.,* Sept. 2, 1858.
30. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1860* (Nashville, 1861), p. 31; *South Western Baptist,* July 19, 1860.
31. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser,* July 4, 1860.
32. *Ibid.,* Dec. 26, 1860.
33. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Jan. 1, 1861.
34. *Ibid.,* Jan. 7, 1861
35. *Ibid.,* Jan. 9, 10, 1861.
36. *Ibid.,* Apr. 16, 1861.
37. *Ibid.,* Apr. 19, 1861.
38. *Ibid.,* Feb. 20, 1861.
39. *Ibid.,* Feb. 23, 1861.
40. *Ibid.,* Mar. 29, 1861.
41. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser,* June 22, 1861.
42. *South Western Baptist,* June 27, 1861.
43. *Weekly Montgomery Confederation,* July 17, 1861.
44. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Aug. 21, 24, 1861.
45. *Ibid.,* Feb. 8, 13, 1862.
46. Quoted in *Montgomery Daily Advertiser,* June 19, 1864
47. *South Western Baptist,* July 3, 1862; Massey, p. 161.
48. *South Western Baptist,* Sept. 12, 1861
49. Diary of Carrie Hunter, 1861-1862, *passim*
50. *South Western Baptist,* July 3, 1862.
51. Diary of Carrie Hunter, June 28, 1862.
52. *South Western Baptist,* July 3, 1862.
53. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Sept. 28, 1862
54. *Glimpses into Antebellum Homes of Historic Huntsville, Alabama* (Huntsville [1952]), p. 28.
55. Information in letter to author from Miss Elizabeth Price, Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 8, 1951.
56. *Idem.*
57. Preface to *Shadows on the Wall* (Huntsville, Ala., 1899).
58. Diary of Carrie Hunter, June 10, 1863.
59. Letter dated Feb. 7, 1863, owned by Mrs. Carrie Cobb Lashe, Tuskegee.
60. Massey, p. 282.
61. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the Year 1862* (Nashville, 1870), p. 408.
62. Complete list of alumnae, *Annual Catalogue of Alabama Conference Female College 1885-86,* p. 8.
63. Diary of Carrie Hunter, July 1, 1863.

64. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1863* (Mobile, 1863), p. 15.
65. Massey, p. 282.
66. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Feb. 28, 1864.
67. Annette Howard, *Truths and Traditions of Old Tuskegee* (Tuskegee [1939]), p. 22.
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69. Annette Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
70. *Montgomery Daily Mail*, Jan. 7, Mar 31, 1864.
71. Massey, p. 283.
72. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Feb 28, 1864.
73. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, June 19, 1864.
74. Brown, *History of Alabama*, p. 246.
75. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1891), Series I, vol. xxxviii, part 2, pp 907-909
76. Diary of Carrie Hunter, July 24, 1864
77 *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1863.
78. *Ibid*, June 8, 1864.
79 *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, vol. xxxviii, part 2, p. 908
80. Diary of Carrie Hunter, June 8, 1864.
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83. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the year 1861* (Nashville, 1870), p. 516
84. Massey, p. 282; West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, p. 730.
85. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 20, 1864.
86. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Oct. 22, 1864.
87. Letter to Carrie Hunter, dated June 18, 1864, owned by Mrs Carrie Cobb Laslie, Tuskegee.
88. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Sept 1, 1865.
89. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Feb. 16, 1865.
90. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Jan 30, 1865.
91. Brown, *History of Alabama*, p 253.
92. Information from Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie, daughter of Mrs. Carrie Hunter Cobb, Tuskegee, Apr. 10, 1952.
93 Bell Irwin Wiley, "Billy Yank Down South," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXVI, iv (Autumn, 1950), 574.
94. *Montgomery Daily Mail* and *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Apr 24, 1865.
95. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Apr. 23, 1865.
96 *Ibid.*, May 7, 1865.
97. *Ibid*, May 25, 1865.
98. *Montgomery Daily Post*, July 3, 1865.
99 Diary of Carrie Hunter, May 25, 1865.
100. *Ibid*, June 10, 1865.
101. *Montgomery Daily Post*. July 3, 1865.
102 Diary of Carrie Hunter, July 2, 1865.
103. Complete list of alumnae, *Annual Catalogue of Alabama Conference Female College 1885-86*, p. 8.
104. Diary of Carrie Hunter, Sept. 3, 1865.
105. Information from Mrs. Julia Hunter Smith's daughter, Mrs. Carola Smith Hamrick, Montgomery, Feb. 26, 1953.
106. Letter given by Mrs. Carola Smith Hamrick, Montgomery, and preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.
107. Massey, p. 283.

CHAPTER IV

1. Massey, p. 283.
2. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 1, 1865.
3. *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1865.

4 *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1866.
5. Letter, in possession of Mrs. Margaret Fraser Adams' daughter, Mrs. Catharine Adams Gorrie, Montgomery.
6. Diary of Carrie Hunter, April 20, May 5, 1867.
7. Unpublished correspondence from the official file of Governor R. M. Patton, 1866, Alabama Department of Archives and History.
8. *Huntsville Independent*, quoted in *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 14, 1866.
9. Letter from Mrs J. W. Hunter, July 15, 1867, owned by her granddaughter, Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie, Tuskegee.
10. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Mar. 3, 1867.
11. *Ibid*, Mar. 24, 1867
12. *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1867.
13. *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1866.
14. *Tuskegee News*, Oct. 4, 1866.
15. *Ibid*, Oct. 11, 1866
16. Fannie Fletcher Elliott, "The College Kitchen," *Sagastaon*, II, i (May 1903), 6.
17 Letter owned by Mrs. Catharine Adams Gorrie, Montgomery.
18. Both art certificate and portrait were presented to the College by her sister, Mrs Catharine Adams Gorrie, Montgomery.
19 *Tuskegee News*, Nov. 29, 1866
20. *Ibid*, Jan 17, 1867.
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22. *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1869.
23. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, June 7, 1869
24. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 28, 1866.
25. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Sept. 3, 1867, Aug. 31, 1869.
26 Letter to the author from Miss Elizabeth Price, Feb. 20, 1952
27. *Idem.*
28. *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 20, 1870.
29. *Ibid*, Sept. 24, 1870.
30. *Minutes of Alabama Conference, 1870* (Selma [n.d.]), p. 30.
31. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, June 29, 1869
32. *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 21, 1871
33. *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, June 29, 1869
34. *Idem*
35. *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 21, 1871.
36. Brown, *History of Alabama*, p. 276
37. *Minutes of Alabama Conference, 1870*, p. 30
38. Massey, p. 283.
39. *Minutes of Alabama Conference, 1871*, p. 11
40. *Idem.*
41. Information in letter to author from Miss Elizabeth Price, Aug. 20, 1952
42. Letter owned by Mrs. Catharine Adams Gorrie, Montgomery.
43. *Montgomery Advertiser*, Aug. 14, 1870.

CHAPTER V

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3. Massey, p. 284.
4. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 17, 1872.
5. *Idem.*
6. Massey, p. 284.
7. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1872* (Nashville, 1873), pp. 19-20.
8. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, June 19, 1873.
9. *Idem.*
10. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1872*, p. 14.

