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A STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF COEDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

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A study of the History of the Development of Coeducation
in Massachusetts

by

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HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF COEDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

Chapter I

Introduction

From the Seventeenth Century to the present time, the prevailing attitudes toward coeducation in the school systems of Massachusetts, a state which has been a leader in educational practices, have changed. The very term, coeducation, is not only modern, but of American origin.

According to a magazine article in the Nation, January 4, 1894, by Fred E. Scott of the University of Michigan, the word does not appear in the Century Dictionary. The International Dictionary attributes two meanings--(1) the educating together of persons of different sexes, (2) the educating together of persons of different races. The New Standard Dictionary in 1894, and also Murray's New English Dictionary describe the word as of United States origin, and the latter states, "the education of two sexes together in school or college." In this article, Scott traces the first use of the word to a circular letter to the Union Schools of Michigan sent out by Dr. Ira Mayhew in 1857. Question ten of this circular

was worded "Do advantages or disadvantages result in your experience from coeducation of the sexes?" In neither the speeches of Edward Everett nor the writings or addresses of Horace Mann, all Massachusetts men, did Scott find the term used. Even Colonel Thomas W. Higginson, a firm advocate of the principle of coeducation, did not use the word in his article, Is Woman to Learn the Alphabet?, written in 1859. In Oberlin, one of the first colleges to practice coeducation, this word was not used, but rather the term "joint education." The word and practice appeared in common usage at the University of Michigan in 1870 with the slang word, "coed," appearing in the history of the class of '78.

However, Thomas Woody in his "History of Women's Education in the United States," Volume II, in the chapter on Coeducation differs from Scott to a degree. He places the earliest use of the word before the date selected by Scott. He explains that it occurred in educational periodicals and makes a specific citation in the Pennsylvania School of 1854. He also states that foreign critics of education have generally regarded coeducation as a peculiar characteristic of American schools.

In an article on Coeducation in the Encyclopedia Americana written by M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr, the following quotation is found: "Coeducation, a term meaning joint education, has come to be specifically applied to the

instruction of both sexes as a single body in the same classes in the same educational institutions." The article goes on to state that, "In no part of the country except in the conservative east is any distinction made in elementary or secondary schools between girls and boys." Differentiation exists in only a few large cities, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston and then "to the detriment in almost every case of girls' education."⁴⁹

Webster's New International Dictionary gives the following definition for coeducation; "joint education especially of both sexes at one institution." This is the meaning commonly accepted today. Coeducation in the public school system is a usual occurrence. Coeducation in higher institutions is a more debated matter in the east, yet most controversy over the matter has arisen in the Middle Western states. Massachusetts still clings to the old separate institution idea with respect to higher coeducation.

There are certain differentiations in the practice of coeducation which are comparatively modern experiments. The idea that coeducation means exactly the same education for boys and girls has been changed. Domestic science, manual training, and physical training are perfectly obvious examples of differentiation in subject matter due to sex. The theory of identical education has been limited starting with junior high school and extending upward.

There has also been experimentation with partial segregation. Coordinate colleges such as Brown, Pembroke and Harvard, Radcliffe, aiming to secure all the benefits of the well endowed men's institutions and still avoid actual coeducation, have been adopted. Some colleges first employing the coeducational idea have become coordinate schools as was the case with Tufts.

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The above mentions the variety of arrangement involved in coeducation and will be treated as modern development in a later section. The paragraph also gives a glimpse of the issues of the problem which are by no means dead or settled.

In any case, coeducation involves the education of girls as well as boys. The history of the development of education for women is closely connected with coeducation. The enfranchisement of women is involved. This in turn depended upon the changes due to the industrializing of the country. Around 1840, in Massachusetts, the strictly agricultural aspect of many of the towns began to wane. Industry occupied many of the thriving western towns. Immigration increased at a tremendous rate, and there was a general shifting and readjustment of the population resulting in a steady growth of towns and cities. The result was an increased state unity due to powers delegated to the central authorities and a richer economic status. Education boomed with other enterprises. New inventions had forwarded industry.

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After the Civil War, new educational motives invigorated the school systems. Outstanding women leaders were promoting economical, social, and political freedom for women, but the immediate recognition of women's abilities and rights lagged a bit in conservative Massachusetts.

A study of history of the development of coeducation in Massachusetts reveals that it has by no means always been the custom to educate women, and even when they were educated, they were not believed capable of assimilating a man's educational diet. There was a gradual change to a conception of a fair sex which was not weaker. In the west, this was not true. Settlement there was later. Many of the pioneers were of New England stock. The women from early frontier times were regarded as capable of attending all grades of the public schools. The old aristocratic idea of education for boys solely for college preparation and the ministry never gained a foot-hold in the democratic west.

The economic, political, and religious history of Massachusetts is well known. The early educational principles are the pride of the state, and yet until the era of the district school and academy, all semblance of higher education was denied girls. A survey of the Colonial Period will reveal the status of education, and coeducation in particular, between the years 1642 and 1750.

Chapter II.

Colonial Period

There were three main types of schools prevalent in this period; viz., the dame school, the Latin Grammar School and the town schools. The dame school educated little tots, both boys and girls, and was conducted by a goodwife. It was practically a kindergarten and it was here that the girls as well as the boys acquired the ability to read which was required by the law of 1642. This seems to have been all that was expected of the girls. The Latin Grammar schools existed only in larger towns. Smaller towns had Town schoolr, or English schools where reading, writing, and ciphering were taught by a master. Children did not attend these until they could read.

Early schools were modeled after those of England and this explains the lack of provision for the higher education of women. The public schools of Massachusetts were founded in imitation of the endowed schools of England and for the same purpose, namely to raise up learned and godly men for the service of the church and the commonwealth. Richard Mulcaster, first headmaster of the Merchant Taylor's School said once; "The bringing up of young maidens in any kind of learning is but an accessory by the way."

This was the English attitude toward the schooling of girls, but in addition, in the new world there were no queens or high court ladies to represent culture. Higher education was left to those girls who might "think a good deal of themselves." The Bible was all the Puritan fathers were interested in having their daughters read.

In England, although the charters rarely made any distinction of sex, it was generally understood that boys alone would go to the grammar school. The early schools of New England were modeled after these. When the boys were seven or eight, the grammar school opened its doors to them, but not to the girls. Their education was finished if they could read the primer through.

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The town records of Billerica give some typical instances of the same broadness of wording as in the English laws.

"The selectmen doe order that all children and youth single persons from eight years old upwards their parents and masters shall send such their children and servants to ye Reverend Mr. Samuel Whitney." (1642).

In searching old records for the presence of girls in the colonial schools, the following items have come to light. For the most part, they support the theory that women were educated in the home to become housewives rather than in the schools. Coeducation except in the dame schools did not exist.

In 1643, the town records of Springfield stated that one of the duties of the selectmen was to see to the "training of children in their good ruling." The selectmen agreed with Goodwife Merrick to encourage her in the good work of "training up of children and teaching children to read, that she should have 3 d a week for every child."³⁶

This was typical legislation for the establishment of a dame school and no differentiation or restriction were made between the two sexes.

The matter of the education of girls with boys did not pass without comment in Colonial Massachusetts. In several places enterprising young ladies were in quest of an education. References however are few and far between and seem to stretch the point.

For example, Martin in his article on the Early Education⁹³ of Girls in Massachusetts discussed the presence of girls in Master Cheever's Latin School (Boston) upon the strength of a statement made by Judge Sewall in his Diary. Here he mentioned the fact that little Hannah Sewall in 1688, then eight years old, going to school in Schoolhouse Lane was run over by a horse and slightly injured. To assume that girls went to the Latin school from this evidence is contrary to general impression, Martin states, and there are no further references to shed light on the matter. Probably

School House Lane contained a dame school also, were the truth to be known.

In Dorchester, in 1639, soon after the establishment of a town school, it was left to the discretion of the elders and seven selectmen whether maids should be taught with boys or not. They seem to have excluded maids in exercise of their discretion. Not until 1784 was any provision made for them, and this did not grant them co-education but education from June to October when the boys were otherwise employed.

In a few of the smaller towns, girls were allowed to attend with boys but few availed themselves of the privilege. In 1699, Rehoboth voted to employ a master to teach "both sexes" to read, write, and cast accounts. In Hatfield, a few girls were reported as attending from the first. However, in two other texts, Bush and Small, references were made to the remark of an aged resident of Hatfield. She used to tell of going to the schoolhouse when she was a girl and sitting on the doorstep to hear the boys recite their lessons. No girl could cross the threshold as a scholar. Small points out that from 1695- 1699, no girls were on the lists. In 1700, there were four girls and forty-two boys, and in 1709, "sixteen girls in a class of sixty-four." In Ipswich no girls went to the Master's school until 1769. In Northampton, there is again a difference of opinion. Martin says girls did not attend there until 1802. Bush places the

date at 1792 and, as he qualifies his statement with documentary evidence, it would seem correct. In the Centennial Hampshire Gazette it stated: "In 1788 the question was before the town and it was voted not to be at any expense for schooling girls." The advocates of education for girls were persistent however and appealed to the courts. The town was indicted and fined for this neglect. In 1792 it was voted by a large majority to admit girls between the ages of eight and fifteen to the schools from May 1 to October 31. They sometimes went to other towns to get the advantage of public schooling. It was not until 1802 that all restrictions were removed. ⁷

This concern about the education of girls, however, did not occur until after the Revolution when there was a reawakening of educational consciousness. It was not until this time that Boston and other cities began to make provisions for the education of girls.

A few towns remain in Massachusetts where attempts have been made to check the early attitude toward the education of girls. Dedham in 1652, raised the question "whether the town required that girls be taught in school or not" but no answer is found. The town of Wheatley was reported by an old resident in the following words: "No one remembers the time when girls did not commonly attend

school and pursue the same studies as boys" Hopkins
Grammar School ⁹³ in 1684 excluded all girls as "improper
and inconsistent with such grammar school as the law enjoins
and is the design of this settlement." ³⁷

These cases give a general picture of the absence of girls from the town schools or Master's schools in most of the towns. At first, it would seem that girls were allowed in a few town schools but education was by no means the ordinary course of a girl's life, nor was the education of boys and girls together encouraged in most places. The old Puritan theology still had a strong hold on the people. The church and the state were closely entwined. Education of a higher type was college preparatory, and this in turn qualified young men for the ministry. The average little girl went to Dame School but that was all.

Even in colonial history there were some memorable women who revealed a certain bitterness toward the restricted educational advantages of their sex. Anne Bradstreet, the earliest poet of her sex in America, although she was educated in England, is reported as having "read and studied with
unusual diligence for one of her age and sex." ⁴⁶ In the following poem she reflects her bitterness:

"I am abnoxious to each carping tongue
Who says my hand a needle better fits,
A Poet's pen all scorn I should thus wrong,
For such despite they cast on female wits:
If what I do prove well, it won't advance,
They'll say its stoln, or else it was by chance."

Another famous woman was the wife of John Quincy Adams who gained most of her knowledge from contact with her husband, and regretted the lack of cultivation of the female mind and the custom of "ridiculing" female learning.
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The idea prevailed that an educated wife was an infringement on man's domain. At that time, it was believed that Winthrop's wife lost her mind because she indulged in literary pursuits. "To seek culture of the mind was to transgress the law of God who had given her the home and fixed her in it."

The actual result of the dearth of coeducation or education for women of even a meager variety is seen in the old records and documents. "Of the women whose names appeared in the recorded deeds of the early part of the Eighteenth Century either as grantors of property, or as relinquishing dower, something less than forty per cent sign their names--all the others make their mark."³⁴

This is verified also by Bush, who says: "A large part of the wills left by men some of whom had considerable property and a larger part left by women were signed with a cross. Early deeds in registrar's offices show that in many cases the wives of distinguished men were unable to write their own names."⁷

The conclusion to be drawn from all available evidence concerning coeducation during the one hundred fifty years of Colonial Development is negative. Girls did not attend schools beyond the Dame Schools except in some of the smaller towns, and then only for a short time.

Chapter III

Revolutionary Period. 1750-1800.

The case of the awakened educational interest in Northampton has already been cited. This same town showed the decadence of all education prior to this period. Farmers often taught the English schools in the winter at from four to five dollars a month and boarded at home. ³⁰ After the war, young men found other occupations more lucrative and women began to be employed as teachers in summer school, "Girls now began to attend. In many places it had been an unheard of thing for girls to be instructed by a master. Some towns were slow in changing."⁷

Several instances of this increased interest shows the new feeling that girls should be educated, but there were still many limitations placed upon the degree and type of education. The coeducational idea was seldom present, for young ladies were considered of a more delicate subtle substance than young men and college preparatory courses could have no place in a girl's life.

In 1776, Medford voted that the Master instruct girls for two hours after the boys were dismissed. In 1790, a committee was appointed to see if it be expedient for girls to attend the Master's school. Here, as in many places, it was voted to allow them in school during the summer months. In 1794, girls went to the Master's school during the summer months but not with the boys. Four hours each day were devoted to the girls. Equal privileges with boys throughout the year were still

fictitious. This part time education was only of an intermediate grade.

The town of Newburyport also reveals the slow progress of the idea of the joint education of girls and boys. In 1780, schools were proposed for girls from five to nine to be taught by dames. Here they were "to learn them good manners and proper decency of behavior, also speeling and reading and if desired needlework and knitting." These schools kept from April to October. In 1792, girls came to the Master's school for an hour and a half in summer days, but not until the few boys had gone home. In 1804, four girls' schools were established to be held for six months from six to eight in the morning, and on Thursday afternoons when the boys had a half holiday.

Martin adds other interesting cases to his report. A historian of Essex reported that in 1782, few girls attended school "only those who thought a good deal of themselves." Of forty-five cipherers fourteen were girls.

Haverhill also had the conventional arrangement. In 1790, it was agreed that from May to September one hour each forenoon and afternoon should be especially appropriated for instruction of the young "misses or females." Boys' school was dismissed for the purpose.

Salem, in 1793, provided for the training of girls in reading, counting, and ciphering at writing school or elsewhere.

As late as 1812, girls were allowed to attend only an hour at noon and in the afternoon. Before 1794 in Lynn, only three girls had attended grammar school and they came in the afternoon to learn to write. In Gloucester in 1790, the Rev. Eli Forbes pleaded for the education of girls of whom he said "they are a tender and interesting branch of the community that have been neglected in the public schools of this town."⁹³

The Boston town records for 1789 contained a proposition for Reforming the Present System of Public Education in Boston. The proposition was that there be, "one Writing School at the southpart of the town, one at the center and one at the north part; that in these schools the children of both sexes be taught writing and also arithmetic in the various branches usually taught in the Town Schools including vulgar and decimal fractions." Then followed a third plan for a reading school also open to both sexes. However, the fourth proposition revealed that boys and girls were still no educated together for it stated "That the children of both sexes be admitted into the reading and writing schools at the age of fourteen, the boys attending the year around and the girls from the 20th of April till the 20th of October following. -- That they attend these schools alternately at such times and subject to such changes as the Visiting Committee in consultation with the Masters shall approve."⁵⁹

The education of girls during the summer months lasted until 1822 when Boston became a city.⁷ Prior to 1800, in most of the noteworthy towns, although provision was made for some education for girls the idea of educating them at the same time and in the same classes with the boys was foreign. Martin notes that the provision extended only to the English schools, no instruction being provided in the Latin or even in the higher English branches. Not until the nineteenth century was far advanced did girls share with boys the advantages of the higher public schools.⁹³

There were at this time several private schools for girls where they could be nicely "finished." Masters were very willing to tutor young ladies. In places, private schools were established where coeducation was adopted. This was the case in Northampton and was the first instance in the history of that town when boys and girls attended the same school. This school of 1784 only ran for four years and had an attendance in the first year of fifteen boys and ten girls.⁵¹

"It was fifty years after the Revolution before girls acquired equal privileges with the boys in the Master's schools of large towns." This statement of Martin's seems to summarize the whole situation at this period.

Chapter IV.

The District School

All of the specific cases quoted in the preceeding discourse concerned town schools. There were many communities or sections of the country settled by a few families, miles away from the town proper where the spirit of education was by no means dead. These places were not large enough to support English or Grammar Schools. The idea of moving schools found root here. The whole schooling, elementary, intermediate and a fragment of higher education came to each outlying section via one lone school-master. The amount of time he lingered in a community was based upon the amount of taxes that section could pay for the support of a school. In 1751 Gloucester, was divided into districts.³⁴ This district system was made permanent throughout the state by the law of 1789 which was then thought to be the height of educational efficiency but which has proved a stumbling block to future progress. By this law, the necessity of a permanent English school in every town of fifty families was removed. Now only six months schooling was required and this might be subdivided indefinitely. By the old law of 1647, two hundred thirty towns should have had schools. This new law exempted one hundred twenty of these.³⁴

The district system was very popular. It allowed each little group to do just what it wished with education. It was not until 1882 that the district was completely abolished for a better system.¹⁴ The first half of the Nineteenth Century marks the height of the district system.

In these district schools, it was often the custom to hire a woman teacher for the summer months and a master during the winter. Before the Revolution, as in the case of Northampton already quoted, teachers were often farmers and untrained. After the war, men were attracted by more lucrative positions and women taught in the summer school. As a result, girls began to attend. The presence of women teachers increased due to the growth of academies and seminaries which functioned as teacher training schools. The Nineteenth Century ushered in the idea of the importance of educating women, for two purposes; to enable women to be better wives, and, if they did not marry, to enable them to teach.⁵⁶ The advantages of this advanced education were showered on the district schools, which in turn represented all the education received by many for academies were expensive tuition institutions.

Since the district school, besides reflecting the newer idea, that a bit of education was not out of place in a girl's life, incorporated the dame school with the intermediate grades, it was only natural that girls should attend.

In an article written in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, the following statement was found: "The district

schools of the New England and middle states were attended by boys and girls as the dame schools of England have been and the admirable parish schools of Scotland." ⁴⁵ In the early Nineteenth Century, de Tocqueville, made the following statement: "The democratic spirit demands that every opportunity for intellectual development shall be as fully accorded to woman as to man." The district school in the field of elementary or lower education had begun to accomplish this even before 1800.

A typical picture of the district school and coeducation as it existed there, is presented by Warren Burton in "The District School as ⁶ It Was." The school house was only a one room structure placed exactly in the middle of the district. The assembly of pupils ranged from tiny tots to twenty-year olds. Burton says of the attendance, "All the great boys and girls who had been kept at home during the summer now left axes and shovels, needles and spinning wheels and poured into the winter school." Little tots sat with their older sisters. The girls were arranged on one side of the room, the boys on the other. An example of punishment is given--"Boys were made to sit in the girls' seats amusing the school with their grinning and awkwardness; and girls were obliged to sit on the masculine side of the aisle, with crimsoned necks and faced buried in their aprons." Burton speaks of boys of twenty and damsels of eighteen so there was a wide range of ages.

Boys and girls had their recesses separately but all their lessons were together. In the winter school, a master was usually in charge, often a college boy who wanted the extra money. In the summer, a woman taught, and Burton comments on the total absence of arithmetic from the curriculum at this season. Then he adds, "The female portion of the school, we may suppose, generally expected to obtain husbands to perform whatever arithmetical operations they might need beyond the counting of fingers and so this science found no special favor with them."

