In their footsteps: Women faculty of Wartburg College 1914–1945

Susan Kosche Vallem

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IN THEIR FOOTSTEPS:

WOMEN FACULTY OF WARTBURG COLLEGE 1914-1945

A Dissertation

Submitted

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

Approved:

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May 2002
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the hiring and inclusion of women faculty members in private higher education, using Wartburg College as a case study. This study identified and described the educational policies and procedures at Wartburg from 1914 to 1945 related to the hiring of women faculty at Wartburg College.

While the history of women in higher education is well-chronicled, much less is written on the impetus and motivation for hiring women faculty and their impact on the institutions themselves. This dissertation adds to that specific body of knowledge.

Three research questions were investigated in this study:

1. What were the factors that led Wartburg’s administration to hire the first women faculty members?
2. What were the roles of women faculty at Wartburg?
3. How did the presence of women faculty impact Wartburg? Data were gathered through historical documents, literature searches, and 22 personal interviews.

The principle findings of this study were:
(a) Wartburg’s development mirrored women’s increased participation in higher education in the United States,
(b) women faculty provided a valuable economic resource in Wartburg’s frequent financial crises, (c) women faculty expanded the curriculum to add support to the College’s
decision to become a four-year liberal arts college, and (d) women faculty enhanced the quality of campus life for students tempering the intellectual climate with the personal and emotional.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) operates 28 institutions of higher learning in the United States including Wartburg College in Waverly, Iowa. Wartburg holds the distinction of hiring the first woman faculty member of the Iowa Synod institutions in 1914.

This case study of Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College from 1914 to 1945 looked at the role of women faculty in the development and survival of the institution. Women provided an economic resource for Wartburg and enhanced the lives of students as well.

Statement of the Problem

The inclusion and roles of women faculty are frequently missing in the historical studies of Lutheran higher education, particularly in the German Lutheran tradition which lacked the early notable women in education who taught or published. Women were present, but they were frequently invisible in the histories of institutions such as Wartburg. However, the contributions of women were significant, and without their inclusion, Lutheran higher education would not have flourished.

Hiring female faculty alleviated two major problems for Lutheran institutions including Wartburg:

1. Hiring female faculty encouraged the inclusion of female students. More female students increased enrollment
which was critical because Wartburg was tuition-driven and relied on tuition income for survival.

2. Hiring female faculty saved the institution money because female faculty could be paid less than male faculty and additionally served as dieticians and dormitory matrons. Yet as important as these female faculty were, little has been written about them and their impact on the development and survival of Wartburg College.

Research Questions

The study addressed the following research questions:

1. What were the factors that led the administration to hire the first women faculty members at Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College?
2. What were the roles of women faculty at Wartburg?
3. How did the presence of women faculty impact Wartburg?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe:

1. What were the educational policies and procedures at Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College from 1914 to 1945 related to the hiring of women faculty?
2. What roles did women faculty play after they arrived at Wartburg?

Importance of the Study

In noting the lack of research on women faculty in institutions of higher education, the Evangelical Lutheran
Church in America called for studies of women involved with the Lutheran Church (Conference on Women at Lutheran Colleges, 1989, p. 1). A conference of Women at Lutheran Colleges held in Chicago, Illinois, in February 1989, emphasized the need for more research to understand women's impact on the Church. The Conference attendees drafted a "Statement of Concerns" which "will be viewed by the Church and colleges as urgent matters for the 1990s" (Conference on Women at Lutheran Colleges, 1989, p. 1). One of the specific areas listed in the "Statement of Concerns" was the need for "oral, written, and pictorial history of women on the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Campuses" (1989, p. 1).

The significance of this research is to provide a description of the contributions of women to the survival and development of a small Lutheran Midwestern liberal arts college. Wartburg College serves as a case study example of these contributions made by women faculty.

**Scope of the Study**

Data for this study come from various sources. Primary sources included historical documents from Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College, and interviews with former Wartburg students and faculty members, Lutheran historians, and archivists. Secondary sources included books, journals, dissertations, and monographs on women's and Lutheran
educational history. Free access to all Wartburg documents was granted by the College President.

Primary Sources

The primary documents included several thousand Wartburg documents from the Wartburg archives including letters, board minutes, faculty minutes, Wartburg catalogs, and student publications. Many of the older records were handwritten in German. Additional archival data included 50 scrapbooks, land and deed records, inventories, building blueprints, accounting ledgers, pictures, and graduation and musical program notes. Alumni and personnel records were studied.

Primary sources also included 22 personal interviews. Nine interviews were with former Wartburg students; five interviews were with former Wartburg faculty members; five interviews were with Lutheran archivists; two interviews were with Lutheran historians; and one with a German Lutheran historian in Germany.

Each interview lasted one to two hours. Multiple interviews were conducted with Professor Erna Moehl (both Wartburg student and faculty member) and Dr. Gerhard Ottersberg, (former Wartburg history professor). Ottersberg wrote several histories about Wartburg and had a remarkable memory for persons, places, and dates related to Wartburg.

The historian interviewed in Germany was Dr. Horst Becker, German Lutheran historian and former director of the
Evangelical Lutheran Diakonieserk, Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, Germany. Becker is an expert on Wilhelm Loehe, the founder of Wartburg College, and on the Lutheran Diaconate.

Interviews with Lutheran historians, Dr. Richard Solberg, Thousand Oaks, California, and Professor Gracia Grindal, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, also took several hours each. Including these two interviews, the number of hours for all interviews conducted was approximately 60 hours.

Secondary Sources

Secondary data sources included newspapers and general publications from the era, materials from the archives of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa; St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota; the Iowa Synod, Dubuque, Iowa; and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Chicago, Illinois. Secondary data were also obtained from interviews with five archivists and two Lutheran Church historians.

Additional secondary data for this study consisted of information written about Wartburg College. Materials from Waverly came from the Bremer County Historical Museum, Waverly Public Library, Waverly Newspapers, St. Paul’s Lutheran Church, and Bremwood Lutheran Children’s Home. Secondary data were also collected from books, textbooks, newspapers, and unpublished dissertations and theses. In addition, several letters were sent to the editors of the
hometown newspapers of former Wartburg women faculty members requesting information about the women.