11. *Tuskegee News*, Oct. 9, 1873.
12. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1873.
13. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1873.
14. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1873.
15. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, July 9, 1873.
16. *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1873.
17. *Tuskegee News*, June 4, 1874.
18. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1874.
19. *Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 1873.
20. *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1873.
21. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1873.
22. *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1873.
23. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, Jan. 29, 1874.
24. *Ibid*, July 30, 1874.
25. *Tuskegee News*, July 3, 1873.
26. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1874.
27. "Reminiscences of Early College Days," *Sagastaon* III, iii (March, 1905), 6-7.
28. *Tuskegee News*, July 3, 1873.
29. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1873.
30. *Ibid*, May 1, 1873.
31. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1875.
32. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, July 4, 1873
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34 *Ibid.*, June 18, 1874
35. *Tuskegee News*, Nov. 20, 1873.
36. *Ibid*, July 3, 1872.
37. *Idem.*
38. *Tuskegee News*, June 11, 1874.
39 *Ibid.*, July 3, 1873.
40. *Idem.*
41. *Idem.*
42 *Idem.*
43. Letter from Mrs. Pitts to editor, *Wo-Co-Ala News*, Dec. 12, 1929
44 *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, April 30, 1873.
45. *Tuskegee News*, Jan. 22, 1874.
46 *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1873.
47. Brown, *History of Alabama*, p. 279.
48 *Tuskegee News*, Nov. 27, 1873.
49. *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1874.
50. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1873* (Selma, 1874), p. 21
51. *Tuskegee News*, May 1, 1873.
52. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, July 8, 1873
53. *Tuskegee News*, Sept. 18, 1873.
54. *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1874.
55 *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1874.
56 *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, July 11, 1873.
57. *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1873.
58. *Tuskegee News*, Oct 9, 1873.
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60. *Tuskegee News*, Oct. 15, 29, 1874.
61. Brown, *History of Alabama*, p. 279.
62. *Tuskegee News*, Jan. 22, 1874.
63. *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1874.
64. *Idem.*
65. *Tuskegee News*, March 5, 1874.
66. *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1874.
67. *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1874.
68. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1875.
69. *Ibid.*, Dec 24, 1874.

70. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1874* (Selma, 1875), p. 17.
71. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1873*, p. 21.
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73. Massey, p. 285.
74. *Tuskegee News*, June 7, 1900.
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76. Massey, p. 285.
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78. *Opelika Observer*, quoted in *Tuskegee Weekly News*, Feb. 3, 1876.
79. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, March 2, 1876.
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81. "History of Womans College," *Bulletin, Womans College of Alabama*, X, vii (Dec., 1934), 5.
82. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, May 11, 1876.
83. *Ibid.*, June 15, 22, 1876.
84. *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1876.
85. *Ibid*, June 22, 1876.
86. *Ibid*, June 15, 1876.
87. Massey, p. 285.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.
89. Undated obituary, apparently published soon after Mr Smith's death on Sept. 17, 1892, and pasted in the back of the Bible of his daughter, Mrs. Carola Smith Hamrick of Montgomery.

CHAPTER VI

1. Massey, p. 277.
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3. *Ibid*, p. 56.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
6. *Ibid*, p. 198.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
8. *Ibid*, p. 221.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
10. *Ibid*, p. 272.
11. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, Jan. 25, 1877.
12. *Bullock Guide*, quoted in *Tuskegee Weekly News*, Oct. 12, 1876.
13. Quoted in *Tuskegee Weekly News*, July 8, 1880.
14. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1878.
15. Massey, p. 286.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
17. Mrs Carrie Cobb Laslie, Founders' Day Address 1921. MS in her possession, Tuskegee.
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24. *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1876.
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33. *Idem.*
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41. Mary Alice Caller, *A Literary Guide for Home and School* (New York, 1892).
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44. "The Oaks on the Campus," *Sagastaon*, I, ii (Dec., 1902), 15-16
45. "Miss Alice," *Sagastaon*, V, ii (Dec., 1906), 37.
46. Massey, p. 292.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.
48. Tuskegee *Weekly Gazette*, June 25, 1887.
49. *Tuskegee News*, June 21, 1893.
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51. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1893.
52. *Annual Catalogue, Alabama Conference Female College, 1901-05*, p. 29
53. *Tuskegee News*, June 19, 1890.
54. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, June 7, 1883.
55. Letter from Mrs. Syfan to C. H. Eisendrath, Biloxi, Miss., dated April 17, 1953.
56. Information from Mrs. Carrie Cobb Laslie, April 5, 1952.
57. Information from Mrs. Carola Smith Hamrick, April 2, 1953, and Mrs. Pearl Long Meigs, Dec. 4, 1953.
58. A. C. F. C. commencement program of 1878, loaned by Mrs. Lidie Davis Shaw, Fort Davis, Ala.
59. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, June 23, 1881
60. Unpublished MS (undated) preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.
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63. *Annual Catalogue of Alabama Conference Female College, 1883-84*, p. 11.
64. *Annual Catalogue of Alabama Conference Female College, 1901-1902*, p. 13.
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74. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, Aug. 27, 1885.
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81. *Idem.*

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90. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1887*, p. 21.
91. Massey, p. 294
92. Information from Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, Tuskegee, Jan. 12, 1952
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95. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
97. *Ibid*, p. 301.
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126. Information from Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb, Sept. 25, 1953.
127. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1903
128. *Sagastaon*, I, iii (March, 1903), 4.
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131. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1906* (n.p., n.d.), p. 34.
132. *Annual Catalogue, Alabama Conference Female College, 1905*, p. 32.
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135. Information from Miss Mary M. Smith, Montgomery, Jan. 23, 1952.
136. Mrs. Rosa Cobb Henry, Founders' Day tribute, undated *Tuskegee News* clipping, Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.

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148. *Idem.*
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161. Letter to author from Mrs Inez Shofner Murray, Macon, Ga., Dec. 15, 1951.
162 Journal of Mary Lakin, Jan. 16, 1887.
163. *Tuskegee Weekly News*, July 8, 1888.
164. *Tuskegee News*, June 16, 1892; June 7, 1894
165. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1890.
166. *Sagastaon, 1909* (yearbook), 46.
167. Selma *Baptist Pioneer*, April 1882; *Tuskegee News*, June 6, 13, 1901; May 1, 1902.
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169. *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1884.
170. Tuskegee *Weekly Gazette*, April 24, 1886.
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172. Dr. J. M. Glenn, "Nature Turned Prankish," *Tuskegee News*, Dec. 11, 1952.
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174. *Tuskegee News*, May 14, 1891.
175. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1898.
176. *Montgomery Advertiser*, quoted by *Tuskegee News*, June 13, 1901.
177. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1902.
178. "Hobson's Lecture," *Sagastaon*, III, ii (Dec., 1904), 23-24.
179. Information from Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb, Jan. 11, 1952.
180. Massey, pp. 311-312.
181. *Ibid*, p. 301.
182. Mary Alice Caller, "The Passing of Our Doctor," *Sagastaon*, III, iii (March, 1905), 16.
183. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 13, 1908.
184. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1909.