There is also a letter written to Dr. Barnard by Mrs. Lucy Lane which reveals more about the district school. In 1795, she attended a district school in Scituate, and remained until she was eleven. Here she remembered sewing and receiving instruction in manners. Later she moved to Sudbury where the winter school was taught by Harvard students. Before she was seventeen, she was requested to teach summer school in Medford. She had between fifty and sixty pupils. "Many of the boys and all of the girls brought work--straw braiding, sewing and knitting." Her salary was one dollar a week. 87

These varying anecdotes reveal that what education there was in the district schools was offered to boys and girls alike, although mastery of subjects like arithmetic was not required of girls. The quality of these schools varied throughout the countryside but the rights of girls as well as boys were conceded everywhere. In most cases it seems

that the presence at school, of boys and girls alike, was measured by their value at home. Little tots were sent to get rid of them, whereas older ones, in the summer especially, attended only on rainy days.⁶

Before the Revolution, distant sections had clamored for an education. The school master had been obliged to move around from section to section. Men did not like the constant moving and the job was delegated to women, in the summer at least. The law of 1789 sanctioning all this, was strengthened in 1817 by making the school districts corporations. At best, these schools were heterogeneous. In 1837, it is recorded that more than three hundred schools in Massachusetts were broken up by unruly pupils or incapable teachers.³⁴ Anyway the boys and girls had the home, which was still a sound and important factor in the education of children, to supply deficiencies. Their coeducational days gave them a glimpse, at least, of the knowledge of the world.

The term "coeducational" hardly fits the district system. It was too quaint, and the faults and weaknesses of women were too easily smiled upon and smoothed over to make their education equal to that of the boys in many cases. In comparison to the free and easy equality of the modern elementary school, the district school was restricted in its attitude toward girls. Localities suffered in their attitudes but seldom did the district school tend toward the rigid differentiation between the sexes so often found in the academies.

In 1861, Caroline Dall made the following statement:

"If the objections which are urged against this--the divine fashion of training men and women to the duties of life-- were well founded, they would have been felt long ago in those district schools, attended by both sexes which are the pride of New England."¹⁵ She was an advocate of coeducation, which in 1861, was still an unsettled issue.

Chapter V.

The Academy

To describe the district school alone for the first half of the Nineteenth Century would be to give an erroneous picture of the educational systems. At this time, the old town schools and Latin Grammar schools were declining rapidly. This was due to the poverty after the Revolution, and to the change in educational aim. College preparation was no longer the only goal. The district school satisfied all average demands. To replace the Latin Grammar school, the academy was introduced in Massachusetts by the will of William Dummer in 1763. He probably became interested in this idea from a sojourn in England. It spread quickly in Massachusetts and in 1797 the state had to determine a policy of dealing with the academies. At first, they were college preparatory. In many places, as in Worcester County, there were no educational institutions higher than the district schools. The private means of ambitious groups accounted for these academies. They did not emphasize the college idea alone but also popularized the idea of education beyond the district school. The old idea of the ministry and its needs was obsolete but there remained with the people the insight to

observe that education was needed for progress.

The idea of coeducation did not enter into the plans for the two earliest academies. In fact, coeducation in the modern sense of the word--tit for tat and tat for tit--as far as can be ascertained, did not enter into the academy ordinarily. Girls were granted an education. They were allowed in the teaching profession, but restrictions were placed upon their association with boys and the studies they might take. They could not go to college for there were none for women. With the nineteenth Century, girls' schools began to develop but previous to this, academies had been opened to the girls, in spite of restrictions. In many academies there existed a formal system of coeducation, armed with proprieties and fortified with privileges reserved for boys alone. Coeducation was an unheard of word but the necessity of educating "wives and mothers" and incidentally teachers gave the female her entrance ticket. Then too, early academies were small and the girls swelled the ranks and the tuition fees and enabled the school to become more efficient.

The academies were schools of a secondary nature although there was much diversification. Coeducation in the common school or district school was the ordinary state of affairs. The district schools were powerful for a long while. As late as 1853 they were able to defeat legislation aimed at abolishing them. It was not odd that people who

expected their children to be educated together in the district schools should allow the girls to join the boys at the academy providing they were able to pay for it. Teaching made a genteel profession for a woman, and an education was no detriment toward enticing a husband.

The report on the Subject of Academies at Large February 27, 1797, reveals that the state decided on the policy of endowing academies with land. It was stated: "In attending to the particular cases, the committee find that fifteen academies have already been incorporated in the Commonwealth, also Derby School which serves all the general purposes of an academy."⁸⁷

Out of this list of sixteen academies incorporated before 1800, seven were for boys and girls, although this does not necessarily mean that girls were in common attendance before 1800 or that the female department was always taught in common with the male department. There seems to have been a variety of treatment. Departmental divisions, restricted curricula, and rules of decorum limited even the joint education of boys and girls which did exist. Three of the sixteen academies were not functioning till practically 1800 or a few years later. Most of them did not reach their peak until after 1800. In 1877, eleven of the sixteen were still active while five had had a fitful existence.^{1a}

Academies Incorporated before 1800 Arranged According to
Division of the Sexes.

	Opened	Incorporated	Boys only	Girls only	Separate Departments (in same building.)	Mixed
Dummer	1763	1782	✓			
Philips Andover	1778	1780	✓			
Derby	1785	1784				✓
Leicester	1785	1784				✓
Williamstown free	1793	1785	✓			
Bristol	1796	1792			✓	✓
Marblehead		1792				✓
Lawrence (Groton)		1793			✓?	✓
Westfield	1800	1793				✓
Westford	1792	1793			✓ 1820	✓
Plymouth		1793	✓	✓		
New Salem	1795	1795				✓
Deerfield	1799	1797				✓
Milton	1807	1798				✓ 1824
Bridgewater		1799				✓
Framingham	1792	1799				✓

Between 1780 -90, out of a total of five academies, three were for boys and two for both sexes. From 1790-1800, there were ten academies attended at some time in their existence by both boys and girls. One was for boys only, making a total of eleven. Since the evidence of the presence of girls is interesting and reveals the attitude toward women as well as the niceties with which they were surrounded, it will be presented for the first sixteen academies incorporated in Massachusetts.

Dummer Academy was a college preparatory school for boys. "To fit his boys for college and fit them well was Master Moody's ambition and pride; and though a majority of them stopped short of the collegiate course still he believed that even for them, there was no discipline of equal value."^{1a} Here the old aristocratic function of education was fostered as in the Latin Grammar Schools.

Philips-Andover was also solely a boys' college preparatory school. In speaking of the English and Classical departments the following statements were made: "But the preparation of candidates for College has always been a prominent object and hence this department of instruction has always been assigned to the special care of the principal. The thorough training of young men for business pursuits and especially for service as teachers in Public Schools has always been considered as an important design of this institution."^{1a}

12. From Centennial Address by Cleveland, 1863.

1a. Philips Academy at Andover by Rev. C. Hammond--Monson.

The Deed of Lease and Release ^{drawn up for} ~~made~~ by Mrs. Sarah Derby, the founder of Derby Academy on October 21, 1784 stated "The said school is to be maintained for the instruction of all such males as shall be admitted therein, in the Latin, Greek, English, and French languages, and in the sciences of the Mathematics and Geography; and all such females as shall be admitted therein, in writing and in English and French languages, arithmetic and the art of needlework in general." This document continued to say that males from the north parish should be admitted twelve years old and upwards. Any males intending to go to Harvard might enter under twelve. All males from the south parish above twelve who wished to learn surveying, navigation, and their attendant branches of mathematics might attend. Correspondence with the librarian of Hingham Public Library, Helen E. Bell, brought forth the following remark: "To my knowledge, Derby has always been coeducational." Probably the college preparatory and vocational courses were reserved for boys alone while the girls were offered general courses.

The next academy was Leicester, first higher educational institution in Worcester County. "The school opened in June, of the same year (1784) with three pupils, but the number increased to seventy before the close of the year. It was a school for both sexes and still continues to be."⁵³

Washburn, the historian of the academy, recorded that an old gentleman who was a member of the academy about 1790 recalled taking part in the dramatic performances on the occasion of a public exhibition. The performance occupied the entire day and evening and pupils of both sexes took parts. At this time, Addison's Cato was acted in entirety. In 1793, a Dr. Pierce, attending an exhibition, admired the heroine of a play "Scolding Wife." The papers of 1793 stated that both sexes exhibited on that occasion a variety of theatrical representations, interspersed with original composition and vocal and instrumental music.

The case for coeducation in Leicester Academy is more outstanding than in many places. Here boys and girls were educated together--"The trustees and preceptors seem to have early understood;--what is now so well settled,--that, in educational training, the same intellectual processes were to be pursued with one sex as with the other; and therefore adopted the same system of text books and instruction for each." They always met with success in pursuing this system. Rev. Dr. Pierce, speaking of one of his lady pupils, said that although he had taught brilliant men, among them Judge Story, still he had never known a person "of a more extraordinary mind than was evinced by this gifted young lady."

Washburn added that though the girl pupils pursued with quite equal success with the other sex the studies taught in the English department, it was not till a much more recent

period that they engaged in the study of the languages which has become so common, especially Latin.

In 1815, a separate department of the academy as a district school for females, under the general superintendence of the trustees was suggested. A later committee settled the matter "The committee discouraged such a separation of the schools on account of the want of sufficient funds, but do not enter into the question of how far it is expedient to separate the sexes in our academies and high schools, which has of late been somewhat discussed."⁵³ A few years after the establishment of the school, girls were not allowed to take part in declamation and hence the exhibitions.

Thus it would seem that a rather free and easy spirit of joint education in this academy succumbed to the foibles of the regular woman's education of that age. The public at that time favored schools where "accomplishments" and the "polite branches would dominate female education. It is indeed noteworthy that this academy did not adopt the separate male and female department idea, so popular with most schools of this type.

Williamstown free school was in reality a grammar school and open to boys alone. It was of short duration becoming Williams College in 1793. From records of that day, the following quotation came: "Sixty young gentlemen have entered the grammar school."³² Its very change to a college shows that it was for boys only.

Bristol Academy in Taunton was also a school for both sexes, although here there are evidences of departmental separation. Boys and girls were educated in the same building in separate classes. The history of the academy revealed the following information. "The first preceptor, Mr. Simeon Daggett, Jr., was chosen April 6, 1796 and Miss Sally Cody was chosen preceptress July 4, 1796." ^{1a} The academy was designed and constructed for education of both young ladies and masters in different apartments. A list of subjects in the English department closed with the statement, "The boys will also be taught the art of speaking; and the misses needlework and fine art in all its branches." ¹⁸ Here again, the distinction between the "weaker" sex was drawn, but at least education of a secondary nature was offered to girls although the "art of speaking" must be supplied by a woman's natural heritage.

Marblehead had other schools in town besides the Academy where the "common branches of an English education were taught." The academy, however, was the only school teaching Latin and Greek or advanced literature. It was too, the only school where girls were admitted on the same footing as boys. ⁴⁰ Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was among the first scholars. He was born in 1779 and probably attended the Academy about 1794. In his autobiography, 1831, he paid the following tribute to his

schoolmates of the gentler sex. "Girls as well as boys went to the same school at the same hours and were arranged on opposite sides of a large hall in their appropriate forms. In the simplicity of those days, it was not thought necessary to separate the sexes in their studies. Generally, we studied the same books and as we recited our lessons in the presence of each other, there was a mutual pride to do our best and to gain an honest portion of flattery or praise. I was early struck with the flexibility, activity and power of the female mind. Girls of the same age were on an average of numbers quite our equals in their studies and acquirements, and had much greater quickness of perception and delicacy of feeling than boys. Remaining thus at school with them till I was about fifteen, I could not be mistaken as to their powers and I then imbibed the opinion which I have never since changed that their talents are generally equal to those of men though there are shades of difference in the character of their minds resulting from several causes."⁴⁰

Although Judge Story left the school at fifteen and was prepared for Harvard by a private tutor, he presents an accurate picture of a school with no less a degree of coeducation than Leicester Academy although it is not mentioned in other texts as coeducational probably because it was converted into a high school as early as 1837. This academy granted the young ladies a place in the exhibitions.

They were praised in newspapers and complimented for the
"manner in which they acquitted themselves."⁴⁰

Lawrence Academy at Groton consisted of a plain square structure with one school room below and a hall upstairs for exhibitions. At one time, this upstairs room was the celebrated school of the Misses Prescott. The whole number of pupils connected with the school from 1793--1877 was 7612 of which sixty percent were males and forty percent females. Miss Prescott served from 1821--23 and at this time probably the upstairs room was the female department. For the first twenty-five years, it was deemed possible for one teacher to give all the instruction needed to fit boys for college besides teaching classes in English.^{1a} The relationship of girls and boys here has not been clearly stated in the histories, but there has been a preponderance of boys in attendance. Girls were not excluded but most likely the departmental type of school was used at least part of the time.

Western Massachusetts also voiced a desire for higher educational advantages. Westfield Academy was incorporated in 1793 although it was not opened until 1800. Here too, the policy of educating boys and girls together seems to have been customary. In the preamble to the Act of incorporation the word "youth" is used to denote the pupils in attendance.

40. Requote from Autobiography of Story History and Tradition of Marblehead.

The Hon. William G. Bates, at one time an influential member of the Board of Education said, "An Academy, therefore, at this place and at that time was felt to be a great public want; and when its portals were thrown open, hither flocked the youth of both sexes, not only from our own, but from other and distant states.^{1a}

One historian of Westfield Copeland gave two reasons why young ladies had not received an education before the Nineteenth Century. In the first place, there were no higher institutions during the Eighteenth Century. Secondly, there was a common belief that "it was neither needful, fitting nor wise to educate girls beyond the ability to read and write." Evidently, the early academy carried over the idea of a certain fineness which should characterize women's education. Reverend Lathrop in the opening sermon spared no elegant words in speaking of this. "On this day we are assembled to dedicate to God and commit to his blessing this infant seminary, hoping that our sons will be as plants grown up in their youth, and our daughters as corner stones polished after the similitude of a place."¹³ At one time, Emma Willard was preceptress in this academy. In 1867, the building and grounds became those of the high school.

Copeland went on to comment that this academy marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the education of

1a Lawrence Academy Groton by Rev. C. Hammond--Monson

From historical address by Hon. William G. Bates, July 31, 1857.

girls in Hampden county. The limitations of their instruction in the public schools did not extend to the academy. Whatever was taught in the academy, girls could study as freely as boys. He made the usual reservation however that since there were no colleges for girls, they were not expected to elect preparatory studies. The idea of admission on exactly equal footing did not come until the time of the high school.¹³

Westford Academy also opened its doors to both sexes. In 1792, the proprietors adopted a body of rules wherein it was stated that "the said school should be free to any nation, age or sex, provided that no one should be admitted a member of the school unless able to read in the Bible readily without spelling."^{1a} It was not until 1819 or 1820 that the master, John Abbot had any assistance. At that time, Miss Susan Prescott was employed as the first female assistant. Her instructions were confined solely to the female classes.

This academy in 1876 was still coeducational, although the departmental system may have developed as it increased in size. Boys and girls were educated together here in the following subjects: "English, Latin and Greek languages, together with writing, arithmetic and the art of speaking. -- and if desired geometry, logic, geography and music."^{1a}

1a Quote from Sketch of Westford Academy
by Julian Abbott Esq.

Information about Plymouth Academy is vague.

Grizzell did not name any such institution in Plymouth in his section on Origins of the High School Movement in Massachusetts. Plymouth was not one of the towns influenced by industrialism and she clung to the old Latin grammar school idea. A real high school was not provided for a quarter of a century, 1837.²² Plymouth Academy had perhaps only a nominal existence, for grammar schools, and "the female school" were the only references made in a report on Plymouth schools in 1821. If the academy existed, it must have been for boys only, as the education of boys and girls together was frowned upon in Plymouth up to 1848 when they were allowed to merge with boys in the High School.²² Therefore, although provision was made for educating girls, it was either in the hours after the boys' grammar school or by private¹⁶ tuition, and not coeducation.

New Salem Academy was once a thriving institution in a good sized town. Now like so many hill towns, New Salem has dwindled away until there is only a vestige left. There is no outstanding fact to distinguish this academy from any other. In speaking of work accomplished, it was noted that in former years this Academy fitted large numbers for college "as many as nine in a single year." In 1875-76, twenty teachers were educated here but its patronage was being^{1a} affected by the high schools of neighboring towns.

1a. Grizzell Town Records p. 352

New Salem Academy, New Salem from Sketch by E. E. Stratton, M.A.

Whether this academy opened its doors to girls at an early date is a question, but evidently in later years they were educated here. The general use of the word "pupils" probably signifies that they were admitted upon request.

Deerfield Academy offers the interesting example of a mixed school with rigidly divided departments for boys and girls. The comradeship of coeducation was far removed here, and yet the requirements for the scholarship of girls were on the same level with those for boys.

Deerfield Academy opened in 1799 with two hundred and sixty-nine pupils the first year. In 1802, the first preceptress, Miss Eunice Woodbridge was hired. In 1810, the standard of admission was raised to include the study of natural history, natural philosophy, and logic. "No person was suffered to attending to painting, embroidery or any other ornamental branches to the neglect of the essential and fundamental parts of education." Pupils of different sexes were not allowed to meet upon the ground or within the walls of the Academy except at meals and prayers, nor were they to ride or walk together under penalty of a dollar. A "close board fence was built from the south side of the Academy across the yard to the road to keep the boys and girls apart. Separate entrances and separate school rooms were provided. The last two terms of 1819, the academy was exclusively a girls' school. In 1876, it merged with the High School. Today,

it is primarily a boys' college preparatory school although a few town girls are allowed in the classes, since there is no high school in Deerfield center.

Milton Academy was not opened till 1807 and its "original purpose was to prepare young men for college although females were early admitted among its scholars." ⁷⁷ This academy became defunct. It was not one of the outstanding mixed schools. Girls were first educated here in 1821. Previously boys only were admitted.

Bridgewater Academy was divided into departments although the boys and girls mingled in solemn silence in the morning and evening to pray and hear the Bible read. Extracts from the "Rules and Regulations for the Officers of the Academy," "adopted by the Original Board of Trustees, November 20, 1799 reveal more interesting things concerning the presence of girls in the school. During the morning and evening service, "each scholar, male and female, during the reading of such portion of Scripture were required to have their Bibles open and look over the same when read." On every Wednesday afternoon, exercises were to be held in Academy Hall, the Preceptor and Preceptress both being present. "The masters and misses are to have exercises of Speaking, excepting such as for special reasons may be permitted by their respective Instructors to substitute Reading." Here declamation was not forbidden to the young ladies as became the case in Leicester Academy

although in the latter a female department was not segregated.

The Preceptress was instructed to attend to the morals and manners of her pupils. Cases of disobedience were to be dealt with, "the same precautions as in the male school" except for the exclusion of corporal punishment. The preceptress was also to make it a rule that young ladies were acquainted with the rudiments of learning and plain sewing before they were allowed to do embroidery, fine needlework, painting and drawing. "In all her instruction she was to give a decided preference to a useful when compared to an ornamental instruction. The Preceptor was expected "to attend considerably to the instruction of the female school in some of the studies" and the Preceptress was warned not to object. The trustees were placing qualifications on the education of girls which savor of coeducational principles. Their education was to be a useful article and not over decorated with the foibles so customary in woman's education at this time.