Documents from the mid-1800s through 1944 were studied. Materials from 1914 through 1944, the focus of this study, received the greatest attention. The geographic region covered was Iowa and the Midwest.

**Definition of Terms Used**

A clear understanding of this study required precise definitions of several significant terms. The Waverly Wartburg institution was for much of its history an academy and a normal school, comparable to today's high school and junior college. For several years a Wartburg Academy existed in Clinton, Iowa, along with Wartburg Academy and Normal School in Waverly. These two separate branches of the school, each with its own development, eventually combined in 1934 through successive Lutheran Church mergers into a single Wartburg College in Waverly.

A "college" is defined as an institution of higher education (post-secondary education) which offers a liberal arts and sciences curriculum and is empowered to confer the bachelor's degree (Webster's, 1973, p. 220).

A "normal school" was a two-year granting institution of higher education also referred to as a normal college or junior college. Such two-year course offerings were primarily directed toward the training of teachers for public and parochial elementary schools (Webster's, 1973, p. 783).
An "academy" or "academic department" was the equivalent of a high school. The Wartburg Academy in Waverly was sub-divided into the following programs:

- **Academic**—four years
- **Home Economics**—one or two years
- **Manual Training**—two years
- **Commercial**—one or two years
- **Music**—undetermined as included music lessons for community members (*Wartburg Catalog, 1915*).

Faculty rank indicated the status of a faculty member in a college in relation to other members of the same institution. A "full professor" was a teacher of the highest academic rank in an institution of higher learning. An "associate professor" was the next highest ranking teacher. An "assistant professor" is the lowest rank of professor. An "instructor" is the beginning level.

A "course" was similar to a major before Wartburg had designated majors. A course refers to a specific course of study.

A "call" referred to an invitation to a professional, church-related position (*Webster’s, 1973, p. 157*)

"Lutheran Church" refers to the American Lutheran Church from 1818 until 1960, when it merged with other Lutheran bodies to become The American Lutheran Church.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

A general study of the development of education for women framed the context to better understand how women faculty came to Wartburg College. The social acceptance of education for women provided the opportunity for women to eventually gain the level of education required to teach in secondary and higher education. Female faculty members also taught in channeled fields for women including home economics, teacher training, and commercial.

A general literature review provided the broader, yet focused, historical context for this study. Literature related to trends in American education particularly coeducation and the academy movement was examined to understand how women gained formal education. A second search of women's educational history examined work opportunities from the turn of the century through the 1940s which influenced the fields of education available to women such as clerical, teacher training, and home economics. These courses were designated for female students and taught by female faculty. A third literature search led to the study of Lutheran educational influences and history, German Lutheran immigration in Iowa, and the influence of German Lutheranism such as the Deaconess movement as one example of women's education within Lutheranism.
The General Literature

Rudolph's (1962) work, The American College and University: A History, provided a broad, general look at the development of American education including curriculum, athletics, and women's education. Rudolph focused most of his discussion of higher education on major research universities. However he also acknowledged the importance of small colleges. Although nearly 40 years old, Rudolph's work has remained a frequently cited comprehensive study of the history of higher education. Woody's (1929) two-volume A History of Women's Education in the United States continued as the seminal work in the historical study of women's higher education. Woody traced women's education from the philosophy of Benjamin Rush. Although Rush was an advocate for women's education, he still placed women's education squarely within women's primary roles of wife and mother. Scholars from Woody to Gordon (1990), in Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era, traced the way society's beliefs about women's roles have influenced women's education (cf. McDonald, 1995, pp. 1-27).

Scholars from various disciplines have added to the study of women's education. Another notable work was economics professor Newcomer's (1959) A Century of Higher Education for American Women. Newcomer based much of her
work on statistical data, adding an additional dimension to
the study of women's education.

Solomon (1985) stated that her book, *In the Company of
Educated Women*, was built on the works of Woody and Newcomer.
Solomon's history more closely approximated a synthesized
historical approach. She integrated feminism throughout the
book, offering an enriched perspective to women's historical
scholarship.

McClelland (1992) further encouraged the study of
women's education from multiple perspectives and provided
such a guide, *The Education of Women in the United States.*
She stated:

It [the bibliography presented in the book] is offered
as a guide to further research on the subject, which is
badly needed, and is intended for the use primarily by
scholars in education and other social sciences,
scholars in women's studies, classroom teachers, and
any in the general public who are interested in the
consequences of gender for females in schools and other
educational settings. (p. xi)

From a study of the general history of education and of
women's education, the bibliographic research led to the
study of education in Iowa history and, more specifically,
German Lutheran immigration and German Lutheran education.
Two particular volumes provided excellent Iowa overviews and
background on both education and immigration. Sage's (1974) *A
History of Iowa* presented 300 years of geographic, political,
aricultural, religious, immigration, and economic history of
Iowa. Whereas Sage focused on Iowa's political history,
Schwieder (1996) emphasized Iowa's social history in *Iowa: The Middle Land*. Schwieder's history included sections on Lutheran education and Wartburg. She built on Iowans' pride in their schools and churches and deliberately emphasized the contributions of various immigrant groups. Schwieder rightly recognized the diversity among Norwegian Lutherans, Danish Lutherans, and German Lutherans, including the differences between the Iowa and Missouri synods, which were both German Lutheran but different in theology and educational development.