185. Massey, p. 314.
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187. *Tuskegee News,* May 21, 1908.
188 Information from Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb, Jan. 11, 1952.
189. Deed Book 14, pp. 184-186, Probate Office, Macon County Court House, Tuskegee.
190. Information from Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb, Jan. 11, 1952.
191. Letter of Miss Alice Caller to Mrs. Mary Lakin Key, Jan. 26, 1907, owned by Mrs. Josie Key Howard, Montgomery.
192. Information from Mrs. Mabelle Massey Cobb, Jan 11, 1952.

CHAPTER VII

1. Legally the name of the College in 1909 became Womans College of Alabama. The apostrophe, omitted in the charter, was used officially until 1923, after which it was dropped. It has seemed to this author simpler to adopt throughout the Huntingdon history the usage of the first two Womans College of Alabama administrations, except when quoting sources that vary from that usage.
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3. Information in letters to Mrs. John J Flowers from Dr. E. M. Glenn, Montgomery, May 3, 1907, and from Dr J M. Dannelly, Montgomery, Dec 31, 1909, both in Flowers Collection presented by James D Flowers and preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library
4. Information in letter from Mrs. John J. Flowers quoted in reply by "Commissioners for building and equipping the Woman's College," April 16, 1907, in Flowers Collection
5. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1905* (Opelika, 1906), pp. 42-43.
6. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1906* (n. p., n. d.), p. 15.
7. Names signed as commissioners to letters written to Mrs John J. Flowers, April 16, May 3, 1907, in Flowers Collection
8. Names signed to deed of college site from commissioners to trustees, Jan. 10, 1912
9. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1907* (n p., n. d.), p 35.
10. Information from William H Moore, of William H. Moore Company, Montgomery, on June 27, 1951, and Nov. 27, 1953.
11. Information from Mrs. J. A. Sellers, Montgomery, Aug 20, 1952
12. Original document, with signatures of Thomases, Sellers, Zirkle and Moore, seen by author Nov. 27, 1953; photostatic copy filed in Minutes of Board of Trustees, Huntingdon College
13. Information in letter to Mrs. John J. Flowers from Dr Edgar M Glenn, LaFayette, Ala., May 15, 1907, Flowers Collection
14. Information from William H. Moore, June 27, 1951; June 29, 1953
15. Information in letter to Dr. A. J Lamar from Mr Moore, May 10, 1907, describing disadvantages of Holt and Sharp locations and advantages of Thomas location; copy in Mr. Moore's possession
16. Letter written from LaFayette, Ala., May 15, 1907, in Flowers Collection.
17. Original canceled check of Zirkle and Moore to the Thomases seen by author Nov. 27, 1953; photostatic copy filed in Minutes of Board of Trustees, Huntingdon College.
18. Copy of indenture preserved in Minutes of Board of Trustees, Huntingdon College.
19. Letter from J. A. Sellers to Dr. J. M. Dannelly, filed in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 30, 1914.
20. Information from William H. Moore, June 27, 1951.
21. *Montgomery Advertiser,* July 10, 1913.
22. Copy of letter, dated July 12, 1913, preserved in Minutes of Board of Trustees, June 30, 1914.
23. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 30, 1914.

24. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1930.
25. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1907*, p. 35.
26. Account of Dr. Dannelly's talk at Founders' Day exercises, 1924, related by Mrs. Ellen Rush Sturdivant, "Memoirs Woman's College of Alabama," p. 1; unpublished MS, not completed, preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library; hereafter referred to as Sturdivant.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
28. H. M. Andrews, "Rev. John Milton Dannelly," *Alabama Christian Advocate*, May 7, 1942.
29. Quoted in letter to Mrs. Flowers from the twelve Woman's College commissioners, Montgomery, April 16, 1907, letter in Flowers Collection.
30. Letter to Mrs. John J. Flowers and children from the commissioners, Montgomery, May 3, 1907, in Flowers Collection.
31. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1907*, p. 36.
32. *Idem.*
33. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1909* (Nashville [n. d.]), p. 46.
34. Letter to Mrs. Flowers and children, dated Dec. 31 but postmarked Dec. 30, 1909, in Flowers Collection.
35. Information in letter to Mrs. Flowers (quoting letter just received from Dr. Dannelly), written by Dr. J. A. Rice, New Orleans, La., Jan. 4, 1910, in Flowers Collection.
36. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1907*, p. 35.
37. "Report on Methodist College for Women, Montgomery, Alabama, by Olmsted Brothers, Landscape Architects, Brookline, Mass., 17th October, 1908," typewritten MS in president's office, Huntingdon College.
38. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1909*, p. 46.
39. *Who's Who in America, 1908-09.*
40. *The Woman's College of Alabama, 1910-1911* (catalog), p. 18.
41. "Report . . . by Olmsted Brothers," p. 6.
42. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1909*, p. 46.
43. Information in letter to Mrs. John J. Flowers and children from Dr. Dannelly, Montgomery, Dec. 31, 1909, in Flowers Collection.
44. "Ceiling Unlimited" (interview with Judge Thomas), *Huntress*, Jan. 17, 1945.
45. *Who's Who in America, 1908-09.*
46. *Woman's College of Alabama, Announcements 1911-1912*, p. 12.
47. "Judge Thomas Proclaims First Huntingdon Girls Heroes," *Huntress*, May 3, 1941.
48. Information from Judge Thomas, April 1941, and from J. C. Moore, May, 1954.
49. Names carved on loggia plaque, Flowers Hall.
50. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1909*, p. 46; also information from program of the occasion, in Flowers Collection.
51. *Montgomery Advertiser*, Jan. 8, 1910.
52. *Woman's College of Alabama, Announcements 1912-13*, p. 10.
53. Information in letter to author from Dr. William E. Martin, Bristol, Va., Feb. 2, 1953.
54. *Who's Who in America, 1940-41.*
55. Information from Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, Tuskegee, Jan. 20, 1953.
56. *Bells and Pomegranates, 1911*, p. 146.
57. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 26, 1909.
58. Information in letter to author from Dr. Martin, Feb. 13, 1953.
59. *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 25, 1909.
60. Information in letter to author from Dr. Martin, Feb. 13, 1953.
61. *Woman's College of Alabama, 1910-1911* (catalog), pp. 25, 32-33.
62. Information in letter to author from Dr. Martin, Feb. 13, 1953.
63. Sturdivant, p. 7.
64. Information in letter to author from Dr. Martin, Feb. 13, 1953.
65. Information from Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, Jan. 20, 1953.