Both schools were to be examined at stated times and both sexes were warned not to absent themselves from examinations under penalty of expulsion. It was also added--"The Pupils of both Schools are to attend public Worship without fail unless sickness prevents, both on Lord's day, etc."⁶⁰

The last of the first sixteen academies to be incorporated was at Framingham. This became the high school in 1851. An excerpt from the by-laws presents the following, "Children of both sexes shall be admitted on equal terms."⁴⁸ Although this school was not incorporated till 1799, it opened in 1792, and was apparently coeducational.

In conclusion, the following facts are true of academies in Massachusetts incorporated before 1800. They were sixteen in number. Seven of these admitted girls to the same classes as boys, at least as far as available evidence will prove. They were Derby, Leicester, Marblehead, Westfield, New Salem, Milton, and Framingham. Framingham, Marblehead, and Westfield later became high schools. Leicester was asked to start a female department and failed to do so. Women were seldom present in the college preparatory courses. At Leicester after the first years, they were barred from the declamation exercises. Aside from these points, they received the same education as boys with a tendency toward an extra dose of needlework and a lesser dose of mathematics.

In Dummer, Philips Andover, and Williamstown free school, the aim was to prepare boys for college. Plymouth clung to the old grammar school idea and until 1850 failed to consider the education of boys with girls.

Five academies allowed girls under the same roof but specified separate departments to protect them from the demon boys. These were, Bristol, Lawrence, Westford (1820), Deerfield, and Bridgewater. Deerfield and Bridgewater sought to make the education of girls more worthwhile and equal to that of boys by placing the fancy working arts in the background.

The germs of coeducation in higher educational institutions are found here. Outside college preparatory courses (later girls could take Latin) and the departmental system, girls were placed on an equal footing with boys, and from the comments of teachers and pupils, their intelligence was not found lacking. These early coeducational institutions seemed to place superficiality in the background although it crept into later female seminaries. Here the facts, if not the polish were much the same for the young ladies, as for the young gentlemen.

The development of the Academy had merely begun by 1800. The years, 1821 to 1840 saw its most rapid development and from then on it declined, merging or giving way to the high schools and free public education. Women's academies developed also. Some academies were reorganized and reincorporated but the general practice was the same as that of the early academies in regard to women. The total number of academies incorporated up to 1875 in Massachusetts was one hundred sixty-eight. Those which were outstandingly coeducational will be treated more specifically.

From 1800 - 1810 eleven more academies or schools of academy ranking were incorporated.

Academies Incorporated 1800-1810 Arranged According to the Division of the Sexes.

<i>Date Incorporated</i>	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Departmental	No Information
Nantucket 1801	discontinued		✓	1816	
Berkshire 1803			✓		1876 H. School overshadowed by Phillips Andover
Franklin 1903			✓		
Sandwich 1804			✓	✓	
Bradford Female Sem. 1804			✓	✓	1836 Female
Monson 1804			✓	✓	
Lynn 1805		discontinued		1817	
Days Wrentham 1806					1875 High School
Middlesex Female 1806		✓			
Pittsfield Female 1807		✓			
Newburyport 1807					

Newburyport and Sandwich Academies have no available records.

Nantucket and Lynn Academies were discontinued in 1816 and 1817 respectively. Bradford Academy was at first co-educational. "The institution was opened as a school for gentlemen and ladies; and so continued till the retirement of "Father Greenleaf in 1836, when the male department was closed." ^{1a} As usual, the departmental system was developed later, but it was not established till 1828. ⁷ Monson Academy "has been open to both sexes from the beginning, and a distinct female department has existed, under the special care of a preceptress." ^{1a} Monson and Bradford are the two outstanding academies of this group and in all probability characteristic. Four out of the total number, eleven, were schools for boys and girls although separate departments were maintained. Two were female schools only. Five were either discontinued or there is no information concerning them.

From 1810 - 1820, there were eight academies incorporated. ^{1a}

^{1a} Monson Academy Rev. Charles Hammond

^{1a} Bradford Academy Annie E. Johnson

Academies Incorporated 1810-1820 Arranged
According to Division of Sex

Boys Girls Mixed Dept. No information

	Boys	Girls	Mixed	Dept.	No information
Grammar Schl. Friend 1811	L?				L
Friends--New Bedford 1812			L		
Hopkins--Hadley 1819			L		
Salem Street 1816					L
Amherst 1816			L		
Kingston 1816					L
Nicholas (Dudley) 1819					L
Billerica 1820					L

Five of these were not reported, but they were not among the foremost institutions of the day but rather local attempts.

The three academies which educated both girls and boys were well known. Friends Academy of New Bedford was a Quaker innovation. It is interesting to note that the Quakers in theory had no scruples about educating boys and girls together on an equal basis. The Quaker forum had necessitated that women be able to enter into affairs. This had paved the way for the entrance of women into reform movements. In 1810, a group of New Bedford Quakers drew up an article "for the purpose of establishing and endowing an institution for the instruction of Friends children and such others as it

appear hereafter may usefully and safely be admitted
therein."⁵⁶

In a description of the academy building, an upstairs room is assigned as the boys' room and a downstairs room as the girls.' During the last four years 1813-1817, of the first principal, Mailland Brewer, both sexes were admitted to the school. After this, until 1827, the school passed through a period of depression due to the hard times following the war of 1812. In 1831, under David Mack of Salem, the average attendance of the school was sixty one. Mack divided the school into two parts in 1835, male and female and himself took charge of the latter. On his retirement, the two schools were consolidated and in 1836, put under the charge of Mr. Stoddard, with Miss Abby Osgood as his assistant in the female department. In 1844, the trustees voted that the scholars taught "from and after the next quarter," - exceptions being permitted under certain prescribed circumstances,--should be females only. However, in 1845 under a new principal boys as well as girls were admitted. In 1846, the trustees voted to admit both sexes to the Academy when it should be reopened. The school was granted for a year to Caroline and Deborah Weston with the understanding that they should procure a male teacher for classical instruction. In 1847, the school was again divided into two departments. It

remained this way until 1855 when the trustees decided, "that an entire change is required in the management and constitution of the Academy and that to meet the demands of the present system of education, two separate schools are called for, one for boys and one for girls." On September 19, 1855 the two schools, that for boys on the first story and that for girls on the second, were opened. In 1869, in a new building, the male and female departments were consolidated; "All the scholars being seated in one school room and receiving instruction in the same classes." "After various changes of policy the Friends Academy by its practice and example, registered its decision in favor of the coeducation of the sexes."²⁰

Actual acceptance of girls and boys in the same classes without differentiation for any length of time came after 1850. The same old departmental policy with its tendency toward the separation of girls from the boys characterizing the academy before this in spite of the coeducational theory attributed to the Quakers.

The seventh section of the by-laws of Hopkins Academy states: "Yough of both sexes who can read decently in a common English book without spelling and write a joined hand and are of good moral character shall be entitled to admission." In 1835, there were one hundred fifty gentlemen and one hundred twenty-one ladies in attendance. Two years later the gentlemen numbered only fifty-four, but there were

one hundred thirty-two ladies. From this time on numbers grew gradually less. "A definite course of study was prescribed only for students who proposed to enter college." This was hardly intended for the girls but there were a variety of other courses. Up to the time it became an academy Hopkins was a boys' school primarily. From that time onward more young women than young men have enjoyed the advantages of the school. Miss Sophia Smith, the founder of Smith College, may have been a pupil here or at least she may have been inspired by her younger sister who was a member of the school. The first preceptress appeared in 1817.²⁶ Evidently Hopkins Academy practiced as much coeducation as Westfield or Leicester for no mention of departments was made although the office of preceptress would signify the girls had a separate home room together.

Amherst Academy also shows an absence of strict departmental regime. The catalogue for 1818 gave a list of one hundred fifty-two, of whom seventy-six were masters and seventy-six maids. In 1827, there were no females in the institution. In 1839, the Academy had again adopted coeducation. There were forty males in the classical department, seventy-four males in the English department and also one hundred three females.² This institution flourished for ten years. Mary Lyon was a pupil here, and received her chemistry training from this source.⁵² Amherst College came from the charity fund of this school in 1821.

The next ten years, 1820 to 1830 show an increase of thirty-one incorporated academies. From 1820-25, there were four incorporated, Sanderson 1821, Merrimac 1822, Wesleyan 1824 and Lexington 1822. Sanderson Academy at Ashfield was attended by Mary Lyon before she attended Byfield and Saugus, a woman's school. Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham was a Methodist institution and one historian Copeland, says, "It has furnished evidence of the success of coeducation. More than half of the students have been young women."¹³

From 1825 to 30, twenty-seven academies were incorporated, but information concerning these is limited, and out of the whole mass only nine can be identified with the education of boys and girls together, and many of these only on supposition since they were the local schools of smaller communities where no objection to the education of girls with boys can be found.

The list of Incorporated Academies contained in the Fortieth Annual Report of the Board of Education furnished names up to 1875 but information was lacking for so many of these schools that no conclusive facts regarding coeducation could be drawn. The academy and the high school often merged and many academies were short lived.

The years 1830-40 saw the incorporation of forty-six academies, thirteen female, one for boys (Mt. Pleasant Classical Institute Amherst) five for both sexes, six which probably were for both sexes, and twenty-one about which

there is no material. At this time, there were female seminaries established in Springfield, Worcester, Charlestown, Northampton, Amherst, Jamaica Plains, South Hadley (Mt. Holyoke), and Norton (Wheaton). It would seem that the practice of educating girls in separate schools was growing in favor.

Springfield offers an interesting case of the attitude toward the education of girls. In 1828, a Town High School for the benefit of "all the inhabitants of the township" but exclusively for boys was opened. In 1841, a high school proper was opened but it was not until 1849 that both sexes were included.³⁷ If one had the price, the ladies' seminary was the place to educate a young woman according to the dictates of the age. Prior to 1849 all education for girls was provided by private schools.

Between 1840 - 1850 there were only twenty-one academies incorporated. Five of these were in the capacity of high schools or became high schools and were most likely coeducational. Two were girls' schools. One, Williston Academy, began as "a school for both sexes and the title of "seminary" was adopted. The ladies' department was suspended in 1864 and the seminary⁹⁰ has been an academy for boys since then." The remaining thirteen cannot be traced with regard to coeducation.

From 1850 - 1860 the total number of academies incorporated was nineteen. None was for boys alone; four were for girls; nine were definitely for both sexes; three were in reality

high schools probably for both sexes and for these there is no material.

The year 1860 - 1870 saw the total number dwindle to ten, one boys' school, two girls' schools, two which gave no material, two for both sexes, and three in all probability for both sexes making half the number coeducational.

From 1870 - 1875, five academies were incorporated, two for both sexes and three in the capacity of high schools which were also for both sexes.

These figures are by no means water tight, but the general proportion of schools of both sexes from the total number of academies incorporated in that year may be seen.

In concluding the subject of coeducation in the academies, there is one fact which is outstanding. Girls were educated. In some cases, especially in the years 1830--40, female seminaries increased in popularity but the average small community educated girls and boys together in the academy. This was a sensible economy measure. In most cases the term "departmental" applied to a separate room with a preceptress as the mistress. The number of pupils was not large. The course of study was three to four years. Therefore, classes would be small, and it was likely the girls joined the boys in many exercises. Cities and larger towns had a tendency to separate girls from boys more than the rural sections. It could hardly be said that this was coeducation in the modern sense. Seating plans usually

showed a distinct separation of the sexes even in the same room. At first the college preparatory courses were not opened to women nor did they have any use for them. Young ladies were gentlewomen and abided by the milder studies. However, the academies were marching with the time. The higher education of women was a comparatively new idea and the method of procedure represents an evolution following the changing economic, religious, and political aspects of the age, plus the new educational standards. The academies varied in their practices but controversy over the right and wrong of coeducation although it was an undercurrent in many towns did not come to a head until after 1850. This concern was in the field of higher education represented by the Academy, High School, and finally the College.

Chapter VI.

Changes in the Old Order and Coeducation.

The idea of coeducation is closely involved with the change from the simple isolated self-sufficient town existence of early Massachusetts to the later industrialism. The machine had much to do with the establishing women on the same basis with men and bringing them out of the home. Increasing population, due to foreign immigration and the growth of cities also tended to change women's status.

Boston was obliged to become a city 1822. Eastern Massachusetts contained many cities where the manufacture of textiles was becoming a leading enterprise. The shoe industry sprang up at a slightly later date. Women followed the manufacture of woolens and textiles from the home to the factory. This transition occurred in Massachusetts between 1840-1850. There were few opportunities for educated women, however, beyond the teaching profession. In 1850 in Lynn, Massachusetts, 3729 men and 6412 women were employed in shoe factories and yet the women only received \$37,000 a month whereas the men obtained \$75,000. However, the very fact that women could earn wages, poor as they were, gradually produced a change. It destroyed the economic unity of

the family. There were other aims beside marriage possible to a young girl although her parents could not educate her in an academy. Then came the Civil War and the usual relation of the sexes in the field of labor was even more unsettled. ⁵⁶ The Civil War marked, perhaps, the turning point, for from then on the equality of women in a man's world has been gradually mounting until the present generation claims to have stamped out the old theory of the lesser ability of women in the affairs of the world. The whole evolution, although it started with the Civil War period was more talked about than practiced until further boosted by the World War.

The freedom of woman is connected with the events of the century. With the freedom of women, to some degree responsible for it, comes the education of women. Due to economy and general practice, except for some places which still clung to the old segregation of the sexes, by 1850 or so, coeducation was an indispensable factor in the education of women. Coeducation and the rights of women even in the conservative east were well on their way to supremacy before the cloud of controversy over the matter broke after the Civil War.

Coeducation explains in part the increasing freedom of women. The importance of good schools due to increased population and a foreign element was also becoming more

outstanding, and culminated at an earlier date than the freedom of women. Although school legislation resulting in the state system did not refer to girls in particular but to the children as a whole, it had its importance. Coupled with this, there was factory legislation directed at making conditions more liveable for women. Besides these factors, this century saw many more women leaders of greater importance than the few of the eighteenth century. Those eminently connected with the educational movement were Emma Willard, Mary Lyon, Catherine Beecher, and Caroline Dall.

One writer in speaking of development of free public education connects it in the following manner with the times. "In the east the system of free public education waited on occasion. There its expansion is a function of the intention of industry, of the growth of cities which that implied, of the multiplication of problems of social management and social control requiring at least the minimum of literacy in its human material."³¹

This idea that education follows the economic and social development appears in another author at an earlier date. He says, "Educational progress is secondary to industrial and social advance and consequently lags somewhat behind it in point of time. Education is ever vainly attempting to catch up with the car of progress."⁹ Massachusetts in 1790, had a population of 378,787. In 1840 the population

was 737,700 or 94.75% increase. There is little wonder that schools became more of a necessity and that public education became more and more essential.

Although education develops after the situations arise which it must meet, it also brings enlightenment to future situations. Besides legislative acts directed specifically for the benefit of women, state educational acts at no time excluded women from their folds. All of these acts were fostered by a growing population under the new field of industry. They were scattered throughout the Nineteenth Century. Removing restrictions and giving women rights naturally fostered coeducation while state school legislation built up a thriving system of free public schools where the educational advantages offered girls were making future independence more possible. The education of both boys and girls in the elementary classes was considered essential. It was in secondary education and the colleges that women had to force their way.

Today, the free and equal rights of women are taken for granted. It is forgotten that actual legislation had to provide the legal rights of women and assure their proper treatment in factories, and that woman suffrage is comparatively modern.

Behind all this gradual legislation was the economic development as has previously been stated. The freedom of women first appeared in the cities. The rural districts

were slower to wean themselves from the conventional idea of woman's place in the home. The country home was slower in procuring labor-saving devices and in offering counter attractions aside from home life either in the field of business or in the line of women's clubs and leisure activities. However, the small town and country places adopted coeducation with less fuss. They realized that girls benefited by education. They saw nothing artificial or wrong that they should be educated with their brothers. The schools were small and economy warranted coeducation. In the cities of Massachusetts, the idea that the weaker sex were actually injured by equal education with boys existed. Here there were sufficient pupils to justify separate schools in many cases. Private seminary education for young ladies was more genteel and very fashionable. These old practices, like so many traditions, were slow in changing. Grammar schools, due to old practices, were often segregated but the so-called American Common Schools after the district influence and with the presence of girls in town schools after the Revolution became coeducational without a dispute. Dispute usually concerned secondary education into which coeducation had crept more and more steadily especially in the cities after 1850.

State school legislation affecting coeducation is vague. School laws included all children irrespective of sex.

Aside from assuring the education of all children to a certain age, legislation did not necessarily make attendance at the high school compulsory. Towns were required to maintain high schools, but it was the institution and its qualification, and not the particular qualification of attendance that interested the state legislature. Therefore, coeducation or segregation was the choice of each town or city. It is strange to note that cities rather than towns were the objectors although the following incident is quoted as a circumstance which actually occurred in a country town about 1826.

"In a large center school, as occasional glances were sometimes thrown across the aisle, it was seriously proposed by a most excellent citizen that a 'squinting board' should be erected between the boys and girls side of the house, to prevent any 'casting of sheep's eyes' to the detriment of the morals of the school."^{39 b}

As a general rule towns could not afford to object more strenuously to the practice of coeducation

School legislation in Massachusetts began in 1642. By this ruling--"All children"³⁴ -- girls and boys should be educated. Children boarding out as well as children at home,^{34, p. 14} but the requirements were simple, demanding only elementary schools. The law of 1647 also provided for all children and added education at public expense for youths who wished to be fitted to the university making all higher education strictly for boys. Before and after the Revolution, state legislation bowed to the demands of the individual communities and in common schools, even in the town schools girls were admitted slowly to a part-time education, at least. The district system was given basis by law in 1789. Early legislation drew little distinction between the sexes.

Revised laws of Massachusetts, Chapter 42, Section I states: "Sufficient number of schools for the instruction of all the children who may legally attend a public school."⁶⁹ This law with its many qualifications which has been revised often goes back to 1892--1893 and applies to public schools. It uses the same terms as the colonial school laws.

The law applying to high schools, Section 2 states: "It shall be kept open for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the city or town, etc." Section 3, providing for the payment of tuition by the town where there is no high school

reads "of any child" and dates back to only 1891. The first named law goes back to 1789, Chapter 19, Section 69 i. 1.

Section 16 makes special provision for the training of young men and boys in natural duties," dating to 1878. Section 11 provides for evening schools for "instruction of persons over fourteen years of age" and dates back to 69 i. 1886.

Chapter 44 of the revised laws treats school attendance. Section I states "Every child between 7--14 years of age shall attend some public day school, etc." This first originated in 1852. Chapter 44 throughout the sections uses the term "every child" or "child." This compulsory attendance law although changed in context in 1906 still reads "every child". 69 8

State Normal schools authorized by legislation in 1839 were fully intended for women as well as men but this matter will be treated in another place.