The Commission for Women of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America published *Women and Women's Issues in North American Lutheranism: A Bibliography* (1992) in which DeBerg (1992), Valparaiso University historian, compiled an extensive listing of materials about Lutheran women. She included a section on women's bibliographies and Lutheran higher education. Many of the entries came from Scandinavian and Missouri Synod Lutheran backgrounds however there was a dearth of writing by German Lutherans and about German Lutheran (non-Missouri Synod) education, especially women's education. This notable lack of published materials on and by German Lutheran women was echoed by religion professor Grindal (personal communication, April 4, 1998) of Luther Seminary who has written extensively on Lutheran women's education and feminist issues.
Coburn (1992) studied German Lutheran immigration and subsequent development of Lutheran education in Kansas. In her *Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender, and Education in a German-Lutheran Community, 1868-1945*, Coburn relied on context and examined specific elements of religion, gender, and education to gain a fuller understanding of the lives and accomplishments of German Lutheran immigrants. Coburn organized her book thematically to serve as a study framework for a subject for which minimal primary data. From her use of contextual themes, Coburn presented a more complete picture of the lives and contributions, including Lutheran education, of German Lutheran immigrants in Block, Kansas. The Kansas context is similar to Iowa even though the Lutherans discussed were Missouri Synod Lutherans who differed theologically from the Iowa Synod Lutherans.

The most recognized publication that focused specifically on Lutheran higher education was Solberg's (1985) *Lutheran Higher Education in North America*. Solberg outlined the founding of each of the Evangelical Lutheran Colleges. Much of his background materials, which are housed in the Evangelical Lutheran Church's archives in Chicago, were readily accessible. Of particular interest was Hayden's research (1984) on 12 Lutheran institutions of higher learning. Hayden found numerous primary sources related to women students and faculty at these institutions. However, she discovered, as did Grindal (personal communication, April
4, 1998), that the majority of these records were written by and about Scandinavian Lutheran women. Fewer sources existed on German Lutheran women, particularly faculty in German Lutheran institutions of higher learning.

Beck's (1939b,) Lutheran Elementary Schools in the United States provided excellent insight on German Lutheran immigration and the development of Lutheran parochial education even though the subject is Missouri Synod elementary education. Finally, the most definitive and extensive research and writing on Wartburg College was provided by Ottersberg (1940) in his doctoral dissertation on the history of the Iowa Synod and various histories on Wartburg College, including Wartburg College, 1852-1952: A Centennial History (1952). None of these publications, however, dealt specifically with Iowa Synod Lutheran women's education. Women faculty members were mentioned only anecdotally.

The Education of Women

Prominent male writers of the 18th century maintained that the aim of women's education was to enrich their roles as wives and mothers, certainly not as faculty members in higher education. Receiving a basic education was challenge enough for women considering that treatises abounded on the possibilities of women's greatest fulfillment in marriage. One example was Fordice's (as cited by Gurko, 1974) Sermons to Young Women published in 1765 which told women how to
behave toward men and encouraged them to have the following behaviors: "respectful observance . . . studying their humors, overlooking their mistakes, submitting to their opinions . . . giving soft answers to hasty words, complaining as seldom as possible, and making it your daily care to relieve their anxieties" (pp. 12-13).

In A Father's Legacy to his Daughters, written in 1774 by Gregory (as cited by Gurko, 1974) young women were instructed to cultivate those "chief beauties in a female character . . . that modes reserve, that retiring delicacy" (p. 13). A woman should never appear intellectual because, Gregory wrote:

Wit is the most dangerous talent you can possess. Be even cautious in displaying your good sense. But if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts, and a cultivated understanding. (as quoted in Gurko, 1974, p. 13)

Even learning to write was discouraged. Newcomer, (1959) wrote, "In fact, there were some who feared that if women learned to write, they might forge their husbands' signatures; and if they could read easily, they would neglect their household tasks" (p. 7).

Another argument against educating women was the belief that women's mental capacities were inferior to those of men. Because of their lack of education, women appeared to be intellectually inferior to men. This perception supported the conjecture that an education comparable to men's
education might cause women great harm. Gurko (1974) quoted an argument by some scientists of the day, "The feebler female brain would be seriously overburdened if it had to compete with a stronger male intellect" (p. 11).

Soon after the Revolutionary War, a call for more education of women could be heard. The concept of "republican motherhood" (Kerber, 1980, p. 200) held that women needed to be well-educated because they were the ones who reared the citizens of the future. The future of the republic rested in the hands of women. Kerber (1980) stated, "The model republican women were to be rational, self-reliant, literate, and immune to the vagaries of fashion" (p. 228). Women seemed to comply with society's norms of conduct--a form of social control, even if not all women agreed with it. As long as women remained confined to their proper roles in education, academies, seminaries, and even colleges for women emerged and prospered (Hoffman, 1979, pp. 10-11; Riley, 1987, pp. 45-47). The notion of "republican motherhood" appeared in other forms throughout the struggle for women's equality of education. Women were already the educators at home, and they built on that fact to promote the need for formal education for women. Solomon (1985) noted, "Republican and Christian rationales made a formidable combination justifying the education of women" (p. 16).

The course of women's education was not a smooth one and not without its naysayers in the 1800s. Solomon (1985)
cited the writings of Edward Clarke (1873), a "retired Harvard Medical School professor [who] was alarmed by the increasing presence of women in high schools, normal schools, and colleges." In his most famous work, *Sex in Education*, Clarke wrote:

> Co-education, then, signifies in common acceptation identical co-education. This identity of training is what many at the present day seem to be praying for and working for. Appropriate education of the two sexes, carried as far as possible, is a consummation most devoutly to be desired; identical of the two sexes is a crime before God and humanity, that physiology protests against, and that experience weeps over.

> Girls lose health, strength, blood, and nerve, by a regimen that ignores periodical tides and reproductive apparatus of their organization. . . . They graduated from school or college excellent scholars, but with undeveloped ovaries. Later they married, and were sterile. (pp. 45-47)

Contemporary historians do not agree on the impact of Clarke's warnings. Solomon (1985) contended, "The excitement over Clarke's warning subsided quite swiftly" (p. 56).

Buchanan (1997) in her doctoral dissertation on women's higher education disagreed with Solomon stating, "I believe that such admonitions from so-called experts linger well beyond the limit of rational refutation" (pp. 312-314). Buchanan argued that most students of women's higher education are probably aware of Clarke and the nature of his argument but could probably not name one medical professional of the time who disputed Clarke's claims. For the record, Buchanan cited only one rebuttal to Clarke published by G. Comfort and A. Comfort (1874) entitled *Woman's Education and*
Women's Health. He was the dean of the College of Fine Arts at Syracuse University, and she was a physician.