66. "Judge Thomas Proclaims First Huntingdon Girls Heroes," *Huntress*, May 3, 1941.
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68. Information in letter to author from Dr. Martin, Feb. 13, 1953
69. Information from Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, Jan 20, 1953.
70. Letter to author from Dr. Martin, Feb. 13, 1953.
71. Information from Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, Jan. 20, 1953.
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73. *Idem.*
74. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
75. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 9, 1911.
76. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1909* (Nashville, [n. d.]), p. 47.
77. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1910* (Nashville [n d]), p 41.
78. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1911* (n. p., n. d.), p. 46
79. *Minutes of the North Alabama Conference, 1910* (p. 42), *1911* (p 103), *1912* (p. 165), *1913* (p. 242), *1914* (p. 77).
80. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 9, 1911.
81. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1915.
82. *Ibid*, May 29, 1917.
83. *The Woman's College of Alabama, 1910-1911* (catalog), pp. 8-14
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85. *Woman's College of Alabama, Announcements 1911-1912*, p. 15.
86. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Feb. 16, 1911.
87 *Ibid.*, June 9, 1911.
88. Information from Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, Jan 20, 1953.
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107. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Feb. 16, 1911.
108. *Bells and Pomegranates, 1911*, p. 56.
109. Minutes of the Faculty, Feb. 14, 1911.
110. Information from Mrs. Sallie Mayes Danner, Jan. 20, 1953.
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112. Minutes of the Faculty, March 11, 1911.
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116. *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1911.

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121. Information in program of the exercises, presented by Miss Jeannette Smith, Mobile, Ala., and preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.
122. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1912* (n p., n d.), p. 27.
123. *Ibid.,* p. 51.
124. *Bells and Pomegranates, 1911,* p. 11; *Woman's College of Alabama, Announcements 1912-1913,* pp 10-11.
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128. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 2, 1912.
129 Information in letter to author from Dr. Alfred J. Hamilton, April 2, 1953.
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131. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 2, 1912.
132. Minutes of the Faculty, Feb 3, 1914.
133. Letter to author from Dr Alfred J. Hamilton, April 2, 1953.
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136. Minutes of the Faculty, May 12, 1914
137. *Bells and Pomegranates, 1913.*
138 Program of the annual debate, May 29, 1914, presented by Miss Jeannette Smith, Mobile, Ala., and preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.
139 Sturdivant, p. 21.
140. Dr. William E. Martin, "Woman's College Notes," *Alabama Christian Advocate,* June, 1914, clipping preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.
141. *Bells and Pomegranates, 1912, 1913.*
142. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 2, 1912
143 Dr. William E Martin, "Woman's College Notes," *Alabama Christian Advocate,* June, 1914, clipping.
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145 *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1911,* p. 44
146. *Historical Statistics of the United States from 1789 to 1915* (Washington, n. d.), p 108.

CHAPTER VIII

1. *Who's Who in America, 1918-19*
2. *Woman's College of Alabama, Announcements 1916-1917,* p. 6.
3. Sturdivant, p 30.
4 Letter to author from Dr. Lena Hawks, Warrenton, N C., April 20, 1953.
5. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 26, 1917; May 27, 1918.
6. *Ibid.,* May 27, 1918; May 26, 1919.
7. *Ibid.,* Jan 29, 1920.
8. *Ibid.,* May 2, 1921; May 29, 1922
9. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1915* ([Nashville], n. d.), p. 44.
10 *Woman's College of Alabama, Announcements 1916-1917,* pp. 77-82.
11. Minutes of the Alumnae Association, May 27, 1915.

12. Information from Miss Bessie Teague, Montgomery, May 14, 1952.
13. Minutes of the Alumnae Association, May 25, 1916.
14. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1917* ([Nashville], n.d.), p. 51.
15. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 2, May 29, 1916.
16. Massey, Dedication.
17. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 2, 1916; Sturdivant, p. 41.
18. Sturdivant, p. 34.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
20. Minutes of the Alumnae Association, May 26, 1917.
21. Dr. Massey's Christmas card collection preserved in Huntingdon Room, Houghton Memorial Library.
22. Mrs. Laslie, Founders' Day Address, 1924, MS in her possession.
23. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 27, 1918.
24. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1919.
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26. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1919.
27. Minutes of the Faculty, Nov. 1, 1916.
28. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 26, 1917; *Journal of the Alabama Conference, 1921* ([Nashville] n. d), p. 54; Minutes of the Faculty, Jan. 20, 1920, Nov. 8, 1921.
29. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 26, 1919.
30. *Journal of the Alabama Conference, 1919* ([Nashville] n. d.), p. 53.
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Index

Abbott, Lyman, 152
Adams, Bess, 268
Adams, Bessie, 70, 71
Ad Astra Literary Society, 121, 129, 167, 174
Addams, Jane, 176
Agnew, W. D., tenth president: qualifications of, 205-206; administration of, 206-240; birthday celebration for, 215; suggestion of new college name by, 236; retirement of, 239-240; gains during administration of, 240
Agnew, Mrs. W. D., 205, 207
Ainsworth, W. N., 231
Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, 75, 83, 105, 117
Alabama Central Female College, 42
Alabama College, 118, 196, 223, 236
Alabama Conference Female College, (second name of College, 1872-1909), 80-139
Alabama Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church, South (since 1939, The Methodist Church): agreement to sponsor College, 5; appointment of visiting committee and financial agent, 6; session in College chapel, 22; division of Thompson Fund, 40-41; report on College 1858, 41, and 1863, 52; plans for purchasing College, 76, and purchase, 80-81; tribute and gift to College, 118, 120; appointment of five members of Joint Commission on Education, 141; approval of union plan and proposal of joint board of trustees, 160; authorization of trustees to borrow funds to erect dormitory, 170; additional appropriation to College, 243; recommendation of chapel improvement, 257
Alabama Corps of Cadets, 98
Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 196
Alabama State College, 229
Alexander, James M., 5
Alexander, Lewis, 5
Alexander, Mrs. Lewis, 3, 27, 55, 61
Alexander, Mrs. Lillie Maude Bell, 268
Allen, D. C., 146
Alliance, Fifth District, visit to A. C. F. C., 135
"Alma Mater," 176
Alpha Beta, 264
Alumnae Achievement Award, recipients of, 268
Alumnae Association: first meeting of, 82; organization and first membership committee of, 84-85; library project of, 86; attempt to raise funds for library and laboratory, 122; pro-

motion of magazine, 130; drive to raise funds for Massey Hall, 171-172, 180-181; campaign for endowment, 184; establishment of John Massey Scholarship, 185; approval of name Huntingdon College, 236-237; minimum pledge in 1939 campaign, 243; Founders' Day celebrations, 267; establishment of Alumnae Achievement Award, 268
Alumni Association, 268
American Association of University Women, 268
Anderson, James M., modern languages dept., 27, 43
Andrews, Ellis, 235
Andrews, Mark S., 6-7, 15, 77, 80, 82, 97
Annex, 119
Anthony, D. E., 5
Arrington, Robert G., 214
Arp, Bill, 89
Art department, 15, 32-33, 43, 111
Arts and Sciences Exhibit, 254
Association of Alabama Colleges, 172
Athens College, 160
Athletic Association, 219, 267
Athletics, 131-132, 167, 174, 196, 219-220
Auburn Female College, 37