State legislation, except in special cases, was general, applying to both sexes. The habits and customs of the various localities either welcomed or frowned upon coeducation. The state assured itself of a system of public schools for all, irrespective of race or religion. How the towns arranged this education among boys and girls was not the affair of the state, providing that the children were in attendance after 1852. By the time that state supervision of education became

really powerful, girls were educated by popular consent so no particular laws had to be passed. The Board of Education was established in 1837. State Normal schools under the direction of the Board followed soon after making the education of both sexes a policy of state legislation in deed if not in word as far as higher education was concerned.

It is a rather paradoxical situation that whereas the sources of the enfranchisement of women are found in the cities, and were the products of industries and the results of participation in business, that coeducation should gain force as quickly in the towns as in the cities. However, state legislation was not limited to the heavily populated sections.

Provision for the education and rights of women have necessitated the following acts.

In 1776, in Massachusetts, Bowditch says that "no woman married or single had ever voted in parish matters." A married woman's property became "absolutely her husband's"; he could will it "entirely away from her" but if he left no will, a third reverted to her and two-thirds went to the children."^{9a} This should have behooved the colonial dame to maintain happy relationships with her husband.

In 1787 by authorization of the Supreme Court, a woman whose husband had left her was able to "convey her own real estate."^{69a}

In 1833, married women were empowered to receive payments with the Supreme Court's approval in case the husband had absented himself or abandoned her without "sufficient provision for her support."^{69 a}

The year 1837 saw the education of women furthered by the efforts of Messrs. Carter, Brooks, and Mann with the foundation of normal schools of which more will be said later. However, the one at Lexington was for the qualification of "female teachers" and the one at Barre for "both sexes" by vote of the Board December 28, 1838.⁶⁵

In 1842, the women of Massachusetts were authorized to make wills.² In 1845, married women were empowered to hold property separately and to "sue and be sued" on contracts made with reference to such property as if unmarried.^{3.} In 1846, they were "allowed to give a valid receipt for their own wages."⁴

Civil rights were slowly being accorded women but religion still upheld that woman's place was in the narrow restriction of the old-fashioned home. As a matter of fact woman was totally occupied by the old fashioned home which kept her busy from morning till night. This was changed in the nineteenth century by invention, science, and education. A description of the old home shows the multiple duties involved. The old fashioned home had no central heating system or modern bathroom facilities. The kitchen was full of heavy and unwieldy utensils for it

was not until after 1850 that aluminum ware was introduced into the home. There were no properly balanced meals but the knack of heavy cookery was handed down from mother to daughter. There were no canned foods or baker's products and prior to the passage of food laws there was a doubtful quality of produce to select from, especially meats. There were no washing machines or electric irons and yet styles were much more ornate. The interior of the house was decorated with quantities of knick knacks which every good housewife cleaned conscientiously twice a year. Usually there was a funeral front parlor consecrated to these decorations and an occasional visitor. Besides all the work involved in feeding, and cleaning, all garments were homemade. The women's clothing following the pace set by elaborate knickknacks was ornate, expensive, and impractical. "A walking costume described in the Cosmopolitan for October, 1887, called for fifteen and a half yards of material twenty-two inches wide; a stylish frock for eighteen and a half yards." ⁴¹ Today three and a half or four yards would make the average person a very sensible "walking gown." Meals, clothes, and home decoration were all in excess and without modern conveniences to simplify the care of them. Nor was the

ornamental education received by the young ladies in seminaries of much practical use besides bestowing more useless ornaments upon the parlor. There is little wonder that women remained at home and kept busy before modern invention and industry simplified home-making.

Religion was no longer the old Puritan theology, but as voiced by several writers about 1850 the idea of the heavenly ordained inferiority of woman was still rampant. McIntosh in Woman in America (1850) said: "There is a political inequality, ordained in Paradise, when God said to Woman, 'he shall rule over thee' and which has ever existed in every tribe, and nation and people of earth's countless multitudes. Let those who would destroy this inequality pause ere they attempt to abrogate a law which emanated from the all--perfect mind. And let no woman murmur at the ³⁵howlness of her lot."

Education was a great assistance in establishing woman on an equal footing with man. High school education, and college education, as well as the necessity of women entering the working world all contributed to the ideal of independence.

The Civil War also furthered the independence and equality of women. Many women did service in the war. Slavery had aroused and interested their sympathies. Many of the men were in the war, and in colleges the women had

a chance to obtain an education which they had not had before. Many better teaching positions were left open for them. Sanitation and the use of inexpensive materials were placed as issues before women and received their intelligent support.

The year 1873 ushered in five years of depression and increased the necessity, even in families of a former comfortable class, for women to seek lucrative employment. "At the same time, the colleges and universities were training increased numbers for pursuits hitherto followed chiefly by men, while the new conditions of American life were opening employment to women wholly unknown to previous generations." ⁴¹ 1877 saw the establishment of the Boston Cooking School, a new professional field for women and one which has assumed increasing importance. 1873 saw the establishment of the Massachusetts Normal Art School opened to ladies and gentlemen and indicative of a new trend both in school subjects and professional interest. Miss Faithful in Three Visits to America, page two hundred seventy-five reported that in Massachusetts alone, there were in 1882 nearly three hundred branches of business and industry in which women could earn from one hundred to three thousand dollars a year. By this time, the education of women must have reached an equality of that of men. It is true that even before the Civil War women were accorded a free secondary education in most of the high schools of the larger towns as will be proved later.

"In 1874, Massachusetts declared women eligible for membership on school committees; five years later they were granted the right to vote for members on such committees." ^{56 (p. 435 II.)}

In 1882, Massachusetts began factory legislation with reference to women by a law providing for seats for female employees or a fine from ten to thirty dollars. ^{56 p. 473.}

1887 saw uniform and regular meal times set aside for children, young people and women in factories. ⁵⁶ In 1890, ⁵⁶ a law prohibited women's and minor's employment in factories, at night between ten o'clock and six. ⁵⁶

After the Civil War, and especially after the adoption of an amendment giving the slave the ballot the woman suffragist movement became stronger and stronger in demanding federal action. "From 1878 to 1919 the woman suffrage amendment was brought regularly before Congress." This political emancipation of women would never have materialized without a previous intellectual enlightenment due to the higher education of women either in academies or high schools by coeducation or segregation. Unless women had shown themselves educationally, professionally, and otherwise capable of handling the duties and rights granted to them, men would have never allowed such laws to have appeared on the statutes. The changing society, due to inventions, the evolution of the old-fashioned home, and the increasing popularity of education, especially higher education for all has recreated modern society and made co-education an accepted factor.

No one factor in this change can stand alone as responsible, but underlying them all, there is the basis of education and the grant of education equally to men and to women allowing the capacities of both sexes full range. Legislation, either educational, social, political, or legal in nature finished the story of development and reform, and gives the final picture.

Chapter VII.

The Early High Schools and Coeducation

A survey of the early high schools does not reveal universal acceptance of coeducation. The high school originated in Boston in 1821 but the movement did not reach supremacy until after the Civil War. As Grizzell says, "the first twenty years of that period were years of experimentation and standardization." ^{22 (p.94).} In the cities, this experimentation in relation to coeducation shows a decided trend toward the education of girls in separate institutions. The aim of the first high schools was preparation for practical life activities. It must be remembered that the early high schools came at a time when the idea of secondary education for women was just gaining a firm foothold in academies and before the wave of industrialism had been felt.

The following list taken from Grizzell's "Origin and Development of the High School in Massachusetts before 1865" consists of "all towns having any claim to a high school up to and including 1839, the time at which the influence of the State Board of Education began to be felt."¹

All Towns Having Claims to a High School before 1839, Date, Coeducational, and Previous Divisions of the Series.

Coeducational Departmental Boys Girls

	Coeducational	Departmental	Boys	Girls
Boston 1821--1826 Girls			1821	1826--28 1853
Worcester 1824 Girls	1845		1824	
Plymouth 1827	1850	1840	1827	1836
Salem 1827	1852-6 (?) one		1827	1845
New Bedford 1827 (1837)*	1827 opened	1843		
Springfield 1828 (1841)	1849		1828- 1841	
Randolph 1829 (1859) No	permanent H.S. 1851			
Lowell 1831	1831-1852.	1840		
Newburyport 1831	1868		1831	1843
Medford 1835	1835			
Northampton 1835	1852		1835	1837
Waltham 1835	1843 (before)			
Ipswich 1836	1874			Fem. Sem.
Scituate 1836 (1861)	1837			
Marblehead 1836-7(1847)	1849		1836	1835
Ashburnham 1837 (?)	1875 (before)			
Foxborough 1837 (?)	1858			
Lanesborough 1837			1837	
Leominster 1837(1850)	1850 (?)			
Nantucket 1837 (1853-59)				
Cambridge Before 1838	1845--(38)		1840	1840
Gloucester 1838 (1850)	(1883 anyway)			
Grafton 1838 (1850)	1850			
Taunton 1838 (1849)	1838 anyway	1854		
Roxbury 1839			1837	
Newton 1837 (1853)(1859)	1852 anyway	1861		

Date in parenthesis marks the re-establishment of the High School on a permanent basis. Two dates in parenthesis mark periods of reorganization. A question mark denotes lack of definite information.

Out of these twenty-six early high schools, twelve were not permanently established until later and it is known that in Boston for a period of twenty-three years, girls' education was entirely neglected after the demise of the girls' high school. No effective attempt was made by the School Committee, or in either branch of the City Council to revive the High School for Girls. ^{87c} Boston offers a set of circumstance not paralleled in other Massachusetts towns. The struggle over coeducation was arduous but it did not come until a later date and will be treated accordingly. At present, Boston still has separate schools, a possibility created only by the size of the city plus the early tradition.

Of these twenty-six high schools, the twelve that were really established later represent a large portion. They were on paper perhaps, but in actual existence they either petered out in a few years or only became high schools of standing at the later date.

The first high school to adopt coeducation to any degree was in Lowell and here it only existed until 1840. This will be treated in detail later. New Bedford was a close second, the date of the establishment of the high school being 1827, even earlier but the system lasted only until 1829. It was not until 1843 that it opened for continuous practice as a High School and boys and girls were educated together. Medford adopted the principle in 1835. Scituate had in all probability

no high school year in and year out until 1861, nor Marblehead until 1847 nor Taunton until 1849, nor Cambridge until 1843, although there is no reason to believe that in their spasmodic earlier existence these high schools were not coeducational. All these six high schools had coeducation probably before 1840, but out of a total of twenty-six they are the only ones. Only one of these was not reorganized at a later date, or abandoned coeducation in the interim, and this was Medford.

Between the years 1840--1850, coeducation reappeared in New Bedford and was again spoken of in Cambridge. Seven schools started as high schools before 1840, placed coeducation upon their program where it had hitherto been excluded. They were Waltham, Worcester, Springfield, Plymouth, Leominster, Marblehead, and Grafton. Springfield, Leominster and Grafton were reestablished and with the two latter coeducation became a factor at this time.

From 1850-1860 eight more high schools either introduced the policy or reestablished it. Lowell re-established it and at this date evidence in Taunton is positive. Randolph, Nantucket, Salem, Northampton, Newton, and Foxborough all existing as high schools in name at least before 1840 by 1860 had coeducation.

The years 1860--1883 introduced three more high schools, established before 1840 which can now be proved coeducational.

Newburyport, Ipswich, and Ashburnham present information of a definite character traceable to these years although the policy probably existed at least ten years previously.

Gloucester too, probably had coeducation before 1883. Roxbury, founded in 1838, has no information on the subject, nor Lanesborough in 1837 although it seems that a boy's school only was started at this time. These last three offer no conclusive evidence and leave a list of twenty-six excluding Boston also, at twenty-two.

A rearrangement of the table on page fifty-nine presents the following list. All these schools were established from 1821 - 1839 but a later date marks the permanent establishment of many.

Comparison of the Dates at which Early High Schools
1821-1839 became coeducational with the Date of
First Establishment and Permanent Establishment.

Date Coeducational	Town	Permanent Establishment	Early Date Established
1827--1829 *	New Bedford	1837	1827
1831--40 *	Lowell	1831	
1835	Medford	1835	
1837	Scituate	1861	1837
1838	Taunton	1849	1838
1838	Cambridge port	Before 1838	
1843	New Bedford	1837	
1843	Waltham	1835	
1843	Cambridge	Before 1838	
1845	Worcester	1824	1837
1849	Marblehead	1847	
1849	Springfield	1841	1828
1850	Plymouth	1827	
1850	Leominster	1850	1837
1850	Grafton	1850	1838
1851	Randolph	1859	1829
1853	Nantucket	1853-57	1837
1852--6 *	Salem	1827	
1852	Lowell	1831	
1852	Northampton	1835	
1852	Newton	1853--59	1837
1854	Taunton	1849	1838
1858	Foxboro	1837 (?)	
1868	Newburyport	1831	
1874	Ipswich	1836	
Before 1875	Ashburnham	1837 (?)	
	Gloucester	1850	1838
	Boston	1821	
	Roxbury	1859	1839
1839 (?)	Lanesborough	1837	

These early high schools did not apparently welcome coeducation until between 1840--60 when 17 of them became coeducational.

* -- Double date signifies short duration of coeducation. Town appears again further on in the list. In Salem the controversy over coeducation although agitated in 1852 did not culminate till 1856.

In the ten year, 1850--60, eleven high schools became definitely coeducational. It was at this time, immediately before and after the Civil War, that the education of women was gaining in force and coeducation became the natural procedure for secondary education.

Proof concerning the presence of coeducation in these early schools is often vague but what proof there is will be presented to substantiate the lists. Many of these references came from librarians of the various towns.

The New Bedford High School was opened in 1827, with twenty-two pupils, six boys and sixteen girls. The school was closed in 1829 but reopened in 1837 and, in order to avoid criticism, was called a Public Grammar School. In 1843, it was opened for continuous performance as a High School and boys and girls were educated together.^{78.}

Lowell was one of the early factory towns, but its desire for education was quite exceptional. A high school was established in 1831 combining the English and College preparatory groups.^{22 (77)} Previously to 1840, the sexes occupied the same room. Although for a while boys and girls recited together, they studied in separate rooms.^{54.} In 1852, the school was reorganized on the old one department, coeducational basis.^{22.} The Lowell High School has the high honor of having been the first permanent coeducational high school in Massachusetts and the first of any kind outside of Boston Established under the law of 1826.^{54.}

From the town of Medford in 1835 comes the following conclusive statement: "In the next year 1834, we reach one of the most important events in the whole school history of the town. On March 3, the School Committee were directed so to arrange the Town Schools that girls shall enjoy equal privileges therein with boys throughout the school year." This report was voted on in 1835. "Thus, then, was our modern system of schools established, with one Central High School, two grammar with male teachers, etc."^{76.} Medford was a small town and set a valuable example by fostering the higher education of girls by coeducation.

In Scituate, three districts united to establish the Union High School. The Massachusetts School Returns for the year 1837 state; "districts Nos. 1, 15 and 17 are associated together for the purpose of maintaining a high school for the older scholars of both sexes."^{74.} Grizzell states that the later history of this school is not known.

Taunton established a high school in 1838 and there is no documentary evidence that this was not coeducational. In the fall of 1854, boys and girls were given instruction in the same classes. Before this, in 1850, there were female assistants to the principal.^{84.} The date cannot be set definitely and perhaps until 1854 the departmental system was used.

The town of Cambridge offers two dates at which coeducation may be established--one 1838, the other 1845. The latter date applies to Cambridge proper when the Auburn Female High School was "made a high school for both sexes."^{25.} "In 1838, a high

school was organized in Cambridgeport for the entire town. This school, so I am informed by John Livermore who was a member of the school committee as early as 1843, had girls as well as boys from its start.^{25.} For a period of four years, Cambridge had three high schools. In 1848, a high school for the whole city in a new building was organized,^{32 p.86.} and from this date, there were male and female graduates.

Waltham, in spite of a small population, established a high school in 1835.^{28.} Evidence here is not very conclusive but the Superintendent of Schools, William H. Slayton writes-- "According to the earliest records which we have, the School Committee report of 1843, there is nothing that would indicate that separate departments were maintained for boys and girls." Probably as in most small towns, girls were welcomed to swell the small number of pupils.

Worcester has the first attempt in the state at high school education for girls alone. The fourth article of a report by a special committee prepared August 22, 1823 reads, "A third female School of a higher order than those last mentioned, to be kept for the same term near the centre of the District; and to be composed of the scholars most advanced from the other female schools."^{86.} A system of schools was proposed to be opened to "boys and girls"⁹² but the selectmen did not approve of this. Until 1845, there were really three high schools, a Latin school for college preparation for boys, an English high school for boys held only in the winter, and a girls' high school "giving a practical education."⁸⁶ The

following resolution was passed in town meeting April, 1845, pertaining to coeducation: "That there be established in the Centre School District, a school for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the town, to be called the Classical and English High School', open to scholars of both sexes, and capable of accommodating at least seventy-five boys and one hundred girls." ^{86.} Worcester had a school system well abreast of the times and fully as complete, if not more so for girls than that of Boston. That the selectmen should hesitate to educate both sexes together as early as 1823 is typical of the idea that women were of different caliber from men and should be separated accordingly.

Marblehead established a high school for boys and another for girls in 1836. "It appears from the salaries paid to teachers that there are in operation a High School for males and one for females." ^{74 f.} Coeducation in the high school started about 1849. From the Report of School Committee 1851-52 of Marblehead comes this information "To complete the organization, it was deemed necessary by your Committee, that a High School should be established, providing, at the public expense, the means and opportunities to all the children of the town of both sexes of being taught the solid and useful branches of education, so as to fit them for the duties and responsibilities of after-life. This is the aim and end of the boasted system of Massachusetts Free Schools.

"At the commencement of this enterprise, serious obstacles presented themselves. There were objections in the minds of many to the placing of pupils of both sexes in the same school, deemed weighty and insurmountable. These objections were duly considered and after consultation with the teachers and parents of the girls to be selected to join the school, its establishment was unanimously agreed upon. There was no alternative. This was the only basis on which a High School could be founded. At the examination of candidates for admission, a large number of both sexes presented themselves, and the School went into operation under very favorable auspices. And so far as we have been able to obtain information, these objections have vanished; and we have every reason to believe from personal observation, that the members of this School are as delicate and respectful in their treatment of each other as any similar classes of our adult population.

"There are some good influences resulting from the education of the different sexes in the same School, which should be taken into account. In a wisely governed School of this description, under a competent instructor, every way suited and adapted to his profession, aided by an energetic, prudent, and accomplished female assistant, the manners of the boys will be softened, and their minds refined; while the girls are placed under that measure of restraint which conduces to self-respect, dignity, and delicacy of character; and both may acquire a just appreciation of what is due to

their nature, to public sentiment, to the consequence of actions, and to the laws of God, which will not only preserve them from gross immortality, but render their intercourse in School, similar to that of brothers and sisters in the family, alike purifying and ennobling.

"The experiment has been successful. The beginning hopeful. But it should be borne in mind, that an institution of this sort cannot attain its maturity at once. It must have time to develop its capacities, realize its tendencies, and ripen its fruits. A high school cannot be put into perfect operation, simply by preparing a room, and filling its seats with boys and girls, from various schools, of different dispositions, capacities, and attainments."