Woody (1929), too, discussed the proliferation of confusing "science" and advice regarding the education of women. Woody wrote:

To quiet the unrest that began to be apparent in the early nineteenth century; to silence the slender arguments that were put forth in favor of women's larger sphere, there descended a deluge of opinions . . . expressed privately in letters and publicly in speeches, sermons, and periodicals . . . . (pp. 96-97)

In reality, even the formal educational needs of young men did not become a priority in this country until the 1800s. Few colleges in America can trace their origins to the pre-Revolutionary era. Most of these early colleges were established primarily to train clergy and teachers, all-male professions at that time. A college education was considered a professional education. Since the ministry and teaching professions were open only to men, there was no apparent need to include women in higher education (Lerner, 1973, p. 17).

Not all women accepted the lack of educational opportunities as the norm. Out of the suffrage movement came the cry for the education of women. Women, themselves, took charge of their own need for formal education. This right of education was vigorously addressed at the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Spokesperson Elizabeth Cady Stanton submitted the "Declaration of
Sentiments" in which she articulated the grievances of women against men, one of them being, "He has denied her facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her" (Rossi, 1973, p. 417).

From this discourse, the convention adopted several educationally-related resolutions, including the following one introduced by Lucretia Mott:

Resolved, that the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to women an equal participation with men in various trades, professions, and commerce. (Rossi, 1973, p. 417)

The movement for women's suffrage and women's rights kept the issue of education, particularly higher education for women, in the public's attention. A few women did receive an advanced education. These women were the daughters of wealthy men who provided private tutors for their daughters, or, in rare cases, educated their daughters themselves. Even with the women's rights movement, many still feared that an educated woman might prove to be less marriageable because she would be less submissive to her husband, and Kessler-Harris (1981) indicated in *Women Have Always Worked* that more than 75% of the generation of college women who graduated before 1900 remained single, for "they had, in the common view, unfitted themselves for marriage" (p. 109).
Riley (1987, p. 129), Newcomer (1959, p. 17), and Woody (1929, Vol. II, p. 432) all noted that the Civil War increased the impetus to educate women when greater occupational opportunities became available to them. Men went off to fight in the war, and women moved into their jobs. These new occupational opportunities required a more advanced education. When the war ended, many women refused to return to their previous roles.

Newcomer (1959, p. 40) suggested an additional phenomenon as an impetus for women's higher education. Women became more politically and socially active. By 1870 the number of women undergraduates constituted 20% of the college population as compared with the 1840s and 1850s when only a small number of American women attended college.

Along with the Civil War, the American migration westward increased the number of colleges open to women, particularly in the Middle West and West. Coeducation became the norm in the Middle West and Western states, particularly in the state-supported and land-grant schools. Colleges frequently agreed to include women to support the flagging liberal arts foundation as well as for economic and political gain.

The State University of Iowa gained distinction as the first Midwestern college to become coeducational (Newcomer, 1959, p. 90). The reasons for including women as students were practical and economic: declining enrollment of male
students, pressures from Iowa citizens who could not afford to send their daughters away to school, and college presidents who wanted to go on record as opposing segregation of any kind (p. 37).

Additionally, through the formation of women's clubs and organizations in the late 19th century, socially conscious women participated in reform activities previously considered radical. Such activities continued to move women from the private sphere into the public sphere previously considered the exclusive domain of men. Women's organizations worked for temperance, child custody and welfare, property rights, and job opportunities, as well as for higher education for women (Blair, 1980; Cott, 1977; DuBois, 1987; Leach, 1980).

Private Women's Colleges

Based on the pattern of education for men, private women's colleges frequently developed from the women's academies. While many educators considered early attempts at creating a "female college" experimental, several educated women, nonetheless, founded such schools. The Georgia Female College was one of the earliest "experiments" in higher education for women. The Charter of the College approved December 23, 1836, authorized it to "confer all such honors, degrees, and licenses as are usually conferred in colleges or universities" (Woody, 1929, p. 470).
For many years, public discussion had included the idea of establishing women's colleges, but the actual establishment of these took over 50 years to develop. Finding qualified female faculty was a major consideration. One of the first women's colleges to grant an A.B. degree was Mary Sharp College in Alabama, followed soon by Elmira Female College in New York (Boas, 1935, pp. 222-223; Rudolph, 1962, pp. 312-313). Mary Sharp College developed a curriculum for a four-year classical study, and granted its first diplomas to three women in 1855. The diplomas indicated that having satisfactorily completed their studies—literary and scientific—the graduates were, by the authority of the school's charter, admitted to the Primum in Artibus Gradum and entitled to all the "rights and privileges and honors everywhere pertinent to that degree" (Buchanan, 1997, pp. 110-175; Woody, 1929, p. 172).

In 1852, prominent individuals in Albany, New York, chartered the Auburn Female University. By 1855, a new location and a new charter designated the institution as Elmira Female College. The objective of granting a degree equivalent to that of a men's college was clearly stated:

No degree shall be conferred without a course of study equivalent to a full ordinary course of study as pursued in the colleges of this state shall have been completed; . . . said college shall be subject to the visitation of the Regents of the University of the State of New York in the same manner and to the same extent as the other colleges of the state. (Woody, 1929, p. 145)
Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke, and other women's colleges opened in the 1870s and 1880s. These colleges struggled to offer a curriculum parallel to what men's colleges offered. Curriculum content and the need for faculty were the primary concerns.

M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr president, in 1908, (as cited in Hall, January/1984) advocated for separate women's colleges and for the hiring of female faculty. Hall (1984) noted, "Thomas advocated that women's next educational objectives should be to secure stable faculty positions in the coeducational institutions while also increasing the number of chairs in women's colleges" (p. 56).