Bailey, Mrs. Octavia B., boarding dept., 15
Ball, Fred, 232
Baker, Mary, 27
Bancroft, J., 81
Barker, Mary, modern languages dept., 103, 128
Barnes, Ruth, 264
Bartlett, S. M., music dept., 71-72
Baskervill, Mrs. Janie McTyeire, lady principal, 166, 170
Bedell, J., 5
Bellingrath, Mrs. W. A., 214, 231, 248
Bellingrath, Mr. and Mrs. W. D., 248, 257
Bellingrath Gardens, 248
Bellingrath Hall, 214, 216
Bells and Pomegranates, 168-169, 175, 222
Berkstresser, Laura, 222, 227
Bilbro, J. B., 5, 77
Bilbro, Lewis, 138
Bilbro, Nellie, 96
Biology, Camilla Key Ellison Chair of, 248
Biology department, 212, 217, 254
Birdsall, Sarah, art dept., 111
Birmingham College, 141
Birmingham-Southern College, 196, 241, 242
Board of Education of Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 112, 162, 172, 211
Book Store, 256
Borchers, Orville, music dept., 229
Boston College of Oratory, 112
Bowen, Cawthon, religion dept., 179, 180, 196, 228
Bounds, W. M., 77
Bowman, W. C., 245
Bradley, Mrs. Elizabeth Littleton, 168
Brandon, William, 206
Branscomb, L. C., 142, 170-171
Branscomb, Louise, 192, 268
Brewer, Mollie, 96, 105
Bridges, Mrs. F. G., 209
Bridgman, Frederick, 111
Briggs, A. J., 77
Browder, Mrs. Mary, chaperon, 191, 202
Brown, Anna, 54
Brown, Laura, 105
Brunson, Betty, 264
Buck, Lorraine, 268
Building, first on Tuskegee campus, 6-10, 138-139
Burke, Jennie, 83
Burns, Louise, 200
Butler, Elizabeth, 238

Caldwell, Louise, 175
Caller, Mary Alice, English, Bible, elocution, calisthenics, 105-106, 108
Camp Sheridan, 180, 187-189, 191
Campbell, Lizzie, 85
Carmichael, Chris, nurse, 161
Carnegie Corporation, 259-260
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 221
Carnegie Foundation for the the Advancement of Teaching, 258-259
Carroll, Sam Jones, 257
Carter, T. Weatherly, 153

Cattrell, Frances, speech dept., 229
Centenary Female Institute, 101, 105
Centenary Institute, 2, 5, 22
Centenary Male Academy, 208
Centenary Male Institute, 100
Chapel windows, commemorative, 257
Chapman, R. A., 153
Chemistry department, 42, 212, 251, 256
Chisholm, A. E., assistant teacher, 15
Chisholm, Myra, 54
Christmas holidays at T. F. C., 26-27; at A. C. F. C., 127-128
Class of 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 31; 1862, 47; 1864, 51; 1865, 61-63; 1870, 73; 1873, 82-83; 1874, 84; 1877, 105; 1890, 131; 1911, 170; 1921, 199, 1931, 227
Classical Club, 220
Clifton, L. L., dean of college, 260
Clinkscales, George B., mathematics dept., 171
Clopton, David, 4, 5, 46
Clopton, Lou, 66
Cobb, J. E., 77, 81, 82, 86
Cobb, Mrs J. E., see Carrie Hunter
Cobb, Mrs Mabelle Massey, see Mabelle Massey
Colbert, Carrie, 28
Coleman, Lou, 27
Collins, Mrs. Marylee, dean of women, 249, 251-252, 257, 260, 268
Comer, B. B., 153
Commencement, 1859, 32-33; 1860, 43-44; 1862, 48-49; 1864, 54; 1865, 61; 1868, 70; 1869, 73-74; 1870, 73; 1873, 82-84; 1874, 84; 1876, 95-96; 1877, 104-105; 1878, 106, 1892, 1893, 107
Commencement debates, 194-195
Commercial Club, Montgomery (later Chamber of Commerce), 142, 143, 146, 148, 150
Corben, Frederick, music dept., 27, 43
Corbitt, Fannie, 225
Cottrell, Joseph B., 3-5
Cox, W. M., 137, 142
Craig, Ellen, 27
Cramton, Fred, 199
Crawford, R. B., 96
Crow's Nest, 199
Culver, Emma Lou, 132
Culver, F. P., 141
Currer Bell Literary Society, 121, 129, 167, 174
Curriculum under Lipscomb, 16; under Price, 41-43; under Moore, 87-88; under Massey, 109-112; under Martin, 163-164, 172-173; under Swartz, 185-186; under Agnew, 215-217; under Searcy, 253-254, 261-263

Dallas, Belle, history and English, 129, 130, 131
Danley, Erle, music dept., 230
Dannelly, J. M., 141, 146, 147, 148 150, 158, 160
Danner, Mrs. Sallie Mayes, see Sallie Mayes
Darby, John, chemistry dept., 42-43
Darby's Prophylactic Fluid, 32, 42-43
Davis, Jefferson, 45, 47, 134
Davis, Mrs. Lena Vail, 268
Decell, J. L., 243
Degrees, and requirements for, 112, 163-164, 215-217, 262
Delchamps, A. F., 256, 268-269
Delchamps, O. H., 256, 269
Delchamps family, 257
Dent, James, 5
Departmental clubs, 201, 221, 226
Dickson, Edward R., ancient languages and science, 43
Dickson, Mrs. Edward R., music dept., 43
Distinguished Scholarship Order, 200, 218
Dobbs, Mary, 174
Dobbs, Zoe, English dept., 200
Dorman, Lewy, history dept., 195
Dougherty, Judge, 4
Douglas, Lucille, 111
Dowdell, Susie, 74
Drewry, Virginia, 218
Duke University, 242
Dyer, T. W., 92

Eanes, Zulcika, 218
East Alabama Female College, 2, 4, 48, 52, 56, 65, 71, 78
East Alabama Male College, 8, 42, 75
Echols, Carrie Huffman, 127, 128
Edgar, Betty, 264
Edmond, Kate, 66
Edmond, Mary, 78

Eliot, Charles W., 163
Elliott, C. D., fourth president: qualifications of, 57; sharing of authority with Price, 57-58; administration of, 57-63; resignation of, 64
Ellis, Zora, 210, 268
Ellison, Joseph A., 248
Ellison, Robert R., vice president, 245
Ellison, William H., 54
Emory and Henry College, 154
English, Bessie Teague Chair of, 248
English department, 175, 195, 221
Enrollment, 1856-1859, 21; 1859-1860, 43; 1868, 70; 1870, 73; 1870-1871, 1872-1873, 81; 1875-1876, 91; 1877, 104; 1877-1878, 105; 1890, 120; 1899, 121; 1910-1911 and fall 1911, 170, fall 1912 and increase to 1914-1915, 171; 1914-1915, 1915-1916, 180; 1924-1925, 211; year of lowest in Depression, 234; year of peak, 253
Eovang, Mary, 251
Epidemic of measles and diarrhea, 28; of measles and mumps, 126; of influenza, 191-193
Estes, Charles, 257
Examinations, oral, 31; introduction of written, 86-87
Excelsior course, 110, 113
Expression department, 112, 175