Springfield did not show the desire to educate girls evinced by Worcester. 'In 1827, the town voted "that it is expedient to establish a high school, to be kept permanently in one place".^{19.} As a result a "house was erected, in which a school for boys was opened in 1828 and continued until about 1837."^{19.} After a varying career, the high school was reorganized in 1841. In 1849, it was opened for the benefit of the whole town. It was comprised of both sexes but the number of girls was usually double the number of boys. Education for girls had hitherto been of a private character. Springfield is the first western Massachusetts town on the list. Academies were still doing service in this part of

37.

the state. The practice of allowing girls in the public high school, with boys, however, developed here as soon and as naturally as in the eastern parts of the state with few exceptions.

The people of Plymouth were slow in giving way to the new manner of life. The town was not influenced by industry and clung for a long while to the old Latin Grammar School idea. The terms Latin Grammar School and High School were used interchangeably. ^{22.} The schools were for boys only. Girls were educated in private schools until 1836. On May 7, 1859. it was voted "To establish a high school for one hundred ^{16.} fifty scholars of both sexes, etc." Like so many places, before 1850 or at about that time, Plymouth too adopted the policy of equal education for girls and boys, introducing coeducation.

Leominster High School seems to have been established in reality in 1850 rather than 1837. Probably here as in so many small towns, and especially so by this date, boys and girls were educated together. At first, there was only one master here, assisted by the older pupils and yet the school had an attendance of ninety students. There is no reason to believe that girls did not attend with the boys in this small but thriving school.

Grafton instead of establishing a high school in 1838, according to a local historian actually had nothing to show until 1850 when the High School Association erected a building

which the town rented. According to the librarian, girls and boys were educated together without comment as far as records are concerned.

Randolph is reported to have had a high school in 1829^{74,} but probably this was not permanent until 1850.^{28.} At this later date, it seems safe to assume that the high school was coeducational.

Nantucket had a high school in 1837²⁸ but it was not permanent until 1853 or so, at which time there is no doubt that it was coeducational for it was the only one on the island.^{22 (p. 94)}

Salem was more than a small town. Here was a city and, as in so many of the larger communities, coeducation was slow to appear. Before 1845, there separate, so-called, of high^{22.} schools for girls which were in reality elementary in rank. On October 20, 1845, it was "ordered that the Female High School in this City be named in honor of our late eminent fellow citizen, first mayor of Salem, the Saltonstall (sic) School."⁸² After several proposals for the union of the boys' high school (1827) and the girls' high school, and the standardization of entrance requirements and times for examination.

In 1855 a petition was presented to the City Council for money to erect a school house for the accommodation of the Bowditch and Saltonstall Schools or the boys' and girls' high schools.^{82.} Appointments made the following year show

that this consolidation was completed ⁸² and Salem high schools were now coeducational.

Northampton was the second town in Western Massachusetts to erect high schools. On April 13, 1835, the boys' high school was established. In 1836, it was voted to erect a girls' high school. "The schools long continued separately but in 1852 the higher branches were united."^{19.}

Newton was large enough to be required by law to maintain a high school. In 1837, Newton supported "five High Schools, four of which kept through the year."⁷⁸ This is indeed a large number and one suspects that they were district schools dressed up with the name high school to meet the law. A regular high school was established in 1853,²² and was most likely co-educational. The school was reorganized in 1859²² and in 1861 boys and girls were listed in the graduating classes, the reference librarian of Newton reports.

Foxborough had a High School for a time but was reported delinquent in 1855.⁷⁴ In 1858, the Foxborough English and Classical School was opened in the Town Hall as a private school with a tuition fee. The day classes were coeducational, and in addition the master tutored boys in his own home. A public High School was voted in 1865⁶⁴ and probably coeducational in nature.

Newburyport established Brown High exclusively for boys in 1831. A female High School was organized December 18, 1843. The Putnam Free School, really an academy, opened in 1848,

and provided for "the education of youth," an all embracing term. There was an objection to the attendance of girls here, but this was overruled by court decision. The three schools, after much discussion, were united in 1868, and boys and girls from all the schools were educated together.*

Ipswich confused the Latin Grammar school with the High School according to early reports, although a high school was reported in 1837.^{74g.} The most conclusive evidence of a high school comes from 1874 when a new building was dedicated, "free to the youth of both sexes."⁴ There was a Female Seminary in Ipswich,^{74g} and it would not be surprising if most girls were educated there, until this later date.

Ashburnham has no evidence that the high school was not coeducational during the time it existed which in 1837, was three-fourths of the year.^{74g.} "From 1868--1875, the town of Ashburnham maintained a high school one or more terms a year in the armory building or in the school houses of first and eleventh districts."^{57.} Most likely this was coeducational. Since 1875, Cushing Academy has supplied the permanent high school. There is no evidence that coeducation even aroused unfavorable criticism.^{57.}

Gloucester attempted to avoid establishing a high school, but finally erected one in 1838.^{74h.} There is a difference

* Source not given. Letter from John D. Parsons, Librarian, Newburyport.

of opinion over this and perhaps the date was 1850.⁵
Roxbury had an old grammar school but established a high
school in 1839 reorganizing it in 1832.^{28.} Lanesborough
in 1837 had a high school for boys.^{74g.} These last three
are comparatively unchecked with regard to coeducation but
due to the impermanence of the early schools, it was
probably 1850 before they were definitely high schools of a
coeducational character.

This concludes reports on the first high schools
established in Massachusetts, many of which were established
to meet the requirements of the law of 1827, but some few
representing the action of small progressive communities
already realizing the necessity of education for citizenship.
Many of the preceding facts were answers to the following
questions. (1) What is the earliest date at which boys and girls
were educated together (in the same classes) in this high
school? (2) Were separate high schools or departments ever
maintained for boys or girls alone? (3) Were girls educated
with boys without comment as far as records are concerned
from the beginning? The answers were very kindly presented
by town librarians, in most cases substantiated by exact
quotation from reliable sources.

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From 1840--1848 only eleven high schools were
established, for the penalty of the law of 1827 was not
enforced. It was also a time of depression.

Comparison of Date Established and Date Coeducational
of High Schools founded from 1840 - 48 showing General
Acceptance of Coeducation.

Date Established		Coeducational	Departmental Boys Girls		
Brighton	1841				
Cohasset	1841	1841			
Haverhill	1841 (55) *	1869	1841		
Chicopee Centre	1842 (?)	1842			
Brookline	1843	1844			
South Reading	1845	45-63			
Chelsea	1845-46	1845-46			
Stoneham	1846 (53)(64)	1847			
Chicopee Falls	1846 (?)	1846			
Charleston	1848				
Manchester	1848				

Three from eleven gave no answers to the questions, nor does Grizzell touch upon this group specifically. Haverhill, is the growing industrial center of the group and here departmental education was the vogue until 1863. Unfortunately, definite evidence is scarce but supposition based on the size of the place, and the rapidly increasing practice of coeducation

* Parenthesis holds date of permanent establishment or reorganization.

would lead one to believe that coeducation was the natural state of affairs or at least became that by the time of the Civil War.

The high school in Cohasset has always been coeducational, according to the statement of Annie N. Keene, librarian of the Paul Pratt Memorial Library in Cohasset who writes "Girls and boys have always been educated together in our High School."

In Haverhill, the matter of coeducation had a more singular development in the High School. "On Monday, May 3, 1841, the High School was duly opened, the male and female departments being under separate control, as had been the arrangement in the Academy. Mr. D. S. Rowe, of Gloucester, had charge of the male department in the west room, and Miss Mary A. Blaisdell of the female department in the east room. For admission to the school an examination of candidates was held lasting two days."⁶⁷ From the report of the School Committee for 1864, this rather flowery announcement of coeducation is quoted: "The High School has been unusually prosperous the past year. There has been no change of teachers, but there has been a change in its internal arrangement. Males and females have occupied the same apartment through the year, on the lower floor, and all under the immediate direction of Mr. Shores, thus relieving, to a great extent, the lady teachers from the responsibility of governing. This change is found to be an improvement. The power of the Principal is extended but not increased; he is no more a despot than before,

but wields the same mild sceptre as when he governed the few. The doctrine that union is not only strength but makes for peace, is illustrated; while the doctrine of State rights, so far as the school is concerned, will hereafter have but few advocates. Under the new organization great harmony has prevailed, and consequently greater progress has been made. The teachers have discharged their duties respectively with great fidelity, and their works praise them. Dutiful and diligent scholars have been encouraged, and the thoughtless and wayward have been kindly admonished, and some have been reclaimed, or greatly improved. No greater joy has the faithful teacher than to see his work prospering in his hands."⁶⁷

Chicopee Center and Chicopee Falls were parts of Springfield until 1848. Springfield adopted the policy of coeducational about 1841 and probably the outlying sections in 1842 and 1846 respectively, also adopted it. Miss Bessie W.Kerrs' librarian, says that old residents graduating from the 1842 building remember stories of boys and girls sitting on opposite sides of the High School room. Probably these high schools were at first scarcely more than district schools. There is evidence, however, that at these dates, 1842 and 1846, they were called High Schools.

The Brookline librarian requests the following fact: "The High School has now been in operation ten months, (1843-44) during which time the whole number of students attending is ninety. Of these, forty eight were males and forty-two

females." ⁶⁷ There seems to be no mention of separation of boys and girls, nor is there mention of it elsewhere. In this town, at this time, 1844, there were separate intermediate schools for boys and girls.

South Reading became a separate town in 1844. In 1845, a High School was established but it was not until 1863 that a regular three-year course was adopted and the first class graduated. This list of 1863, includes boys and girls but there is no evidence that this was not a coeducational school before that date. ⁸⁰ South Reading is now the town of Wakefield.

In Stoneham, although the evidence for coeducation is not absolutely definite, the provision made for the high school seems to include all inhabitants irrespective of sex, "Voted--To accept the report of the committee as amended which is as follows viz.

"In order to carry out the principle on which all laws, for the support of common schools, have been enacted, viz., of giving the children of all classes in society, an equal opportunity of acquiring an education at the public expense, your committee recommend for your consideration and adoption the following plan for re-organizing the schools in Stoneham, to wit: 6th There shall be a High School kept near the town house, for the use of the whole town, and taught by a man six months in the year. 7th The High and Grammar schools being for the use of the whole Town, all the scholars in

town, suitably qualified, shall have the privilege of attending them, according to the rules and regulations of the School Committee."^{83.}

Chelsea, according to the assistant librarian C. L. Templeton, educated boys and girls together in the high school from the first. Here, as in several towns, it is interesting to note that boys and girls were separated in two grammar schools from about 1865 until 1900.

According to Grizzell, the period from 1849 to 1865 was a period of rapid expansion for the high school. The law requiring a high school was more stringent and the growth of cities made the high school more and more of a social necessity. By 1850, by law as well as in practice, the high school had proved satisfactory, and, with the exception of Boston, provision for the higher education of girls was common everywhere. By the time of the Civil War coeducation was employed practically throughout the state in the public school system without comment. In a few cases, mild comments were made where coeducation was introduced, as in Haverhill and Marblehead, but bitterness toward the policy is seldom found.

The following quotation seems very true: "Of the fourteen high schools reported to be in existence in 1838 in Massachusetts, there were several where coeducation had been the rule for years. The higher education of girls was in the air. It was as much a factor in the conditions that led to the

development of high schools as a product of that develop-
ment." ²⁵

Coeducation had a steady development in the High Schools of Massachusetts. However, nothing in the line of experimentation was ever tried out in Massachusetts to see if it were the best system. Boston had much controversy at a later date, but no actual research as to the expediency of coeducation versus complete segregation, was compiled as far as the results on the pupils were concerned. It was accepted everywhere as a natural solution. Its expediency was hardly questioned until 1905 and most of the discussion then was aimed at the college and not the secondary school.

Coeducation in Massachusetts as far as the High Schools are concerned had no phenomenal development. The academy had to some degree adapted the practice. Since the high school originated in this state, it was not unnatural to find coeducation developing here, too, although in many cases the practice of coeducation did not appear simultaneously with the early high school, but occurred later. In the west, the two developed together with no hesitation. In the south, the whole movement for the education of women was slower in starting, and did not begin to gain headway until well after the Civil War.

Chapter VIII.

Pros and Cons of Coeducation in the Public Schools

It was not until some years after the Civil War that the term coeducation came into common usage and brought upon itself a deluge of opinion concerned mostly with the quality of woman and her heretofore uninvestigated intellectual capacity. The conception of the frailties of womanhood died hard.

In Massachusetts, Boston was the center of this controversy both as the home of most writers on the matter, and as the place where the secondary education of girls and boys had always been separated.

Boston, the center of activity, educational and otherwise in the state, has an uncomplimentary record with regard to the education of girls. It is true that a girls' High School was established here in 1826 but this school was so popular and drew such large numbers of pupils, that the thrifty citizens of Boston felt they could not stand the expense. As a result, the school was given up, and for a period of twenty-three years the school committees of Boston effectively overlooked the necessity of a free public secondary education for young ladies.

By 1870, coeducation as a policy in elementary schools was a fact beyond all questioning throughout the state.

It was the secondary schools, colleges and universities
45.
that demanded attention.

The case of the Boston high schools will be reviewed for it was here that attention centered on coeducation. It was not for some time that Boston revived high school education for girls and this they did by weakening the normal school to include the secondary education of girls. Boston believed in a specialization of institutions, rather than of courses within the institution, and as a result in 1878 a classical high school for girls was established but not without opposition from those who favored the education of both sexes together, in the Latin school, then for boys only. 106.

At the time of Dr. Philbrook's report, 1885, the high schools of Boston proper were four in number: a classical and a non-classical school one for each sex. This system of education was criticised as aristocratic. It was reported to be somewhat like the German system where the Gymnasium and the Realshule were separate schools for each sex. However the fact was overlooked that boys were well educated and girls neglected in Germany before the World War. Philbrook commented that "reasons of economy would prevent this system in small cities, "but he considered that the history of education and the progress of large cities toward specialization predicted an increase of segregation, as soon as the people recognized its value. Philbrook was the head of the Boston public school system. However, Boston was not without coeducational high

schools for at this date, 1885, adjacent municipalities contained five high schools for both sexes.

Philbrook went on to point out the city of Salem where economy was the only point which influenced the citizens to adopt coeducation. Here he claimed a fair trial was made and the results were in favor of separation to the degree that a movement was on foot to restore the old system. (Nothing ever came of it.)

Philbrook's reasons for disapproving of coeducation were typical of those proffered in argument against coeducation throughout the United States wherever opposition existed. The first reason was the injury done to the health of girls by any system of secondary education whatsoever. The causes which he offered as the explanation of this are as follows: (1) injudicious application of the marking system; (2) injudicious method of teaching which confounded thoroughness with exhaustiveness; (3) too much pressure to secure punctuality and regularity of attendance; (4) rolls of honor printed in annual reports; (5) competition for honors and medals; (6) too long abstinence from substantial food and nourishing drinks; (7) bad air; (8) cold drafts; and (9) too many flights of stairs. Philbrook maintained that these causes could be more easily remedied in separate schools than in mixed schools.

If only the evil of menace to health could be remedied, Philbrook believed that higher female education would be a boon.

This report did not settle the issue as far as the Boston High Schools were concerned but aggravated it. The Boston School Document No. 19, 1890 was the result and consisted of the "Majority and Minority Reports of the Special Committee on the Subject of Coeducation of the Sexes." ²⁹⁶ This committee was created to avoid future dispute in the building of school houses but they became divided among themselves as the terms "minority" and "majority" testify. These reports presented the arguments pro and con as well as testimony collected from physicians, ministers, and teachers. All the adverse as well as the favorable opinions in the state of Massachusetts opinion were collected here. In the light of modern science, many of the reasons advanced now seem naive.

The Report of the majority favored coeducation. This committee traced the separation of schools in Boston back to 1830; Then Lemuel Shaw was successful in influencing the School Committee with a recommendation for the entire separation of the sexes. Thus, this committee sought to avoid "evils and dangers" and gain "decisive advantages" although due to the "strict attention of the masters" they found little evil had been experienced by the present system. This old Committee advocated that three of the public schools should be given over to girls and four to boys.

Now, in 1890, this old legislation called forth the following comment from the Majority Committee "Adopted, thus was rooted in our school system an error which may take years to fully eradicate."

Reporting the present situation in Boston, the Committee commented, "Now we have thirty normal, high, and grammar schools or school buildings--fifteen for boys alone, fifteen for girls and in the buildings intended for boys and girls together there are seventy-four classes containing nearly 3,700 scholars, thirty-nine classes for boys alone, and a remaining thirty-five for girls alone." The committee concluded that only about thirty percent of the scholars in the schools mentioned were coeducated.

The following two paragraphs state the sensible attitude of this Majority Committee toward the situation as a whole.

"Thus this city of Boston that spends relatively more money for the education of her children than any other city of the Union, if not of the world, and prides herself upon her educational facilities, has oppresses more than any other city the rightful advance of girls and lessened the refining influences in boys by this separation of the sexes in our schools.

"The subject is of far weightier importance than a casual or superficial view would give it. It involves the development of the maximum ability of the scholars in moral, intellectual, and physical training. Underlying it, is that subtle psychological element which should not be lost sight of, and it is therefore to be hoped that each member will give it grave consideration."

The arguments advanced by the committee are those found in nearly all commentations on coeducation of this era. The context of the Majority Report in paraphrase is as follows:

committee was created to avoid future dispute in the building of school houses but they became divided among themselves as the terms "Minority" and "Majority" testify. These reports presented the arguments pro and con as well as testimony collected from physicians, ministers, and teachers. All the adverse as well as the favorable opinions in the state of Massachusetts were collected here. In the light of modern science, many of the reasons advanced now seem naive.

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Now, in 1890, this old legislation called forth the following comment from the Majority committee. "Adopted, thus was rooted in our school system an error which may take years to fully eradicate."

(1) Refinement is achieved. "The check upon questionable utterances and acts is noticeable in all places where boys or young men are in companionship with the opposite sex." (2)

The objection to coeducation on the ground that a lower class of boys will defile the girls is met by the conclusion that probably from the same district there is a lower class of girls, so this influence is found in separated schools, too. (3)

Since brothers and sisters are brought up together in the home, there is no reason why they should not attend school together.

Certainly clandestine meetings are more harmful. (4) Coeducation is an aid to marriage for men and women should understand each other and thus less divorce will result. (5) The "delicate

organic conditions of girls "will be obviated by the introduction of physical education. Girls will become stronger." To

strengthen this argument a statement of the excellent health of the women of Wellesley due to physical education is added.

(6) In answer to a circular sent to various masters and teachers in schools in the vicinity of Boston, the following data is compiled."

"Masters in favor of coeducation 44

" opposed to " 14

" undecided or favorable
in part $\frac{7}{65}$

Teachers in favor of coeducation 422

Teachers opposed to " 254

Teachers undecided $\frac{51}{727}$

The following qualification was added: "The masters, with one exception, who were opposed, have charge of either boys or girls alone. Of two hundred fifty-four teachers opposed, one hundred twentytwo are teachers of girls alone, one hundred three of boys only." This latter group, the committee considered prejudiced and wished to rule out but that seems rather a hasty judgment.