In spite of the success of women's colleges, natural and social scientists of the time argued against higher education for women. Women had established themselves intellectually as capable as men, so the scientists centered their attacks, instead, on the physiology of women. The common "wisdom" of physiologists of that time was the belief that women's reproductive systems dominated their entire physical and mental existence. Any mental or physical overexertion could cause irreparable harm. Scholars of the day frequently cited the works of Charles Darwin as evidence of the vulnerability of women (Rosenberg, 1975, pp. 146-152).

In light of these new attacks, the administrators of women's colleges became defensive. After all, they had seemingly proven that women could succeed and teach in higher
education. In response, the schools modified their curriculum and instituted physical education and other courses in physiology and hygiene to instruct women in how to remain healthy while handling the rigors of a college education. In a continuing attempt to pacify scientific critics, some women's colleges introduced courses to also train women for more domestic duties, designating them as "practical" courses. Although the curriculum additions returned women's education to the more acceptable women's sphere, the change also increased the need for women faculty who could teach the "practical" courses (Harris, 1978, p. 100).

Bryn Mawr President M. Carey Thomas (as cited in Harris, 1978), however, strongly objected to the "practical" courses seeing them as concessions to inappropriate criticism and a weakening in curriculum development and women's education in general. She argued:

We must see to it that its disciplinary quality is not lowered by the insertion of so-called practical courses which are falsely supposed to prepare for life. . . . I am in consequence astounded to see the efforts which have been made within the past few years . . . to persuade, I might almost say compel, those in charge of women's education to riddle the college curriculum with hygiene, and sanitary drainage, and domestic science, and child study, and all the rest of the so called practical studies. (Harris, 1974, p. 101)

Women's responsibility for education intensified outside of the home as well as within. Fewer men went into the teaching profession because they could find better paying
jobs in business and industry. Teaching, as a women's profession, was socially acceptable because it came to be viewed as a natural extension of women's work in the home (Harris, 1978, p. 58; Rosenberg, 1975, pp. 8-9).

For young women, the expansion of educational opportunities served a dual function. They educated them for work both at home and for wages outside of the home. As Kessler-Harris (1982) summarized in *Out to Work*, "expanding options in education and in social activity fused with emerging concerns over urban and industrial conditions to create new jobs for middle-class women" (pp. 114-115).

America's increasing labor needs and attitudinal changes provided the economic support for increased and comparable education for women. Private women's colleges, however, could not handle the increased need for women's education and concurrent demand for women faculty. With the success of private women's colleges and the increasing demand for women's education, men's colleges began to consider the economic boon that additional female students could provide to their institutions. Several of the all-male colleges developed the concept of a coordinate college as a variation of the private women's college.

**Coordinate Colleges**

By the mid-19th century, the coordinate college developed as a second solution to the need for women's education and as a compromise between separate women's
colleges and complete coeducation. The coordinate colleges were varied and included many characteristics of both the separate and the coeducational institutions. The contribution of coordinate colleges lay in the increasing numbers of women who received degrees in higher education and were poised to eventually move into college faculty positions.

As early as 1879, Dr. Frederick Barnard of New York City's Columbia College advocated for better higher education for women. He worked closely with the New York Association for Promoting Higher Education of Women to raise the standard of education for women in general and for the admission of women to Columbia College. The New York Association (as cited in Woody, 1929) approved and presented the following petition to the Columbia trustees:

That, in view of the present state of public opinion both here and in other countries touching the justice and expediency of admitting women to the same educational advantages as men, a state of opinion especially evidenced by the recent action of the English universities . . . and in view of the influential position of Columbia College as among the oldest and most richly endowed educational institutions in the United States . . . you will be pleased to consider how best to extend, with as little delay as possible, to such properly qualified women as may desire it, the many and great benefits of education in Columbia College by admitting them to lectures and examinations. (Woody, 1929, p. 313)

The efforts of Barnard and the Association were somewhat successful. Given the opportunity, a trustee's daughter and a few other women attended some classes at
Columbia. But the practice of allowing women to attend classes with men ran contrary to college regulations. The trustees refused to allow its continuation and refused to allow women to attend classes as regular students. The trustees voted to still grant women degrees from Columbia if they could pass the examinations, but the school itself would not provide the instruction (Putnam, 1900, as cited in Hall, 1984).

To carry this out, Columbia College's trustees agreed in 1883 to establish a course of study for women ostensibly equivalent to that for men. How the female student went about her course of study, however, was entirely up to her. She could attend classes at Columbia, study at a private school, or even study at home. When she felt she was ready, Columbia College officials gave her the needed course examinations. When a woman student passed all of her examinations, she received the Bachelor of Arts degree. This instructional arrangement lasted until 1889 when Barnard College was organized and chartered as a coordinate college with Columbia College (Hall, 1984, pp. 55-56).

Gradually, nationwide most of the separate men’s and women’s coordinate colleges combined to form coeducational colleges or at least developed joint curriculums. Economic considerations, such as educating women at a lower cost plus the addition of tuition-paying women students, encouraged the
trend toward coordinate colleges and eventually coeducational institutions.

Coeducation

Coeducational institutions represented the third model of higher education for women and provided some opportunity for them to acquire faculty positions. By the late 19th century, coeducation became the focus as more and more women sought entrance into colleges.

While women had succeeded in higher education, some educators questioned whether they could do research or be admitted to major research universities on a coeducational basis. The theory that men had greater mental capabilities than women bolstered the argument against women's ability to complete research. Support for this theory rested once again on a variation of Charles Darwin's concept of the superior fitness of males, that "women exercise a repressive influence upon the spirit of research for which they have as a sex neither capacity nor appreciation" (Rudolph, 1962, pp. 346-347). As long as women were barred from major research universities, they were restricted from receiving graduate degrees, and, thus from qualifying for many college faculty positions.

A critical issue developed concerning how best to achieve equality of education for women. One solution offered was to educate male and female students in the same institution, but with separate curricula requiring at least
some women faculty. The other more popular and economical solution was to offer identical education to men and women within the same institution and with the same curriculum and usually male faculty, in other words, coeducation (Howe, 1980, pp. 16-31; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1985, pp. 285-297; Woody, 1929, p. 224). President Charles R. Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin recognized the economic implications and wrote that coeducation in colleges began "not in consequence of a theoretical belief in it upon the part of the officials of those institutions, but in spite of such belief" (Van Hise, 1907, p. 509). Van Hise acknowledged that economic pressures were paramount in establishing coeducational institutions (p. 510).