Faculty, 1856, 15; 1859, 42, 1859-1861, 43, 1870, 73; 1870-1871, 1872-1873, 81; during Massey period, 113-115; 1910-1911, 161; reduction of salaries of, in 1911, 162; disapproval of sororities, 169; subscriptions for Hanson Hall, 210, salary reductions during Depression, 233-234; return to standard salaries, 243; retirement fund and Carnegie grants-in-aid for, 258, forums of, 266-267
Faculty House, 257
Faculty Roast, 176, 199
Fairweather, Mary Elizabeth, art dept., 15, 43
Fannin, Nell, 131
Farrish, Addie Lee, 268
Ferguson, Mrs. Lucinda H., music dept., 43
Figh, Mrs. Margaret Gillis, English dept., 221
Financial agent, 6-7, 22-23, 92, 119, 121, 245
Fine Arts, School of, 185, 215
Fire Frolic, 219, 227, 267
Flowers, John Jefferson, 140-141, 159
Flowers, John Jefferson, gift by family of, 148-150
Flowers, Mrs. John Jefferson, 144, 169
Flowers, W. H., 119
Flowers Hall, plan to name, 149, architects for, 150-153; laying of cornerstone of, 153; cost of, 153; opening and incomplete state of, 156-159; motto, 163; provision for practice teaching in, 186; basket ball practice in, 196; chapel enlarged and redecorated, 257
Foreign students, 251
Francis, Sue, 264
Fraser, Margaret, 65, 70-71, 78
Frazer, J. S., 121, 135
Funk, F. L., music dept., 15

Garland, L. C., 98
Garner, Virginia, English dept., 201
Garrett, Silas, 235
Gautier, W. J., 77, 81, 96, 137
General Education Board of New York, 184, 212, 259
Geological picnics, 230-231
Geology department, 42
George Peabody College for Teachers, 196
Giddens, Lucy, 96
Gill, Lily Byron, dean of fine arts, 176, 185, 202, 215
Gillespie, Clayton C., 3-5
Girls' Industrial School, see Alabama College
Glee Club, 175, 198, 201, 229, 230
Glenn, E. M., 141, 144
Goodwin, John L., 244
Goodwyn, Louise, 227
Graduate course under Price, 42, under Massey, 110; under Martin, 161
Graduating essays, 31-32, 74, 107-109
Grand Council, 195
Grass, J. B., music dept., 113
Green Window, 170, 230, 248, 257
"Green Window, The," musical composition, 230
Greene, Jane, 219

Griffin, Grace, 198
Grote, Minna, biology dept., 209
Gunter, W. A., 153, 243-244

Haden, Annie, 74
Haden, W., 77
Hale, Annie Campbell, 218, 225
Hale, Charlotte, 107
Hall, Frederick, 229
Halloween party, 202
Hamilton, Alfred P., foreign languages dept., 173
Hamner Hall, 155, 161
Hancock, Lizzie, 27
Hanson, Mr. and Mrs. Victor, 210
Hanson Hall, 183, 214
Happy Valley, 127
Hardeman, Katherine, physical education dept., 215, 220
Harris, Mary, 95
Harrison, George P., 96
Harry, Lizzie, 170
Harvard University, 151, 163
Hasson, Barbara, 249
Hawks, Lena, dean of college, 179, 185
Head, Hattie, 105
Heath, Harry C., biology dept., 217
Henderson, Samuel, 4
Hereford, Charlotte, 219
Herz, Fred, music dept., 83, 84
Higgins, Ruth, history dept., 221
Hilliard, Henry W., 7-9, 12
Hilliard's Legion, 98
Hills, Lizzie A., mathematics dept., 114, 129
History department, 195
Hobson, Richmond Pearson, visit to A. C. F. C., 135
Holt, M. B., 141
Home Economics, Fred Mitchell Jackson Chair of, 247-248
Home economics department, 172-173, 254, 260
Home for Incorrigibles, 183
Honor system, 126, 165, 266
Hora, William, 9, 119
Houghton, Harry S., 214
Houghton, M. B., 141, 146, 161, 162, 203, 207, 214
Houghton Memorial Library, 214, 215
Howard, B. F., 77
Howard, C. M., 77
Howard, Ellen, 85
Howard, Mattie, 85
Hudson, Carrie, 96, 105
Hunter, Carrie, 17, 27, 29-30, 45, 50-51, 55, 58, 59, 84-85
Hunter, Dr. J. W., 24
Hunter, Mrs J. W., 5, 24
Hunter, Julia, 62, 97
Hunters' Club, 254
Huntingdon, Selina, Countess of, 236-238
Huntingdon Christian Association, 266, 267
Huntingdon College (name taken by College in 1936), 236-272
Huntress, 200, 240
Huntsville Female College, 77
Hut, 198, 201

International Relations Club, 221

Jackson, Fred M., 141, 162, 173, 203, 208-210, 212, 213, 214, 231, 248
Jensen, Olaf, music dept., 230
Johns Hopkins University, 154
Johnston, Mrs Bob, 27
Joint Educational Commission of Alabama and North Alabama Conferences of Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 137, 141, 149
Jolly, Elizabeth, 221
Jones, Margaret Lee, 249
Jones, Walter B., 232
Judson College, 196
Judson, Female Institute, 22, 38, 47, 68, 71, 105

Kaacks, Doretta E., 257
Kercher, Cora E., foreign languages dept., 220, 226
Kessee, Mr., 39
Key, Mattie, 175
Kierulff, Mr. and Mrs. C. J., music, art, and modern languages, 95
Kirkland, James H., 244
Klemme, A. W., 257
Knight, Alice, 261
Kress, Samuel H., exhibit of Renaissance paintings, 229
Krzecrkowski, I. J., modern languages dept., 15