(7) The Committee considered that to teach boys alone required a maximum of energy, while in teaching girls alone, often inferior teachers were allowed to occupy "snap" positions. The happy medium would be the teaching of boys and girls together.

The following table shows the result of queries sent out by this committee to members of various professions;

	In favor	Opposed
Supervisors	3	
Masters	44	14
Teachers	422	254
Presidents of colleges and professors	12	3
Superintendents	18	1
Clergymen	37	9
Physicians	<u>29</u>	<u>10</u>
	565	291

The two members of this Majority Committee were then moved to present five changes; (1) Coeducation in the normal school, (2) Coeducation in the English and Latin High Schools, (3) Coeducation in grammar schools, (4) Coeducation in classes formerly separated in grammar schools, and (5) All new buildings

should be arranged for the "coeducation of the sexes."

The third member of the Committee constituted the minority. He believed that the matter of coeducation would always call forth wide differences of opinion, "according to personal experiences and the condition of the population in different localities." Towns and small places because of economic reasons, and the homogenous character of the population were not likely to suffer from coeducation.

The Minority accused the Majority report of partiality and choice of persons to whom they sent their questionnaire. He also claimed that since upon request of the parents, children of suburban schools were allowed to attend the separate city proper high schools, and since many availed themselves of this privilege, popular sentiment was completely neglected by the other report.

The Minority claimed as follows. (1) That no good teacher will have difficulty with discipline in a separated school. (2) That the beneficial influence of girls on boys is doubtful because proper and judicious circumstances are hard to assure in public schools. There are evils of association which may well outweigh the benefits. (3) The brother and sister argument is obnoxious to many parents who do not desire their children to mingle freely in public schools with all children of the opposite sex. (4) The argument that coeducation makes for wiser marriages calls forth the following comment. "The duty of the State is to educate her children in the public schools in the branches of common school education, and not to provide for

social intercourse between the sexes, however desirable it may be." This should be the function of the home and the smaller circles "under the eyes of judicious parents with their approbation." The parents and not the State are responsible for this duty. Boys and girls will meet anyway outside of school hours. (5) No injustice is done to girls as far as the curricula is concerned, by separate education. If the girls are deprived of the "stimulating influence of good boys, they do escape the "evil influence of bad boys." (6) From personal experience, the Minority writer complained of "words and actions" in his own coeducational upbringing, plus "foolish flirting and frivolity" which were indeed offenses against good manners and morals. The writer found a total lack of these when he entered the Boston Latin school (boys only). In other words, he believes that schools are places in which to educate the young, that all possibilities of harm should be kept out of them, and that there should be in them "no sexual distractions." (7) Mention is made of the folly of educating boys and girls together due to their "differing aptitudes and mental attributes." (8) It is also unwise to stimulate young girls to competition or to overburden their minds "at times when they should be allowed to rest."

This constituted the main body of the Minority report. The Majority report was substantiated by a wealth of comment from various sources. Most of the favorable literature on the subject of coeducation by leading feminists as well as adverse criticism was included in the Boston School Document as a whole.

In this same report citations from "supervising officials, publishers, and editors whose observation and experience have not been limited to Boston and whose opinions have weight throughout the country," in condensed form present the following reasons for favoring coeducation. (1) Refinement is derived by coeducation, or as the report from Michigan reads, "no evil from coeducation but cultural benefit." San Francisco, Cambridge, Springfield and a second report from another section of Michigan give the same reason. (2) Coeducation is the natural method. It is less artificial and if brothers and sisters are brought up in families they should be brought up together in schools too. San Francisco, Cambridge, and Springfield are a few places presenting this idea. (3) Coeducation corrects discipline problems. Besides having the support of several Massachusetts supervisors, this agreement found favor in San Francisco also. (4) Coeducation builds up an increased interest in school work and creates added zeal bringing out the best in both boys and girls. Reports from San Francisco and Michigan approved this point. (5) Coeducation acquaints a boy or girl with the "faults and virtues of the opposite sex furnishing valuable material for later life." (6) Coeducation brings out the best in both boys and girls and in Cleveland a better tone and higher moral standard were found. (7) William Stearns, President of Amherst College reporting for Cambridge added a valuable qualification to the moral aspect which was troubling many. He said, "If they can't get along in school what will happen when they get into society?" (8) From Philadelphia came

the comment that since coeducation reigned throughout the land, it was probably acceptable.

The next set of replies came from teachers "whose opinions have been formed in the immediate conduct of the policies between which choice is to be made." These arguments repeat to a degree those of the supervisors with a few new points.

Those teachers in favor of coeducation found the following to be true. (1) Discipline was easier. (2) Coeducation was suited to small homogenous neighborhood communities. (3) Girls gained an interest in subjects like physics and civil government by the presence of boys. (4) If teachers were to be mixed, schools should be mixed. (5) Girls were a stimuli to boys. (6) Refinement was a product of coeducation. (7) Coeducation followed the family structure. Boys and girls exercised a healthy restraint upon each other. Coeducation was the natural method. (8) Girls need men as well as women for teachers. (9) While engaged in school work, minds are withdrawn from sex distinctions. (10) No longer is there any doubt that girls can carry on the same work as boys.

The arguments advanced by teachers against coeducation reflect individual reactions to circumstances. (1) One teacher thought coeducation might be all right everywhere except in the Boston Latin School. (2) Because of the difference in employment and aim in life of boys and girls, school training should not be coeducational. (3) Girls become reserved through the presence of boys and vice versa. (4) City population has many evil elements and it is better to separate the sexes. (5) Girls take all the medals and boys are discouraged.

(6) Girls can not be disciplined as boys can, nor should they be subject to pressure. Corporal punishment should never be witnessed by girls. (7) Hygienic instruction is hindered by the presence of both sexes in a class. (8) Most teachers are better adapted to teach one sex than the other. (9) Boys and girls distract each other's attention from the lessons.

These are the combined arguments of the teachers who taught for the most part in Boston or vicinity.

The next group to respond were the clergymen, "men most thoroughly acquainted with social influences and tendencies." Their responses were either enthusiastically in favor of coeducation or eloquently against it.

Much the same arguments were used by both sides. Those in favor of coeducation reasoned in the following manner.

(1) Antioch College has coeducation. The old academies and all towns of the Commonwealth except Boston accept coeducation. Why does not Boston do this? (2) Girls refine or "humanize and civilize" boys and the boys grow up gentlemen under coeducation. (3) Coeducation offers no impediment to intellectual development. (4) Boys and girls are together in the family and throughout life. Life is coeducational. (5) Coeducation is better for minds and morals. (6) Coeducation is a stimulus to intellectual effort. (7) Discipline is simplified. (8) Coeducation is a democratic principle.

The clergymen adverse to the policy argued thus: (1) Coeducation in cities is another matter from small country schools. Cities have many undesirable groups which it is

better to segregate. City life bans coeducation. (2) Coeducation has a bad effect on morals. It introduces many girls to vulgarity. (3) "Can the best intellectual results be gained by subjecting two persons so physiologically unlike to exactly the same laws and methods of training just at a time in life when these differences demand careful recognition on both sides?"¹ (4) The higher education of woman because of her special duties should surely be different. (5) The presence of the other sex distracts attention from lessons. (6) The same teaching methods should not be used with girls as with boys. (7) A teacher is usually better fitted to teach one sex in particular.

The Boston School Document of 1890 contained also a report of forty-nine physicians of the city. There were thirty who favored coeducation, and nineteen opposed to it. The arguments of no moral, or physical harm were advanced. One doctor thought coeducation would reduce any tendency to morbidity and over self-consciousness in the adolescent girl. Several objected to a group of the sexes where a certain portion represented evil elements. For the most part, no harm was seen in coeducation in the high schools.

The Boston School Document presented all the arguments but what the result of this investigation was, is not given. It certainly cast reflections on Dr. Philbrook's arguments in favor of segregation in Boston but in as far as can be found out, no statistics or reports have been compiled since.

This report in Boston was later compared to the general discussion of the subject and books relating to it. The United

States Commissioner of Education, John Eaton, made an analysis of facts and opinions regarding the coeducation of the sexes in three hundred forty towns and cities of the United States. The material was contributed by school officers and superintendents.^{10a} Published as a Circular of Information in 1883 this information proved the universal presence of coeducation in the United States except in a few cities and southern towns.

In this report reasons given for the general practice of coeducation were "the absence of church power from public education, the survival of a reverence for women, and universal familiarity with the practice of coeducation for many generations."^{10a} "The 'common' school in the United States is and has been a 'mixed' school which boys and girls attend together, and it is the only school that three-fourths of the people ever enter."^{10a}

This report did not include towns of Massachusetts of less than 7,500 inhabitants by the census of 1850. The number of cities practicing coeducation proved that coeducation was the rule and separation the exception as far as the United States was concerned. Replies came from one hundred ninety-six places; one hundred seventy-seven favored coeducation and nineteen separated the sexes for at least a part of the school course. Massachusetts cities favoring coeducation were Brookline, Cambridge, Chelsea, Chicopee, Fitchburg, Gloucester, Lowell, Lynn, Malden, Marlborough, Milford, Newton, Pittsfield, Somerville, Springfield, Taunton, Weymouth, Woburn, and Worcester.

Replies to the question of the reason for adopting or

preferring coeducation, were grouped in general terms. Thirty-six cities including Woburn, Massachusetts made non-committal replies, acknowledging coeducation as the natural method. The following quotation from Francis Cogswell of Cambridge, Massachusetts revealed this attitude; "Probably it was thought that God's plan in instituting the human family was a good one to follow." Chelsea, Lowell, Newton, and Worcester, Mass. all gave this type of answer.

Forty-five cities considered coeducation the customary or legal method. J. T. Clark of Chicopee, Mass. said, "Our schools have always been mixed." Brookline, Fitchburg, Milford, Pittsfield, Somerville and Weymouth, Mass. all upheld similar ideas.

Only five cities claimed that coeducation was the just manner, giving both sexes their due claim and none of these were in Massachusetts, nor were the seven cities which found coeducation most economical in this state.

Lynn was the only city in Massachusetts adhering to coeducation as a convenient method.

Fifty cities found coeducation beneficial to the pupils of both sexes. Those in Massachusetts were Malden and Springfield.

Combining qualities, twenty-two towns found coeducation economical and beneficial, among them Taunton, Gloucester and Marlborough, Mass., from among twelve cities, found coeducation natural and beneficial in effect.

Towns and cities not practicing coeducation were nineteen

in number and Marblehead and Newburyport were the only ones in Massachusetts. Why Boston was not mentioned here is not explained. In Marblehead, coeducation was practiced between the ages 6 to 12 and 14 to 16, making only the grammar school separate. In Newburyport, a total of five hundred twenty-seven of 2,300 pupils were the only ones receiving coeducation. Marblehead claimed to have coeducation in the high school on the score of economy "there being only seventy-three pupils in attendance."^{10a} The grammar schools dating back, to 1665 for the boys and 1765 for the girls adopted coeducation in 1888, reporting "great change intellectually and morally".^{39a}

In conclusion the Commissioner of Education remarked, "It only remains to remind the reader that both the general instruction of girls and the common employment of women as public school teachers depend to a very great degree on the prevalence of coeducation, and that a general discontinuance of it would entail much increased expense for additional buildings and teachers or a withdrawal of educational privileges from the future women and mothers of the nation."^{10a}

This statement applies to Massachusetts also and points out very vividly the fact that coeducation has assisted in raising the number of women teachers, and in the average sized place it is the only method by which girls may receive education. In 1925 in Massachusetts, seventy percent of the population lived within thirty-nine cities but to become a city, a town needed a population of only 12,000. Many of these thirty-nine cities could never support schools of equal rank for both sexes.

Thirty percent of the population lived within towns and of these nine and eight tenths percent lived in communities of less than 5,000.⁷² This group would never have reached women with education had they developed any serious scruples against coeducation. It must be remembered too, that these figures are comparatively modern and the thirty percent group once included all of Massachusetts. Boston was the first city in 1682.

CHAPTER IX

The Development of the Coeducational College
and Literature Thereon

These reports on coeducation in secondary schools were called forth as the result of much literature on the subject at an even earlier date. This literature concerned itself not only with public education but also with college education. It toyed with the idea of the true nature and ability of women, and in the conservative east, especially in intellectual Boston, the matter became an argument.

The uproar did not start so much as a battle between the pros and cons of coeducation as an attempt to decide whether the feminist agitators for the vote, really had right to claim political freedom for women.

Massachusetts had some powerful feminists and chiefly Bostonians. Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Ednah Cheney were staunch believers in the ability of women.

The ideas which called forth most comment were three in number. (1) Coeducation was a detriment to the health of women. (2) Coeducation lowered the moral character of the sexes. (3) Women were intellectually incapable of receiving an equal education with men.

All three of these ideas were discussed by written articles, and in the meantime, coeducation itself was proving them wrong throughout the country as later concensus of opinion and reports showed.

Although Massachusetts was the instigator of many educational reforms, it was by no means the first state to welcome

coeducation in colleges. Massachusetts was the home of women's colleges, Mt. Holyoke in 1837, Smith in 1875, and Wellesley in 1880. Men's colleges, Harvard, Amherst and Williams were also old and honored institutions. Coeducation did not find the fertile ground here among these separated colleges that it did in the western states where the first colleges were state universities favored by land grants from the federal government. In the west the policy of education for all, boys and girls alike, extended through the universities. These, in turn, developed for the most part at a date when the idea of education for women was no longer taboo, and when economy necessitated coeducation or no education.

Oberlin was the first coeducational college. Here the course was opened to ladies in 1837.⁵⁶ The second coeducational institution was based on the idea of Horace Mann, an educational leader from Massachusetts. In this state, he had already introduced the normal school idea for the education of both sexes. In 1852, he tried coeducation at Antioch. It was his idea "to secure for the female sex equal opportunities of education with the male, and to extend those opportunities in the same studies and classes, and by the same instructors, after the manner of many academic institutions in different parts of the country." Young men and women had the same courses here and recited in the same classes.

Coeducation became popular very quickly with the state universities. Iowa was coeducational from its opening in 1856.⁶⁸ Washington in 1862,^{56*} Kansas in 1866, Minnesota in 1868,

Nebraska in 1871 were all coeducational from the first. The University of Wisconsin soon followed suit, although coeducation did not take a definite form here until after the Civil War in 1874 when Bascom of Williams College, an advocator of coeducation, became President. In 1872, Dr. Bascom had made a minority report at Williams in favor of coeducation,⁵⁰ but there it had had no effect.

The University of Michigan finally offered coeducation in 1870 and the report by President Angell after nine years experience with coeducation did much to make the practice a success elsewhere. Michigan was the only western university well known in the east.

In 1870, the state universities of Illinois and California also admitted women and in 1873, Ohio, the only state university that had been closed to women admitted them.

In 1872, Cornell admitted women. This college was of a semi-private nature and set a precedent to private colleges which up to 1897 were educating seventy percent of all the college students.⁵⁰

The first college in Massachusetts to adopt coeducation was Boston University which opened the department of arts in 1873.⁵⁰ Boston University was incorporated in 1869 and the speech of President William F. Warren quoted from the Boston Year Book 1874, page 24, gives the policy. "A fourth fundamental idea with the organization of Boston University, was and is that a university should exist not for one sex merely, but equally for the two. Class schools are very well

in their place, schools for the feeble minded, reform, schools, schools for deaf mutes--no one should object to these. So if any class of philanthropists feel called upon to organize special schools for girls or boys constitutionally too delicate to bear the nervous shock of school association with the other sex, let no one oppose. Such institutions may serve to illustrate the tender and gentle charities to which our Christian civilization gives origin, but a university exists for altogether different purposes. It is not instituted for the benefit of a class. It is the highest organ of human society for the conservation, furtherance and communication of knowledge, for the induction of successive generations into its possession, for the service of mankind in all highest social offices. To artificially restrict the benefits of such an institution to one half of the community by a discrimination based solely upon a birth distinction is worse than UnAmerican. It is injury to society as a whole, a loss to the favored class, a wrong to the unfavored.

"Boston University therefore, welcomes to all its advantages young women and young men on precisely the same conditions. It welcomes women not merely to the bench of the pupil but also to the chair of the professor. It is the first institution in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to admit the two sexes to common advantages in Classical Collegiate studies, the first in the world to open the entire circle of post graduate professional schools to men and women alike. Nor is any fear whatever felt lest the newly enfranchised class prove

in the end incapacitated, either intellectually or by physiological constitution for making a wise and beneficent use of these new-found facilities."^{39c}

None of the colleges for men followed the pace set by Boston University until 1883 when the Massachusetts Institute of Technology which had a position of importance in the state as well as in the United States opened its doors to women.⁵⁰ Tufts College by vote of the trustees admitted women to all departments in 1892-1893.

This introduction of coeducation into colleges in a state where separate collegiate institutions were the heritage, aroused a storm of comment. The economy of the idea did not appear in the east as forcefully as in the west due to the presence of men's and women's colleges whereas there were none at all in the west. The east was richer too. President Eliot never favored coeducation and yet he added "this method may nevertheless be justifiable in a community which cannot offer anything better."⁵⁶ This was the conservative eastern viewpoint.

A certain group upheld the idea that girls should have a college education equal to that of men. John Bascom in his Minority report on coeducation at Williams College complained that women's colleges offered an inferior grade of work and equipped an inferior grade of teacher. A little later, writers demanded a university degree for women.

Dr. E. H. Clarke a former professor at Harvard wrote a book, "Sex in Education", which influenced the attitude toward the higher education of women on the basis of physical detriment

for a long while. The book appeared in 1874. This book announced that the identical education of boys and girls was responsible for the physical degeneration of American women. A large part of the essay was taken up with accounts of particular cases illustrating the degeneracy but the relation between these cases and the education of the unfortunate subjects was scarcely touched upon. The following quotation shows the tenor of the whole book: "Identical education for physiological reasons emasculates the boys, stunts the girls, makes semieunuchs of one sex, and agenes of the other." In another essay, "Building a Brain" written in 1880, Clarke interpreted the results of a study of school hygiene by the Massachusetts State Board of Health.^{56(p.278)} From this data, collected from one hundred fifteen persons who were physicians, Clarke proved to his own satisfaction that females were more "likely to suffer in health from attendance in school" and that this "increased with the advent of puberty." The following quotation presents the picture he chose to leave on the public mind of the effect of education on women. "If these causes should continue for the next half century, and increase in the same ratio as they have for the last fifty years, it requires no prophet to foretell that the wives who are to be the mothers in our republic must be drawn from transatlantic homes. The sons of the New World will have to react on a magnificent scale, the old story of unwived Rome and the Sabines."