Coeducation began at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, but the majority of women in the country remained within the women's spheres for their studies. Oberlin was coeducational, although it offered separate curricula for men and women. The school opened in 1833, but had allowed coeducation only in its secondary or preparatory department. It was not until 1837 that women enrolled in the college level course. In that first year, Oberlin admitted four females, the beginning of coeducational higher education for women. Oberlin established a Ladies' Department which created a special literary course for women students. College faculty supervised women students for their conduct and morals, and the curriculum included a system of manual
training that required female students to wash and sew for their fellow male classmates. Female students also cleaned all the students' rooms, served the meals, and were not permitted to recite in public or work in the fields with male students (DuBois, 1978, p. 29; Harris, 1978, pp. 79-80; Rudolph, 1977, p. 311; Woody, 1929, pp. 231-233).

Four years were necessary to complete the Ladies' Course at Oberlin. The educational subjects studied were similar to the College Course taken by men. Since women's missions differed from men's, the more classical courses of Greek, Latin, and calculus were omitted for the women. Instead French, drawing, and natural sciences were substituted. Where the classes for the Ladies' Course and the College Course were the same, the College allowed co-instruction. The faculty of Oberlin, however, remained all male (Woody, 1929, pp. 233-234).

By the late 19th century, the most widely adopted solution to the education of women was the admission of women into men's colleges where they were finally offered and taught the same curriculum and in the same classes as men. The most rapid growth of coeducational colleges was in the West, supported by the 1862 Morrill Act. The Morrill Act established federal support for founding land grant colleges. Congress granted every state 30,000 acres of land for each senator and representative of that state. States were to sell the land and use the proceeds to establish a college
that would focus on agricultural and mechanical studies along with classical studies. The federal law demanded that such colleges accept all qualified students regardless of gender (Gutek, 1986, pp. 141-142; Rudolph, 1977, pp. 314-316).

The Rise of Secondary Education

The concept of secondary, or high school, education grew out of the European concept of the Latin Grammar school, developed through the academy movement of the 19th century, and eventually became the comprehensive high school in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1889-1890, the U.S. Commissioner of Education reported that 2,526 public high schools enrolled 202,063 students and 1,632 private high schools enrolled 94,391 students (Krug, 1964, p. 5). School teaching had moved from a male profession to a predominately female profession by the end of the Civil War in 1862. Several factors contributed to the phenomenon including:

- the formation of a leisured middle class,
- the opening of post-elementary education to women,
- the appearance and expansion of tax-supported public education,
- rapid population increase,
- a Victorian gender formulation which maintained that the female is innately superior in the care and education of young children, and the willingness of women to teach for substantially lower salaries than men. (Morain, 1980, pp. 161-162)

High schools for girls were intended to provide a basic education, to prepare them for their domestic roles, and to train them for elementary school teaching. Woody explained that early high schools were seen as the terminal institution for girls and the curriculum reflected the emphasis on
women's roles within the home. Only later did high schools begin preparing women students for careers in teaching and for college (Woody, 1929, p. 531). High schools expanded their curriculum for girls as the domestic need for teachers and other professions necessitated.

Once again, the education of women was connected to economic need. McClelland (1992) added, regarding the easy acceptance of coeducation at the secondary level, "Indeed, coeducation was perhaps more an economic justice solution to higher education for girls" (p. 129). Tyack and Hansot (1990) related the success of secondary education to the ideology of women's spheres as well as economic factors. They pointed out that public secondary education was overwhelmingly coeducational and that girls and boys routinely studied the same subjects. The reason for this seeming equality was not necessarily an issue of social justice. It was also be explained as "the logical product of ideology (republican equality and preparation for the female sphere), economy (the financial necessity of coeducation in small schools), and organizational development (an extension of a coeducational bureaucracy)" (Tyack & Hansot, 1990, pp. 114-115).

 Debates continued throughout the country as to curriculum content; funding who should attend, the wealthy or all children; the gender and qualifications of teachers; and how to best educate the diversity of genders, cultures, and
classes; and particularly funding. Private schools were not immune from these public discussions. Yet secondary education, including education for girls, proved amazingly successful (Tyack & Hansot, 1990, pp. 118-119).

Many secondary schools, especially private seminaries or academies, prepared young women for careers as much or more than preparation for domesticity. For women who wished to become elementary teachers or office workers, higher education was not a necessity. "After all, domestic enhancement and even a teaching career were possible through a normal school, high school, seminary, or academy education. Why risk social opprobrium or one's health to go to college?" (Gordon, 1990, p. 18). In many ways, the differences between late 19th century secondary schools and colleges remained indistinct, particularly for women's education (p. 16). McClelland (1992) cautioned, however, that in spite of the success of secondary education in extending education to girls from a variety of backgrounds, "they were not the answer, however, to the definition of education of women" (p. 130). Still secondary education did provide a platform from which some women could obtain a college education (McClelland, p. 130).

The Normal School

The normal school was a unique institution in the history of education and in women's education. The antecedent of the normal school was the teacher institute of
the 19th century to assist in training more women for teaching. The teacher institutes introduced the idea that methods of instruction could be taught and learned. Following the Civil War, normal schools opened and contributed to the increase of women teachers and provided an additional opportunity for professional women to teach beyond the secondary level. Normal schools usually provided a two-year teacher education training course.

Mattingly (1975) argued that teacher institutes were conducted much like religious rivals that stressed the development of moral character and teacher education. "For this generation of professional educators, this institution made explicit . . . to equate professionalization with 'awakening' of moral character. . . ." (pp. 62-63). Normal schools retained the moral character influence of the institutes. Mattingly stated that by limiting the focus to a moral campaign to shape student character, teacher education safely removed moral character from the political arena. Moral character development also fit the social attitudes about women of that time and encouraged a passive quality in teachers and students at least related to taking active public positions on issues (pp. 62-63, 154-155). Mattingly's statements support the notion that passivity as part of moral character training may be a reason why most female school teachers, including Wartburg faculty, rarely argued for pay
equity with male faculty members and seemingly accepted many "domestic" duties at the College.