Lacy, Ben, 235
LaGrange College, 5
Lakin, Mary, 132
Lamar, A. J., 137, 141, 149, 153, 160
Lane, Carolyn, 200
Laslie, Mrs. Carrie Cobb, 182
Law, E. H., 82
Lawrence, Ruth, 257, 268
League Forum, 221
League of Women Voters, 221, 224
Leak, Fannie, 23
Leak, Tilman, 23, 35
Lecturers brought to the campus, 261-266
Leigh, Mrs. T. R., expression dept., 161
Liddon, Eloise, 175, 268
Ligon, Robert F., 5, 46, 77, 81, 96, 137, 256
Ligon, Robert F., Jr., 256
Ligon Hall, 256
Lipscomb, A. A., first president: attainments of, 11-14; educational theories of, 16-20, 28-29; administration of, 14-33; lecturer on art and literature after retirement from presidency, 33-34; first chancellor of University of Georgia, 15
Lipscomb, Mrs. A. A., 33
Lipscomb, Sallie, assistant teacher, 15, 45
Lisenby, Montine, 221
Literary societies, establishment of first, 86; popularity, 191; death, 221, also see Ad Astra, Ariadne, Currer Bell, Palladian, Philokalean
Little Theater, 256
Littleton, Jesse, dean of college, 165, 168
Lloyd, Nellie Ruth, 250
Lock, Mildred, 218
Lockhart, Annie, 105
Lockwood, Frank, 211, 214
Long, Louise, 230
Loveless, E. L., sixth president: qualifications of, 93-94; administration of, 94-96; member of Massey's faculty after resignation from presidency, 103
Lotz, P. H., religion dept., 228
Loveridge, Blanche, dean of college, 176, 185
Macon Confederates, 46
Macon Cavalry, 45-46
Macon Female Institute, 5
Magendanz, Johannes, music dept., 113
Male students, admission in Depression, 233; admission after World War II, 253; effect on curriculum, 253-254, and on student activities, 254-255
Marcello, S. P., 89, 91-92
Martin, Mrs. Alma Sims, 268
Martin, D. W., night watchman, 190
Martin, Gladys, dean of college, 185
Martin, W. E., eighth president: qualifications of, 154-155; decision to transfer student body to Sullins for 1909-1910, 155-156, administration of, 156-176; tribute of Alabama Conference to, and subsequent career of, 176
Martin, Mrs. W. E., 154, 163
Mason, Ella, 96
Mason, J. M., 141
Massengale, R. Glenn, dean of men, 261
Massey, John, seventh president: qualifications of, 98-100; appearance of, 102, administration of, 101-138, gifts to College, 118-119; reasons for urging removal to new campus, 136-137; refusal of W. C. A. presidency, 137; portrait of, 181; attendance at cornerstone-laying of Flowers Hall, 153, and of Massey Hall, 182, entertainment in Massey Hall, 182; death of, 182
Massey, Mrs. John, 102, 114-115, 123, 125, 127, 128, 131, 138-139
Massey, Mabelle, 105, 117, 126, 128, 182
Massey Hall, 172, 181, 196
May, Elizabeth, 268
May Day, 95, 194, 201, 214-215, 220, 227, 232, 267
Mayes, Sallie, history and English, 113, 161, 163
McAndrews, Mrs. Mary Martin, 180
McCann, Christine, 175, 268
McCann, J. E., 183
McCarty, W. A., 77
McCoy, James, 182

McDowell, Tremaine, English dept., 221
McDuffie, Penelope, English dept., 113
McQueen, Lena, 71
McTyeire, Holland, 54, 154
Meek, A. B., 12
Mellen, Seth Smith, 98
Methodist Memorial Hospital, 232
Metropolitan Institute for Young Ladies, 11
Minter, R Isoline, 35
Minter, William T., 35
Miller, B. M., 237
Miller, Ruth, 252
Miriam Jackson Home, 209, 214
Mizell, Virginia, 132
Moore, Mrs. Annie Delchamps, 257, 269
Moore, H. D., fifth president: qualifications of, 79; administration of, 80-93; subsequent career of, 93
Moore, Mrs. H. D., 84
Moore, J. B., commander of Federal garrison in Tuskegee, 61
Moore, J. D., 141
Moore, John C., campus engineer, 207
Moore, Mary Alice, 109
Moore, Mary Norman, 160
Moore, William H., 142-147
Morgan, Ellen, 105
Morrison, H. C., 153
Moseley, Frank, 235
Motley, John G., 77, 119
Motley, Mattie, 83
Motley, W. M., 37, 77, 81
Motto of College in Tuskegee, 20; in Montgomery, 163
Mueller, Kurt, music dept., 113
Murray, Grantland, chemistry dept., 122
Music department, 111-112, 113, 173

Nashville College for Young Ladies, 78
National Educational Association, 111, 115
Neighbors, W. S., 156
Nichols, Etta, 129
North Alabama Conference, 141

Oak Bowery Female Institute, 5
Olmsted, Frederick L., Jr., 151, 153
Oracle Hunt, 227-228, 267
Orchestra, 175

Palladian Society, 82, 86, 129
Parker, Annie, 218
Park's High School, 125
Paterson, W. B., 146
Peabody, George Foster, 122
Pepper, Mary, 200
Perry, Edward Baxter, 195
Phillips, Leonora and Lizzie, 27
Philokalean Literary Society, 195
Physics department, 212
Pierce, Lovick, 22
Pierrette Club, 200
Pill Week, 198
Pitts, Mrs Mollie Solomon, 88
Play Day, 220
Poindexter, architect, 150
Pooser, Emma, 66
Porter, Laura, 27
Portis, J W, 77
Powell, Richard H, 5
Pratt, Mrs. Julia A, 171
Prelude, 221-222, 230
President's Home, 180, 256-257
Price, Eliza (Mrs. Laurence Cooper), 77
Price, Elizabeth, 50, 72, 78
Price, G. W. F., second president: professor of English, 15, assistant under Lipscomb, 35-36; qualifications for presidency, 37-39, first administration of, 39-52; assistant under Wood, 54, under Elliott, 57-58; second administration of, 64-77; portrait of, 71; subsequent career of, 77-78; baccalaureate preacher, 106; chapel window to commemorate, 257
Price, W. H. C., geology dept., 15, 37, 42
Public School Bill, 6
Publications, see *Bells and Pomegranates*, *Huntress*, *Prelude*, *Sagastaon*, *Wo-Co-Ala*, *Wo-Co-Ala News*, *Woman's College Bulletin*
Publications Union, 226, 267
Purcell, Clare, 268-269
Purcell, Mr. and Mrs. W. H, 257

Quill Club, 227

Quillian, W. F., 242

Randolph-Macon Woman's College, 113, 126, 161, 162
Ray, Mrs. Louise Crenshaw, 268
Reaves, C. M., business manager, 256
Reed, Mrs. Charlotte M., preparatory dept., 15, 43
Refugees, war, 49
Remington, Jinnie, 27
Rew, C. R., 260
Rice, J. A., 142
Ridley, Robert Scipio, 27
Rivers, Mrs. W. W., art dept., 229
Robertson, J. S., 141
Rodgers, Jean, recorder, 261
Rogers, J. R., 77
Rone, Caroline, 27
Roosevelt, Theodore, visit to Tuskegee, 135-136
Rosemary, 168
Ross, B. B., 77
Ross, B. B., Jr., chemistry dept., 110
Rush, J. W., 37, 43, 77, 81
Rush, Mary, 105, 109
Russell, Mrs. Julia Walker, 268