Julia Howe of Boston edited a book to counteract this sensational but not too rational attempt of Dr. Clarke's. In

an article in this book, also entitled "Sex and Education", she pointed out that not the "identity of the intellectual education given girls and boys in America but the dissimilarity of physical training" caused the ill health of the girls. While boys were out of doors girls spent more time shut up in houses. The movements of boys were free; those of girls impeded by ridiculous dress."²⁷

Thomas W. Higginson, born in Cambridge and a graduate of Harvard, also sniffed at Clarke's judgments as wanting in sufficient basis of facts. He wrote an article in reply to Dr. Clarke's book Sex in Education where he tore down the arguments against equal education of boys and girls based on a belief in the weaker physiology of women. Higginson lamented the fact (1) that no one had compared the health of women in cities to those in country towns, in cities with good schools and cities with poor schools, or in states having a high grade of education and those neglecting it. He showed that Dr. Clarke had taken isolated cases which might well have been exceptions to the rule. He pointed out that environment plus or minus education could change the health of immigrant children of sturdy stock in a very short time under poor conditions. Also since the daughters of wealthy Americans were usually educated in private girls' schools, their health should be much better and yet Dr. Clarke had not proved this. Dr. Clarke also failed to prove that the most studious and the best scholars suffered from poor health in larger proportions than others. Higginson concluded by pointing out that Dr. Clarke totally

disregarded improved health in girls due to the knowledge and stimulus of studies.²⁴

However, Clarke was a doctor and his report had an enormous influence in spite of the holes poked in it by many writers of that day. Facts seemed to be lacking although there was theory in plenty. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1885 under the direction of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, undertook to establish some facts. The Sixteenth Annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor attempted to end this question of the effect of education on the health of women by a special inquiry into the health of female college graduates. Material was collected by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, but published by the Bureau of Labor. Various tables were compiled and the following conclusions made.

"The graduates as a body entered college in good health, passed through the course of study prescribed without material change in health, and since graduation by reason of the effort required to gain a higher education do not seem to have become unfitted to meet the responsibilities or bear their proportionate share of the burdens of life.

"In conclusion, it is sufficient to say that the female graduates of our colleges and universities do not seem to show, as the result of their college studies and duties, any marked difference in general health from the average health likely to be reported by an equal number of women engaged in other kinds of work or in fact of women generally without regard to occupation followed."⁷³

This report was verified two years later by a similar one compiled by a committee of women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, England. Students preparing for examinations were found to excell their sisters who were not educated, in health.

Coeducation in the colleges of Massachusetts however, in spite of the action of Boston University, was not over popular although the demand for education for women increased. In the New England Journal of Education in 1880, there appeared an Article on Theory and Practice in Coeducation holding up for ridicule the Bostonian scruples, already reviewed in the case of the High School. This reflected the attitude of an outsider toward Massachusetts.

"The theory is beautiful but somehow the best boys and girls of Hartford meet in free school and are not corrupted according to the predictions of the puritans of Massachusetts. Very well-to-do people of Boston send their daughters to B. U. although the President of Harvard says nothing but 'poverty' can justify superior people doing so; and President Angell says that young folks in the University of Michigan and their professors read with a sort of amused bewilderment the columns of dismal prophecy from the East concerning the evils that should descend upon that devoted institution."⁸⁸

Massachusetts was conservative and Harvard was ultra conservative toward the idea of coeducation, although women were admitted to examinations at the request of the Boston Women's Educational Association in 1874 following the precedent set in England by Cambridge. However, after the young ladies passed

the examinations, nothing further happened.⁵⁶(p.305-6)

Anna Bentzen of Norway who visited the United States for the purpose of studying the system of coeducation made the following observation. "In some universities they are from principle opposed to coeducation. Harvard College near Boston has established a so-called annex for women students but refuses stubbornly, for what reason the author has not been able to find out, to give lectures before a mixed audience. This annex arrangement does not give satisfaction. It savors too much of second hand, even though the privileges are the same as those bestowed upon Harvard proper.¹⁰⁶ Tradition and college spirit were reasons for the attitude of Harvard. Even to achieve the Annex, men and women of that day had been obliged to speak loudly and long. In 1873, Higginson read a paper entitled the "Higher Education of Women" before the Social Science Convention wherein he disposed of many of the leading objections very neatly. Because men and women differed physically did not mean they differed mentally, he maintained, nor should there be a different "mental cultivation". Woody sums up this paper when he says,⁵⁶ "The other arguments--women's hopeless mental inferiority, their physical weakness, and that there is really enough higher education provided for them already--were quickly answered and the conclusion drawn that 'all problems of education seem to present themselves in the same way at Harvard for boys, at Vassar for girls, at Michigan and Cornell for the two united. The logic of events is sweeping with irresistible power to the union of the sexes for higher education.'"³⁶

Dr. Eliot did not accept this outlook. As has been mentioned before, he believed that if money were sufficient, separate education would reign everywhere. Philips and James Freeman Clarke were incensed by the narrowness of this policy of non-admission of women at Harvard. They felt that "the grand old Massachusetts institutions were lagging behind in the advance of society." Tradition and the idea that purity could only be maintained by the separation of the sexes were held responsible for the delay.

The result was the Annex sponsored by Mrs. Agassiz. In 1893, the Society for Collegiate Instruction of Women proposed, and it was accepted by Harvard authorities, that the name be changed to Radcliffe. Degrees were now granted instead of certificates of work equal to that of Harvard men.^{56(p.310)}

Radcliffe or the former Annex was a compromise between coeducationalists and the old school. Here the benefits of the university professors were secured for women while the organization was still a separate unit. This was coordinate or "affiliated" college which has increased in popularity, in cases replacing coeducation or the identical education of women with men.

Coeducation did not take root in any of the liberal arts colleges for men. In 1883, Livermore wrote, "A scholarship has been founded at Amherst, the income of which will be given to a woman when women are admitted to the institution. But that day awaits."⁴³ Coeducation at Amherst never developed. In 1890, President Seelyge approved coeducation in the high schools "but

in his judgment the differentiation of sex which is quite as manifest on the mental as on the physical side, requires a different curriculum for the two in their college course."^{39b}

Williams in spite of Bascom's Minority Report never accepted coeducation.

M. Carey Thomas in a footnote in her monograph on the Education of Women attributed the rejection of the idea of coeducation in the men's colleges of the east to the fact that the presence of women might interfere with the free social life which had become so prominent a feature of private eastern colleges for men.⁵⁰ She mentioned a fact which is very true of Amherst and Williams, that they are situated in small towns and have an intimate residential life. Also the restraint which the presence of women places on men is absent in these separated colleges of Massachusetts, nor is there any desire among the student body to change this.

In a report on coeducation in universities and colleges in 1889-90, Massachusetts had nine colleges responding. One was coeducational in preparatory and collegiate departments, and one in professional and graduate departments.^{39b}

Minnesota also had nine colleges reporting. Five were coeducational in preparatory and collegiate departments, two in graduate work, and five coeducational in some of all departments. This shows the greater prevalence of coeducation in the west. In states reporting--and there were forty-six--in all of them where there was more than one college which was coeducational, only Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, Rhode Island,

South Carolina, and Virginia were as low as Massachusetts with Delaware, New Jersey, and Rhode Island having none at this date, 1889.

In 1890, the following enthusiastic account was given by Thomas E. Pope of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "The results obtained have been so advantageous that now I have thrown off all restraint in the class room and laboratory, and subject all students to exactly the same discipline and rules, no attention being paid to sex, but the students arranged alphabetically and in every respect treated alike and I am satisfied that coeducation can be carried on successfully, provided all artificial barriers are swept away; and the nearer we come to this the better will be the result."^{39b}

Although Massachusetts was by no means devoid of higher education for girls with Mount Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley, and Radcliffe, previous to 1900 coeducation existed only in Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Tufts. In 1899, there were two hundred ninety-nine women and one hundred ninety-two men in the regular college course of Boston University. The number of women in Tufts and M.I.T. has not been ascertained but with the increasing special character of the latter, women must have been few and far between.

The theory of college education for women was established but Massachusetts still questioned coeducation in college. The old separate system was very well founded and quite popular. It was not until after 1900 that the results of coeducation in college upon the college as a whole became an issue in this state.

CHAPTER X

The Normal School and Coeducation

The normal school idea influenced reports from Prussian teacher training seminaries and under the leadership of James G. Carter, Reverend Charles Brooks, and Horace Mann, first developed in Massachusetts. Carter was responsible for creating the Board of Education in 1837 and "the first American state normal schools in 1838." Brooks was the publicity man for the idea. Carter influenced the legislature, and Mann, as Secretary of the Board of Education assisted by the other members was finally authorized by the legislature to "expend money 'in qualifying teachers for the common schools of Massachusetts.'"¹⁴

The Board of Education made the exact provisions providing for normal schools. "At a meeting of the Board, December 28, 1838, it was voted to locate a normal school for the qualification of female teachers in the town of Lexington, and one at Barre for teachers of both sexes."⁶⁵

Previously, what teacher training there was, had been accomplished by academies. Women were accepted everywhere as teachers but qualifications were still lax. In the Normal schools for the most part men and women alike were taught. It is not strange that later Mann established coeducation at Antioch College.

The school for females at Lexington came to Framingham in 1852. In 1898, the Mary Hemingway School of Household Arts at Boston offered to transfer to Framingham. The Board of Education accepted the offer and it became in that year an

integral part of the school.⁶⁵ In 1908, there were two hundred forty-seven women in attendance.

The state Normal School now located at Westfield was opened at Barre September 4, 1839, in rooms provided for it in the town hall. Seventy-five young men and ninety young women were connected with the school at Barre during its brief career. On September 4, 1844, this normal school moved into Westfield Academy, retaining its coeducational character.

"On the morning of that day at ten o'clock, the applicants for admission with the teachers, assembled in the south room of the upper story of the Westfield Academy. There were forty-nine applicants, twenty-three males and twenty-six females."⁸⁵ In 1847, there were thirty-eight men, fifty-four women enrolled according to the catalogue. In 1908, there were two men and one hundred forty-five women in attendance.

The coeducational idea did not dominate these normal schools. In many of them the number of women was far over the number of men, showing the increase of women teachers. Colleges attracted the men while the normal schools themselves supplied early college training for women.

"The Bridgewater State Normal School started its career September 9, 1840 with twenty-eight students, seven men and twenty-one women."⁶¹ This school had a rapid growth after the Civil War. During the Civil War, thirty-two percent of the young men were in the army. The total number of graduates in 1903 was nine hundred fifty-one men and three thousand six hundred thirty-five women. In 1848, Mr. Boyden, the principal,

remarked, "The students numbered fifty-six, twenty-seven young men and twenty-nine women, coeds you will note with two surplus women for chaperons."⁶¹ In 1908, there were twenty-eight men and two hundred forty-two women.

The fourth normal school opened in Salem in 1854, and was for women only,^{1a2} but in 1907, three men and one hundred sixty-seven women were reported.

The fifth school opened at Worcester September 1874, and was for both sexes.^{1a2} In 1908, there were three men, one hundred ten women in attendance.

In 1873, the State Normal Art School was opened in Boston to "Citizens of this state." The members the first year were one hundred seven--thirty-nine gentlemen and sixty-eight ladies.⁷⁹ In 1908, there were three hundred fifty-six men and fifty-three women.

In 1894, a normal school was established at North Adams. From the Circular and Catalogue for the year ending June 30, 1928 comes this statement: "The North Adams Normal School is one of the ten institutions of the State established for the purpose of training young men and women to become competent teachers." In 1908, there were one hundred young women in attendance.

In 1895 saw normal school was established in Fitchburg. This school although opened to both sexes was practically monopolized by women. "Up to the school year 1911-1912, there had been a total of but fourteen men students at the Fitchburg Normal School. The following figures show the rapid growth in number of students from 1912-1916.

Women and Men at Fitchburg Normal from 1912-1916

1912-13	278	men	43	women	235
1913-14	282	"	48	"	234
1914-15	356	"	83	"	273
1915-16	401	"	85	"	316
1916-17	433	"	99	"	334
1917-18	383	"	76	"	308
1918-19	325	"	52	"	273
1919-20	316	"	68	"	248

In 1908, there were no men reported but one hundred seventy-seven women. Beginning with 1917, the school suffered a decrease in the number of students because of the demands of the war. Practically all the men were taken by enlistment or drafts or went into industries essential to the war."⁶³

Two more normal schools opened in 1897, one at Lowell and another at Hyannis. At Hyannis in 1908, seven men and thirty-eight women were in attendance. In 1908 at Lowell, there were one hundred thirty-three girls.¹⁰ Slowly, the normal schools were becoming training schools for women only in spite of the development of four-year courses and an accompanying degree, as well as the new field of Junior High School work. Many of these schools where men formerly went are now considered practically training schools for women only, so overwhelming are the members of women teachers in those fields of education for which the normal school trains.

The normal school set a valuable precedent to higher education by coeducation and enabled a better educational system to exist throughout the state, popularizing the education of women even further. In later years, the normals became almost exclusively for girls although boys were not excluded. Other fields more lucrative, and teaching work among higher grades attracted the men.

The Massachusetts Board of Education adopted the following rule concerning admission to normal before 1840.

"Candidates for admission proposing to qualify themselves to become school teachers must have attained the age of seventeen years complete, for males, and sixteen years, if females, etc--^{1a2}

This policy established so early meant coeducation, but with the changing order of teachers so that women teach nearly all the lower grades, coeducation in the normal school has become a lesser feature. The normal school was a most powerful influence for the higher education of girls, and second only to the academies in adopting coeducation.

CHAPTER XI

Coeducation 1900--1933

Massachusetts and the United States

About 1900, Clark College in Worcester opened the graduate department to women. The courses offered here were principally pedagogy, and experimental psychology, subjects attractive to women.⁴⁹ The under-graduate department is still closed to women. In 1909-1910, Clark gave a doctor's degree to a single woman. Forty-four women received this honor throughout the United States from various colleges in this year, and three hundred sixty-two men.⁵⁶

Massachusetts Agricultural College had been chartered in 1863 but it was not until 1900 or thereabouts, that the question of coeducation arose here most likely because of the specialized type of work offered. When women began to enter vocational fields previously entered only by men, the Massachusetts Agricultural College had an attraction for them. Aside from the four-year course, women had attended so-called "Special Courses" for short terms,^{75a} as early as 1902. In the class of 1905, two women graduated.^{75b} None of the yearbooks at this date chose to include the women's pictures among the members of the class. The Index for 1907 contains the first photograph of a woman graduate.^{75c} Women were few and far between. A large department for women did not become firmly established until 1920 when the Abigail Adams dormitory was built to house girls. In the Index of 1903 appeared a short article on coeduca-

tion written by an undergraduate. "While from the very moment of the founding of the college the problem of coeducation has been considered, until the present time it has not been of radical importance for the reason that none but male students have presented themselves for instruction. Within the past few years, the condition has been changed. With the class of 1903, the first real "coed" entered the Massachusetts Agricultural College and stayed a full year. With the class of 1905, two more young ladies have entered college."

According to this editorial, the Faculty made the women adhere to the regular curriculum. The student body, however, felt that since there were no building provisions for women nor money to procure these, that the policy should be forbidden as disadvantageous.

The editors felt that with two women's colleges in the vicinity, the young men could get along without the restraint of the presence of women "who tend to do away with that boorishness which so often shows predominantly in college men."

However, although the presence of women might hasten the advent of "much sought after elective courses", the editor still felt that with two women's colleges in the vicinity, a woman would hardly receive much benefit from M.A.C. nor would M.A.C. benefit from the women.^{75b}

It seems to have been the policy for all institutions of higher learning, normal schools and colleges which received state aid or were state institutions to allow girls to enter when they so desired. Massachusetts State has become more and

more coeducational with the broadening of the courses and the increased demand for an inexpensive college education for those citizens with the ability to meet the requirements.

In 1888, the French American College of Lowell was reestablished in Springfield and in 1892 women were admitted. This is now the Springfield International College, still employing coeducation.

About this time, business schools were prominent in Massachusetts training young men and young ladies in vocational lines. Bryant and Stratton of Boston was among the first.

The Industrial Schools of secondary rank of Massachusetts because of the specialized character of the work usually separated the boys from the girls. Coeducation did not exist in reform schools or the like.

In 1907, President Hamilton of Tufts College voiced a reaction against coeducation which resulted in the opening of Jackson College, an affiliated institution, in 1910.

The reasons for this were not the old ideas of intellectual, physical, or moral inferiority, but rather that there was a decline in the attendance of men at the liberal arts college. Men were attracted more to professional lines. President Hamilton made this statement, "The average young man will not go to a coeducational institution if other things are anywhere near equal." He was sure that "the future of the academic department of Tufts College as a Man's College depends upon the immediate segregation of the women into a separate department or college. I do not believe that Tufts ought to go out of the

business of educating women, but I do believe that Tufts should educate its women separately. They should have their own lecture rooms and their department should have some distinguishing name. I should like to see the number of men in the arts courses rapidly increasing, and I should like to see the building up of a strong and successful women's department. Such action as I have indicated requires of course, a considerable expenditure of money etc.

"I regard this as the most pressing educational problem we have before us. I have no fear that a failure to solve it would involve disaster to Tufts College considered as a university, but I have no doubt that failure to solve it involves imminent disaster to the College of Liberal Arts."⁵⁶

This conclusion had already been reached in the west but the action taken about it did not take the same line. Professionalism in colleges has increased in demand rather than decreased as a part of the "money making" policy of America.

The following list is found in the College Blue Book for 1923-24 Volume I, Table A., Massachusetts. Coeducation is attributed to several places heretofore stated for men or women only. This may be due to the fact that the graduate departments of these institutions take women. In the case of the Salem Normal school, the statement made in the Massachusetts Annual Report for 1891-92 should be qualified. Evidently as other statistics show, Salem Normal allows men upon demand. The four Normals listed rank as colleges giving degrees for four-years work.

Colleges and Universities of Massachusetts with Regard to Sex in Attendance.

	Date Established	Men, Women or Coeducational
1. Amherst College	1821	M
2. Boston College	1863	M
3. Boston University	1869	Co
4. Clark University	1889	Co
5. Col. of the Holy Cross	1843	M
6. Emmanuel College	1919	W
7. Harvard University	1636	Co
8. Internat'l Y.M.C.A. College	1885	M
9. Jackson College	1910	W
10. Mt. Holyoke College	1837	W
11. Northeastern College		M
12. Radcliffe College	1879	W
13. Simmons College	1899	W
14. Smith College	1875	W
15. Tufts College	1852	Co
16. Wellesley College	1875	W
17. Wheaton College	1834	W
18. Williams College	1793	M
19. Lowell Textile School	1895	Co
20. Mass. Agric. College	1867	Co
21. Mass. Inst. Technology	1865	Co
22. Worcester Polytech. Inst.	1865	M
23. State Normal Bridgewater	1840	Co
24. " " Framingham	1839	W
25. " " Salem		Co
26. " " Worcester		W

M, Men, W Women, Co coeducational.

This makes nine coeducational colleges, seven men's and ten's women's colleges in Massachusetts out of twenty-six institutions.

Percentage of Coeducational Institutions in Massachusetts as Compared to the other states selected at random.

	Total	Coed	Men	Women	% Coed.
Massachusetts	26	9	7	10	35%
Pennsylvania	28	15	7	7	54%
Ohio	43	30	7	6	70%
Illinois	31	24	3	4	76%
California	17	10	4	3	59%
Alabama	9	4	2	3	44%

These states were selected at random from the College Blue Book of 1923-24. Massachusetts presented the lowest percentage of coeducational institutions compared to those of other sections of the country.