The normal school concept flowered with Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary and was quickly followed by the opening of the first state normal school in Lexington, Massachusetts, in July 1839. Normal schools became an important source of women's education even though they provided only a two-year course of study (Spring, 1986, pp. 123-125).

If teaching offered an additional venue for professional women, one might assume that the previously established women's colleges already would have developed teacher training courses. Solomon (1985) noted that a large percentage of graduates from women's colleges did become teachers for a brief time (p. 127).

Iowa, too, developed an emphasis on teacher education. An 1847 Iowa law, which established the State University, obligated the institution to annually educate 50 teachers for the common schools. In September 1855, the University's Normal Department opened. By 1866, the Normal Department was integrated into the regular university. Some school officials felt this unification seriously impaired the effectiveness of teacher education. A separate state normal school, the Iowa State Normal School, was founded in 1876 in Cedar Falls and focused exclusively on teacher education (Schwieder, 1996, pp. 120-128).
World War I, which began in 1914, took women out of their homes. Women became actively involved in the war movement and war-relief activities, and they took over many of the jobs left by men who served in the armed forces. When the First World War ended in 1918, industry phased out women laborers to provide employment for the returning men. As a result, working women moved in greater numbers into women's professions such as teaching, nursing, and clerical (Bromley, 1989, pp. 322-326; Newcomer, 1959, pp. 172-176; Riley, 1987, pp. 183-205).

The "Roaring Twenties" brought with it an increased level of independence for women. Although society continued to view marriage as the ideal state for women, culture deemed it respectable for middle-class daughters to support themselves independently until they could marry and have children. The late 19th century could be viewed as the apex of college women's freedom in making economic and personal choices that challenged the traditional cultural norms. Many college women were choosing to remain single (Rowbotham, 1974, pp. 128-143; Sacks, 1990, p. 494).

However, by the early years of the 20th century, marriage rates for college graduates rose. One of the main reasons was undoubtedly a cultural backlash that occurred against the female graduates' untraditional life choices and the public perception of a declining American birth rate.
College women of the Progressive Era experienced the turn-of-the-century backlash against women's achievements, especially on coeducational campuses. This resistance intensified during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, with a combination of political conservatism, the absence of an active feminist movement, the Great Depression, World War II, and the insistence by social scientists that normal women found their greatest happiness in heterosexual relationships and companionship marriages. (Gordon, 1990, p. 196)

Gordon (1990) in *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* examined the cultural backlash between 1890 and 1920 which supported women attending college but stressed that their most important roles were that of wife and mother. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg (1985) supported Gordon's contention related to renewed social pressure that urged women to marry and have children. Smith-Rosenberg (1985) cited fears of race suicide as contributing to the early 20th century attack on some college graduates. Through eugenicist propaganda, women who did not uphold their social responsibility to bear children were deemed traitors, or at least deviants, from the expected norm (p. 271).

In spite of social pressure, women's entry into professions grew numerically through the early 1900s. However, women graduating after 1910 faced greater restrictions in fields such as law, medicine, and academia than women who graduated before that date. Women physicians totaled 6% of all physicians in the United States by 1910, but the numbers soon fell as women's medical schools began to close and male-dominated medical schools restricted women's
enrollment. Women in academia fared slightly better, but remained at the lowest professional ranks and moved from 20% of the total faculty members in 1890 to only 26% by 1920 (Solomon, 1985, pp. 132-133).

The backlash against the success of the early female graduates changed the attitudes of later female graduates from those of the pioneering college women of the 19th century. Those early female college graduates had pioneered the study of home economics as a science and encouraged women to utilize their education in reform efforts. Historian Gordon (1990, p. 101) credited these programs, such as home economics, with introducing women to careers outside of teaching that remained within women's spheres.

Social Implications for Women's Education

Progressive Era

The Progressive Era flourished between the depression of 1890 and the country's entry into World War I. It was a time marked by increasing industrialization and social reform. Women were in the forefront of the progressive movement (Frankel & Dye, 1991, pp. 2-3). Social changes influenced women's education by supporting coeducation which became the fastest growing segment of education during that time (Gordon, 1990, p.6).

This Era marked a time of transition for women from the Victorian Era based on the gender ideology of separate spheres to a somewhat expanded view of women's work.
In the antebellum North, economic issues also advanced the cause of women's secondary education. The exodus of labor from households into shops and factories meant that older children had to earn a living outside the home before they married. Northern women who remained single, through choice or necessity, turned to teaching as a "respectable" way of supporting themselves. (Gordon, 1990, pp. 14-15)

The woman as homemaker remained the predominant image for women in the early 20th century, but the homemaker's duties expanded. Progressives, many of them women, moved family from the 19th century to the 20th century by curbing tenement homework, ending child labor, providing workers' compensation, tracing deserting husbands, and developing public policy to assist mothers so that they could stay at home with their children. They strengthened the division between home and workplace (Boris, 1991; Busaca & Ryan, 1982).

At the beginning of the Progressive Era, most public and private schools offered cooking and sewing classes which allowed young women to fulfill their responsibilities as homemakers while receiving further education. As industrialism increased, so did consumerism. Homemaking took on the air of science--science acceptable for women to study. "The steady advance of technology for the home encouraged supporters to argue that homemaking was becoming more complex, and that formal instruction was needed to prepare young women for an industrial home" (McClelland, 1992, p. 61). Home economics became the vocational study for women
and reached its apex in the first two decades of the 20th century. Rury (1984) quoted Ellen Richards, one of the founders of home economics, "Tomorrow the woman who is to be really mistress of her house must be an engineer, so far as to be able to understand the use of machines, and to believe what she is told" (p. 26).