Sagastaon, literary magazine, 130; yearbook, 130-131, 175
St. John's College, Cambridge University, 153
Samford, W. F., 21, 22-23
Samford, W. H., 141
Sampaix, Leon, music dept., 113
Sandburg, Carl, 257
Savage, Alice, 27
Schilder, Mrs. Miriam Arrington, 248
Schneider, Erwin, music dept., 72-73, 113
Scribblers' Club, 221
Seals, Arnold, 5
Searcy, Hubert, eleventh president president-elect in charge of financial campaign, 1938, 239-240; qualifications for presidency, 241-242; administration of, 242-272; tributes of press to, 242, 246-265; honors of, 247; achievements during first decade of administration of, 269; plans for endowment and buildings from Centennial Fund, 269
Searcy, Mrs. Hubert, 242
Sellers, J. A., 142-147
Senior Comedy, 199
Senior gift, 1859, 33; 1860, 43-44; 1865, 62-63; 1921, 198
Senior Howl, 200
Senior Tea Room, 199
Shafer, A. J., 153
Shapard, W., 77
Shaw, Anna Howard, 175
Sheehan, Mrs. Elizabeth Winston, 181
Sherman, Virginia, dramatics dept., 213, 220
Shields, Edith, 201
Shores, J. W., 77
Sinclair, Mollie, art dept., 71, 85, 111
Skinner, Mary, 132
Skinner, Mary Elizabeth, 268
Slayton, Lula, 107
Sledd, Andrew D., 160
Smilie, Ella, Latin dept., 131
Smith, A. W., 141
Smith, Benjamin, 153
Smith, E. S., 77, 81
Smith, Elizabeth, 218
Smith, J. C., 36, 93, 96-97
Smith, Janeene, 264
Smith, Mrs. Kate Samford, 236
Smith, Mary M., secretary to the president, 132, 268
Social clubs, 174, 201, 224
Soper, Mrs. Eloise Liddon (see Eloise Liddon)
Sororities, social, 169, 218
Sororities and fraternities, national honorary, 225, 229, 254
Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 172, 183, 211, 214, 231, 243, 244
Southern Educational Association, 112
Southern Rights Leap Year party, 44
Southern University, 71, 75, 92, 117, 118, 141, 154, 160
Sparkman, John, 198
Sparks, Chauncey, 247, 253
Spear, Julia, art dept., 15, 43, 45, 50, 51, 54, 60, 71, 111
Spencer, M. L., English dept., 162, 164
Stafford, Clara, 85
Staggers, Bama, 132
Stallworth, Ellen, 114, 115
Stanford, Gertrude, 218
State Department of Education, 186,

215, 216
Steele, Ruby, 169
Steiner, Mrs. May Flowers, 172
Sternau, Mr., 39
Stevens, Mollie, 70
Stevens, Rudie, 85
Stewart, architect, 9
Stewart, Reba, pedagogy dept., 131
Stone, Mrs. Lessie Mae Hall, religion dept., 228, 229
Stone, Olive M., student body president, 191; dean of women, 223-228, 233, 268
Stone, Paul T., business manager, 233; treasurer, 234, 256; dean of college, 260, 261, 264, 267, 270
Stoudemire, L., 32
Student Christian Association, 266
Student Defense Council, 249
Student government, 165, 174, 193-194, 255, 266
Sturdivant, Mrs. Ellen Rush, dean of women, 118, 156, 167, 190, 196, 202, 219, 268
Sullins College, 154, 155-156, 176
Summers, Thomas O., 22, 31
Supple, Dorothy, physical education dept., 219
Swartz, M. W., ninth president: qualifications of, 178-179; administration of, 179-203; chief contribution and subsequent career of, 204
Swimming pool, 171
Syfan, Mrs. Lula Pou Robinson, 108

Tarver, M., 32
Tate, Margaret, 218
Tate, Wyness, 175
Tatum, M., 77
Tatum, Miss, 95
Teague, Alice, 105
Teague, Bessie, 181, 212, 248
Teague, E. B., 71
ten Hoor, Marten, 264
Thanksgiving holidays at A. C. F. C., 128
Theta Eta, 225
Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. J. G., 143-147
Thomas, W. H., 141, 152, 153, 162, 207
Thomas tract, purchase for campus, 142-147
Thompson, Augusta, 13
Thompson, Frank T., English dept., 221, 230-231
Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. William Dade, 40-41
Thompson Fund, 40-41
Timmerman, Kate, 240
Tirrell, Adeline M., expression dept., 112
Tri Sigma, 218
Troup, Madolyn, 218
Trustees, Board of: first members of, 5; financial responsibility of, 5; purchase of Tuskegee campus, 9, plans for expanding Tuskegee plant, 22-23; building debt of, 40; first president of, 46; members named in 1871, 77; fund-raising in 1873, 88; discouragement in 1876, 96-97; officers of, 137; members appointed for W. C. A., 141; confusion as to actual purchasers of campus, 146-147; decision to rent Hamner Hall for 1909-1910, 155; recommendation of honor system and student government, 165, and of home economics department, 172-173; authorizing of mortgage on west side of campus, 214, and on entire campus, 233; plan to avoid deficit during Depression, 234; approval of admission of men, 235; unanimous acceptance of name Huntingdon, 237
Turner, Charles C., executive secretary, 260
Turner, Frances, 214-215, 227
Turnipseed, Nadine, 218
Tuscaloosa Female College, 51
Tuskegee, statistics in 1856, 3; appearance in 1876, 101
Tuskegee Female College (first name of College, 1854-1872), 1-80
Tuskegee Institute, 50, 133, 134
Tuskegee Normal, see Tuskegee Institute
Tyson, A. L., 146

Ulmer, Mag and Maria, 26-27
University of Alabama, 11, 17, 37, 47, 83, 98, 105, 117-118, 196, 198
University of Chicago, 161
University of North Carolina, 223

Union plan for Alabama Methodist colleges, 140-141, 159-161
Upchurch, Jim, Jr., 268

Van Gelder, Marie, music dept., 201
Vanderbilt University, 113
Vandiver, W. F., 141, 153
Vasser, Anna, art dept., 111
Veterans Administration, 253
Von Grabill, S. Becker, music dept., 113, 115

Wade, Georgia, 27
Wadsworth, E., 77
War work of faculty and students during War of Sixties, 45-47; World War I, 189-190; World War II, 249-250
Ward-Belmont College, 176
Warren, H. Langford, 152-153, 163
Warren and Smith, architects, 152-153
Washburn, Annie Lou, 132
Washington, Booker T., 122, 134
Watkins, Emma R., music dept., 83, 103
Weeden, Howard, 49-50, 60, 111
Weeden, Kate, 49
Wesleyan College, 117, 242
Wesleyan Female College, see Wesleyan College
Westerbeke, Sarah Jane, 230, 238
White Christmas, 196, 227, 229
Wiley, A. A., 85
Williams, Clara B., social director, 218-219
Williams, George, 243
Williams, L. E., mathematics dept., 180, 196; dean of college, 215, 216, 233
Williams, Mrs. L. E., mathematics dept., 190
Williams College, 98
Willis, Joshua, 5
Wilson, James H., raid of, 58-60
Wilson, Woodrow, letter from, 187
Winston, John, 6
Wo-Co-Ala, 200
Wo-Co-Ala News, 200
Woman's College Building Commission, 141-145, 153-154
Woman's College Bulletin, 175, 200
Woman's College of Alabama (third name of College, 1909-1935), 140-236
Woman's College Workshop, 226-227
Wood, Ida, 85
Wood, Jesse, third president: administration of, 52-56; legacy of, 53; subsequent career of, 56-57
Wood, R. H., 77
Wright, Clara, 129

Young Women's Christian Association, 131, 167, 196, 224, 228, 266
Young Women's Foreign Missionary Society, 131, 167

Zirkle, C. G., 143-147
Zirkle and Moore, real estate firm, 142-147