In 1928, the College Blue Book was revised and the list of colleges, universities, ¹² and specialized schools in Massachusetts had increased totwenty-nine from twenty-six. Northeastern, Boston Teacher's College and Massachusetts School of Art were the new comers, and all of these with the exception of Boston Teacher's College, for which a figure was not given, were coeducational. Only eight, however, are now coeducationa, for Clark admits women only to graduate work, Harvard only in the school of theology, and Tufts College only in the professional departments of medicine

and dentistry. Holy Cross admits women to graduate, extension and summer school courses now, but for the three colleges no longer named coeducational, only two are supplied leaving the number at eight out of a total of twenty-nine institutions of higher learning.

Four junior colleges in Massachusetts were reported, and two of these were coeducational, American International in Springfield and Atlantic Union.

Table 28 of the Biennial Survey for 1927-28 in giving universities and colleges privately owned gives a table showing the extent of coeducation in some of the colleges which seemed doubtful in the list of 1923--24. The arts and science department and the education division of B. U. carried the larger proportion of women whereas the largest proportion of men were found in the business administration department. Northeastern University at this date was co-educational but with only 378 women compared to 5665 men. Most of the women were in the preparatory department and the remainder in the commerce division. Harvard University had 7060 men enrolled and 165 women all of whom were in the school of theology. Women were admitted at summer school too. M. I. T. had 2662 men and 50 women, general science and architecture attracting the women and electrical engineering and engineering administration attracting the largest groups of men. Boston College at this date was

coeducational with 1,888 men and 428 women enrolled in the education and extension courses. Women were excluded from the arts and sciences here. Tufts College was still co-educational in spite of Jackson. Women were admitted to the schools of medicine and dentistry. A few still lingered in arts and science department where 700 men were enrolled. Evidently the measure taken by the President in 1910 to preserve the arts for men was successful. In 1927, International Y. M. C. A. College was for men only. Clark University had 319 men and 57 women, all of whom were graduate or special students. No women were allowed in the arts and science department.

Publicly controlled universities, colleges or professional schools in 1927--28 showed the following distribution of students. Massachusetts Agricultural College had 660 men enrolled and 144 women with the preponderance of women in the Agricultural department, (a wide term in this institute) and the men in this department and military drill. Lowell Textile Institution had 205 men and 2 women who were in the chemistry department.

The Massachusetts Normal School in 1927 showed 2 men graduating from Fitchburg in the two-year course and 103 women. No men were reported at Hyannis. Lowell, North Adams or Westfield. Twenty-six men and twelve women graduated from Fitchburg in the three-year course; and one man, six women in the four-year course. Aside from that no men

are mentioned among the normal school graduates for 1927-28. The statement that "after twenty years experience in Massachusetts with four normal schools 87% of the students were found to be women" is even more true today.

The percentage of coeducational colleges in 1928 in Massachusetts was (Boston Teacher's College excluded) twenty-nine per cent compared to thirty-five per cent for 1923. Evidently, coeducation as a policy in the higher institutions is not becoming more popular in this state. The Women's colleges and universities for men still retain their separate character and there is no indication of coeducation in the undergraduate departments. No other section of the country besides New England and particularly Massachusetts has the abundance of well-endowed separate colleges. In other sections, the largest institutions are coeducational whereas the largest and best endowed in this state are separate.

Except in the case of Tufts College, Massachusetts did not actually turn from coeducation or cease to introduce it into colleges and other institutions. State supported institutions are practically all coeducational but the older colleges; men and women's alike maintain their separate character and continued to thrive with regard to educational reputation.

Massachusetts with the exception of the varied queries in Boston attempted no scientific proof of the value of coeducation. Indeed, other parts of the country also dropped the question after the reaction against it around 1905.

In Englewood High School of Chicago in 1906 due to public sentiment separate classes were tried with the following results. (1) Boys' scholarship improved and the number of boys in second and third years increased. (2) Boys did better under men teachers during early adolescence. (3) Pupils and parents liked the plan. (4) The work was better adapted to the leading traits of each sex. (5) Grading could be perfected. (6) More reserve was shown by the sexes, and there was less tendency for the "smart boy" who shows off. (7) Boys discipline could be more severe. (8) Physiology, history, mathematics and languages were better suited to the sexes separated.

The conclusion was that the boy and girl should be educated in the same high school for social values but in separate classes where the work could be better adapted to the needs of each.

This covered observation over four years but was by no means experimental. The data was really a consensus of opinion as in Boston at an earlier date and many of the same arguments appeared. The social value or the brother and sister argument for the naturalness of coeducation, received the approbation of this trial as it had in Boston, while the discipline question, the difference in temperament, and the idea of men teachers for boys were among the same ideas brought forth by the Boston teachers and the other groups previously questioned.

Coeducation in colleges was taking a more definite form in the west. The term was broad and now qualifications and restrictions were being placed upon it. The University of Chicago under Harper and the University of Wisconsin under Van Hise undertook to refine coeducation. Since coeducation was so much more prevalent in the west most of the reaction movement came from that section with the exception of Tufts.

None of this reaction favored lessening the opportunities of higher education for women but rather revolved around the questions of to what degree identical education was preferable, and whether certain courses especially in the first years should not be separated into men's and women's divisions. The number of women had increased

rapidly at the universities and groups were large enough to warrant this system. The University of Chicago under Harper extended this idea of modified coeducation principally because of the large number of women students and because men were leaving the liberal arts college which was being filled by the women.
56 (p. 284-300).

Van Hise of Wisconsin advanced the theory of "natural segregation"--that a certain type of course was selected by women and another by men. This natural segregation, however, conflicted in the liberal arts department which was needed by all and was slowly being usurped by the women.
56

The case of reaction in Massachusetts was also because of the waning numbers of men in the liberal arts department of Tufts and an increase in the professional courses. This as has been shown, was felt elsewhere. Tufts adopted the affiliated college idea but elsewhere segregated classes especially in the first two college years, was the remedy adopted.

Another objection hardly voiced but rather suggested in Massachusetts, the stronghold of so many separate colleges was that of the men to the presence of women in their domain. This was true in the early years at Massachusetts Agricultural College, Harvard, Amherst and Williams never

extended a welcoming hand to the coeducational idea.

The departments which women have chosen, even in recent years in professional schools like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology show the natural segregation idea. The engineering courses are popular with the men whereas the more artistic and teachable courses attract the few women.

College education since the World War has become more prevalent. The idea that any profession is closed to a woman with ambition has practically died. The World War like the Civil War gave woman a helping hand in adding lines of professional work. Science has also aided and created one line especially suited to women in home economics and the vast fields of research, buying, selling, and teaching which it involves.

Other parts of the country carried on controversy before the time of the World War on the subject of the moral value of coeducation. Many magazine articles were written on the subject with the consensus of opinion from western colleges that moral tone did not suffer due to coeducation. Massachusetts seems to have added no concise note to this point. It is true that the wave of ultra modernism and the advent of the "flapper" after the World War called forth much criticism but this epidemic decorated coeducational institutions at the same time as it prevailed throughout the country.

The old argument of coeducation and scholarship was settled even earlier by records from all co-educational colleges and universities. Along with many other universities B. U. stated that the presence of women elevated scholarship. There was no complaint on this point. Bernard de Voto writing in 1927, found no inferiority in the average type of female mind from the male mind but rather a readiness to think, accept, and reject on the part of the women while the thinking of the men was colored by prejudice and group belief.²⁹

This, however, was in a western college. Dr. Eliot of Harvard made this statement. "We have learned by actual trial that young women can learn all the more difficult subjects of education just as well as young men; and there is some evidence to show that on the average they will master these subjects better than the average young man."^{56 (300)}

The health of college women, coeducational or otherwise, offered no basis for the argument of detriment to health in any part of the country.

Some people were very much upset by the idea that the sweet young thing would become mannish, "hard boiled," or much too efficient to be good company due to coeducation. Bernard de Voto with his clever manner of stating things gave his conception of a "coed" or a woman who would

enter men's classes in search of knowledge as he remembered from his own collegiate days in an eastern men's college. He and his colleagues nick-named this girl "The Pure Reason." His description of the "coeds" in the western university savored of none of the heavy pedantry which he attributed to the eastern young lady, but neither did he make them devoid of sense. The picture was merely ordinary. ^{29.}

There is little literature from Massachusetts to compare with the favorable or adverse criticism from the western states. People approve or disapprove the social value of coeducation today, but opinion seems to have swung around to accept the relationships made on the co-educational campus as the basis for happiness afterwards either in business or matrimony.

Articles such as "The Perils of Coeducation and Cigarettes" ⁹⁵ and many of a like variety, would have one believe that coeducation was a "rah rah" process in which every element of dignity and every intellectual aspect was sacrificed to the idea of immediate social activities. The sole concern of young women for young men, and the social idea, as dictated by the men and consisting of the popularity of the women are all arguments emphasizing the social aspects of coeducation above other types of endeavor. There is also the argument that "familiarity breeds contempt."

None of these are quoted from Massachusetts but convey the ideas on coeducation prevalent throughout the United States. The modern attitude seems to undulate according to the individual's experience with coeducation, and whether he believes the social aspect has masqued all other purposes of a college education. Coeducation is the order in the secondary schools in the United States but there is a choice where college education is concerned. The theory is often held that "complete separation is as unlogical as complete coeducation."²¹ There is a middle road on the subject but the matter has settled down into a habit to such a degree the "one best way" has never been ascertained.

In 1916, the following statement was made: "That more separation of the sexes will find its way into our educational systems is a safe prophecy."⁹⁴ There are many qualifications to place upon this prophecy and the problem of coeducation has not been settled in theory as much as accepted in practice.

In 1924, Goodsell revived the still inconclusive evidence that coeducation was a benefit to both sexes. Sachs offered the idea that boys were held back to a tempo suited for girls in secondary schools. This theory has never been tested although the separated high schools of Boston offer a chance to compare the work of boys or girls under the different systems of coeducation and separated schools.²¹

Several writers in magazine articles have suggested that there is an inherited difference between the natures of men and women. Women mature earlier and yet this physiological and mental maturity are not allowed for in coeducation. Boys are never the leaders in scholarship. Then, too, boys do better in science and girls in humanities because of social circumstances perhaps. Thorndike and Miss Rusk disapprove the theory of any difference in scholarship.²¹

Even the field of vocations does not offer enough variation in different courses to sanction the abolition of coeducation, although specialization for women and men tends to segregation in certain classes.

The moral and social status of coeducation does not offer evidence that it is a detriment to society, but rather a valuable wielding influence. Understanding and respect are by-products. There are exceptions to the rule, but in general common education offers valuable material for later life.²¹

The preceding comments referred to secondary education and not specifically to the college. There has been a certain amount of statistical work done concerning the marriage rate of college women but no conclusive evidence is presented concerning the reasons why coeducational western colleges furnish higher marriage rates than eastern women's colleges. Society will not grant that the eastern women's colleges are entirely normal. Their

environmental conditions either in the choice of teachers or in the rules and social affairs which run throughout the college years are all artificially conditioned. This is questionable criticism. Massachusetts offers examples of both policies in this field but no statistics have been collected.

Modern transportation makes the separate colleges coeducational for social activities when they so desire it. This as well as the "purpose" motivating different types of girls in selecting coeducational or separate colleges, economy, or the presence or absence of men is still the basis for an essay thereon.

In 1932, ⁵⁵ "The College and Society" by Ernest H. Wilkins, an alumnus of Amherst College, now President of Oberlin, appeared. In outlining the "General College" for preprofessional and nonprofessional groups he arranged a list of essentials representing a balanced education for life. Some of these would require separate classes, but the larger number would best be presented in coeducational classes. These fields were home life, earning, citizenship, leisure and philosophy and religion.

He said also, "College education was opened to women, about a hundred years ago. It might be thought that their presence in college would have tended to modify the pre-professional program but they were for a long time so concerned to demonstrate their ability to do exactly what men

could do that they raised little question as to the general appropriateness of the tasks set before them. And the professions did gradually yield them entrance."

Justifications or abuses of coeducation have been reported from the country as a whole of which Massachusetts is an integral part. Coeducation reigns in the secondary schools of Massachusetts but is not so prevalent in the colleges of which there are many, whereas in the west a state is dominated by the coeducational, state supported, university.

Massachusetts is not less democratic, for there is provision for the equal education of boys and girls and the variety of institution as well as the choice of some of the leading schools of the land, still place Massachusetts in the front rank.

Coeducation is an educational practice native to the United States. The following statements suggest the situation in the rest of the world.

"To this day most of the leading European countries and practically all the Latin American and oriental countries provide separate secondary schools for boys and girls, and this in spite of the fact that the courses as such are no longer as distinct as they used to be. The outstanding exceptions are such countries as Scotland, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and certain British provinces. In these countries, the courses for boys and girls are frequently

offered in the same institutions and they bear increasing resemblance.

In some of the remaining countries, notably England, Bulgaria, and Spain, coeducation exists to a limited extent. China is attempting it in some cases but in the face of considerable opposition."⁴⁷ Universities and colleges of foreign lands are also slowly opening their doors to women.

Probably in foreign lands tradition will shift to make way with the changing times for the equal education of women with men in the most economical and still beneficial manner, which in the United States has proved to be coeducation.

Summary

There are eleven divisions in this review each one concerning itself with a different phase of coeducation in Massachusetts. In the introduction, the term coeducation was traced historically as an American term and defined, in the last analysis, to mean the joint education of the two sexes at the same institution. Since the progress and changes of the world which have enabled women to have freedom and equal rights with men were closely connected with coeducation everywhere, a brief survey of the course of coeducation due to external forces is also given in this introduction. In Massachusetts especially, tradition giving way to progressive educational methods, brought the practice of coeducation before the theory had been fully qualified.

Colonial Education in Massachusetts from 1642 to 1750 gave negative results as far as coeducation was concerned. The home was the center of activity for the girl and her only schooling was in the Dame School with few exceptions when young ladies invaded the Town schools. The public was hostile toward the education of girls beyond the Dame school. Latin grammar schools were to prepare boys for college and the ministry, and excluded girls entirely, "as improper with the purpose thereof."

Education after the Revolution from 1750 to 1800 in the towns, gave proof of the increased desire of girls for at least the rudiments of learning in the town schools. These town schools however did not admit girls as the equals of the boys, but rather set aside a time for the girls when the boys had no use for the school house. Separate classes were the rule. Grammar schools established around 1800 and later in towns of any size often clung to this old policy, and as late as 1850 and after, separate grammar schools still existed in places where all other schools were coeducational.

The District School was the first really coeducational school and this combined the elementary, intermediate and higher classes under one roof, however humble it might be. Whole families, brother and sister alike, attended these schools which sprang up because of the many rural sections which desired schooling. They were heterogenous in quality but they marked the advent of the woman teacher. After the

Revolution, especially in the summer, men found teaching too poorly paid, and women were allowed to handle the schools. Naturally a woman teacher brought an increased number of girls into the school. The district system lasted well into the Nineteenth Century, meeting opposition around 1853 but surviving in part until 1882.

Parallel with the district school and representative of the new democratic attitude toward education as a training for citizenship, was the academy which served also for teacher training. Girls were present in the academies before 1800. Later, girls' schools developed but a large number of academies were still coeducational. There was a tendency to ornament a girls' education with embroidery and piano tunes, and to restrict her from the college preparatory courses. The English courses emphasizing grammar and literature were opened to her. Many schools in spite of restrictions placed on the female sex offered girls an education equal to the boys in subject matter. Separate departments were a feature of many academies but in some of these, boys and girls still mingled in classes. Teaching as a profession for girls was becoming more common and an academy education was no detriment to a young lady who was to be married. The Academy was coeducational in many respects and set the pace for higher education.

Before 1850, the idea of educating boys and girls together was not commonly accepted. The first academies

were more simply coeducational than the ones of 1820 or so. A strong conviction of the delicacy and intellectual inferiority of girls was slow in changing.

There were outside elements influencing coeducation strongly in the Nineteenth Century. Immigration, the growth of industries due to inventions, the presence of women in the factories, and later in the century, the development of devices to simplify housework, all assisted in women's rise to equal standing. Many legal restrictions and educational laws, specified or included women as well as men in Massachusetts. The education of women helped in making possible the agitation after the Civil War for political rights. The Civil War opened new positions and proved women efficient. All these changes in the old order lead to the higher education of women and acceptance of coeducation.

A basis for this development was promoted both by the academies and the High Schools of Massachusetts. Before 1839, although there were high schools, coeducation was not a practice till later in their career. Cities established separate high schools and the practice wavered for sometime before 1850. From 1840--1860, most of the early High Schools adopted coeducation. Small towns picked it up more simply than the cities probably as an economy measure. In 1890, Boston had the only separate high schools in the state although a few separate grammar schools still lingered.

The state sponsored the free public high school and never denied it to be for all inhabitants.

Boston in the School Document gives the objections and reasons for coeducation cited by various professional groups. This was in answer to Dr. Philbrook's report opposing coeducation. The School Document of 1890 was preceded by a wealth of controversy throughout the country where already in the public schools coeducation was the practice, only nineteen cities in the whole country reporting otherwise to the United States Commissioner of Education in 1883.

Massachusetts was the first state to adopt the state normal school and under the guidance of Horace Mann, this institution was coeducational. Now these are ten normal schools in the state. At the present time and for many years, state normals have been becoming more and more feminine. They train for the lower and intermediate grades and even with Junior High School work, this field belongs practically to women only.

The coeducational college did not originate in Massachusetts. It came from the middle west and the stronghold of the coeducational college is still in the middle and western states. Higher institutions although of separate character have a fine reputation in this state. Coeducation exists in eight colleges, universities or

special four-year schools out of twenty-nine. Graduate departments are coeducational in several other institutions.

Radcliffe, the coordinate type of college, and later Jackson, turning away from unrestricted coeducation, are examples of the Massachusetts policy. Boston University and Massachusetts State as well as other schools to a lesser degree--are coeducational at present.

Much of the controversy on coeducation centered in Boston and leaders were in favor of higher education for women and even outright coeducation. The problem of women's delicate health, the moral effect of coeducation, and the intellectual aspect were all commented upon in Massachusetts and finally rejected as false.

After 1900, Coeducation in the colleges did not increase to any degree in Massachusetts. Different aspects of coeducation came to light, namely whether identical education was fitted to women and in the case of Tufts whether the presence of women in the liberal arts departments was not driving away the men. The health of women, the moral status of coeducation, its social value, the effect on scholarship, and the decline of feminine charm were settled or debated, but not especially in Massachusetts alone.

The World War had helped remove the last barriers from the professional fields and coeducation itself was firmly established by practice especially in public educational systems of the United States. Massachusetts did not extend this enthusiasm

for coeducation to the colleges or universities. Coeducation has been a valuable policy in this state, as in all others in offering education to girls and women.

In conclusion, there are still problems existing in this field which have not been solved. Massachusetts because of the variety of type of college and university, and the presence of segregated high schools in Boston, offers a fine field for investigation. There has been little really scientific investigation of coeducation in its effect upon the psychology and physiology of the adolescent; or in the college concerning its effect upon the intellectual and social status of a campus. It is accepted everywhere but as the case of Massachusetts has shown, this did not occur without controversy and difference of opinion in the east and the west. Massachusetts is one of the most prominent states educationally, and women were educated here as soon as anywhere else. The theory and practice of coeducation in the secondary schools and common schools, if not the colleges developed here. Massachusetts is an old but progressive state and offers an interesting comparison to other states.

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