"Themes of service continued to characterize most jobs considered appropriate for women" (Gordon, 1990, p. 35). As young women attended school longer and went into a variety of occupations, concern was raised about their ability to do their real occupation, homemaking and motherhood. Gordon argued this rise in concern for women's domestic abilities constituted a backlash to women's increasing levels of education and work. Rury (1984), too, saw the development of home economics departments as a response to cultural changes during the Progressive Era and further argued that home economics shifted the role of homemaker from a political one (the republican mother) to an economic one (an efficient mother).

The Progressive Era expanded women's educational opportunities through more work opportunities from industrial growth, expansion of the service economy, and a developing consumer culture. Rural German communities of the Middle West also moved toward greater "Americanization" and were influenced by social factors of the Progressive Era. Clothes, language, customs, and even home furnishings became
more American. Conzen (1990) posited that rural cultures "responded to the transforming pressures of modern life on a parallel trajectory of their own" (p. 8). Conzen described the German Catholic ethnic experience in the midst of a changing America. Her descriptions fit the German Lutheran experience as well.

**World War I**

In her discussion of *After College, What?* Barbara Solomon (1985) did not paint as rosy a picture of women's educational opportunities at the turn of the century as did Newcomer (1959) and Woody (1929). Solomon argued:

> While for men the pattern of extending educational years for professional training after college became conventional after 1910, for women the decision to attend a liberal arts college and to continue with further education involving long years of expense and commitment usually meant having to delay or renounce the option of marriage. (p. 138)

While some scholars cited higher education as the bestower of status to women, Solomon agreed with some reservations. Women's occupations were still predominately within women's spheres and channeled fields of study such as teaching, home economics, or social work. Women's research was devalued, and "professional women knew that they were atypical of their sex. . . ." (p. 138).

The United States' entrance into World War I in 1917 directly affected women and women's education. War once again accelerated women's occupational and educational opportunities. According to Solomon, while World War I
provided great opportunities for women, it also brought educated women into conflict with each other and with men (Solomon, 1985, p. 139).

Women's contributions were enormous on the professional and volunteer fronts. Woloch (1984, pp. 388-389) in *Women and the American Experience* concurred with Solomon. Woloch cited LaFollette's argument in her 1926 feminist primer, *Concerning Women*, that real equality could only be based on economic equality. World War I provided greater opportunity for women's economic independence through increased occupational opportunities. More middle-class women became wage earners, and with these increased work opportunities came the need for increased education. Women became involved in the war relief work, war-time agriculture and industry, and women's suffrage. Throughout the war, women conserved food and resources in their homes, sold war bonds, and enlisted for services as nurses and ambulance drivers (Riley, 1995, pp. 216-248; Steinson, 1980, pp. 259-284).

During World War I, according to Woloch (1984), "Educated women, whose numbers constantly rose, were surging into professional work" (p. 388). However, Woloch concluded, "Traditional male professionals closed ranks against female entry. Most women were confined to 'women's professions,' and in the business world, to lower-level job categories. World War I created no new permanent jobs for women" (p. 389).
Women served as a ready economic resource during the war and sought higher levels of education. However, when the war ended, women were encouraged to return home and to let the men return to their jobs.

At the same time, women's suffrage triumphed with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. The movement that started in the 19th century when some educated women had chosen to work rather than to marry, was ongoing into the 1039s and beyond. As Solomon (1985) indicated, "In the third decade of the twentieth century a relatively small number of educated women pioneered yet another alternative path, combining marriage and career" (p. 173).

The Great Depression of the 1930s changed the dynamics of women's lives. Solomon believed the question was, "Should a woman be both a wife and professional?" (p. 173). Woloch (1984) argued that such an option was not clearly defined for educated women during the Depression. Women were caught in a double-bind. As the economic depression deepened, families needed two incomes; however, society deemed that a wage-earning wife was "committing an antisocial act by taking away a man's salary and implicitly depriving another family of income" (Woloch, 1984, p. 441). A 1932-1937 federal law prohibited more than one member per family from working in the federal civil service. The National Education Association would not hire married women teachers, and many schools dismissed teachers who were married. Even organized
labor encouraged business and industries not to hire women whose husbands were employed. In spite of the barrage of social control, family necessity won out, and the proportion of married women in the work force rose. For most women, jobs were not in the professions, but in temporary or part-time positions with a new emphasis placed on home management (Woloch, 1984, pp. 440-443). These jobs generally required some level of formal education.

**Channeled Fields in Women's Education**

Channeled fields of education were courses provided specifically for women's education. Riley (1987) explained:

By the early 1900s, coeducational schools faced the problems of what to do with all the female students. Many coeducational colleges and universities faced their own problems as the number of women in their student bodies rose to 50 percent after 1900. Fearing the encroaching feminization of higher education, they limited female admissions . . . and relegated women to their normal schools or home economics departments. (p. 164)

The channeled fields also presented the greatest concentration of early women faculty members. The fields were home economics, commercial, and teacher training, plus a special Wartburg women's course titled "Mothercraft" offered for only one year in the 1930s.

Gordon (1990) explained the reason for channeling women's fields of study. She noted that "women's successes on the coeducational campuses of the Progressive Era proved to be their undoing" (p. 43). The growing numbers of women students and their academic success alarmed the male
educational establishment. Some institutions began limiting women's access while others segregated classes. Channeling women's fields of study was another response to the backlash of women's success (p. 43).

**Home Economics**

Home economics was appealing as an academic study because it incorporated scientific methods, adding social legitimacy to a women's field of study. Making homemaking scientific enabled middle-class women to upgrade their chief occupation while returning to the women's sphere. Domestic science seemed to be a way of advancement for women which did not threaten men. It returned men and women to separate spheres (Hall, 1984, pp. 105-106).

The reasons for developing of home economics as an academic discipline have varied among scholars. Rudolph (1977) suggested that American land-grant colleges introduced home economics as a women's curriculum to balance the vocational curriculum for male students (p. 138). Other scholars such as Veysey (1965) suggested that home economics grew out of the Progressive Era reform (p. 113).

Women's clubs and reform-minded women encouraged the study of home economics. Jane Addams and others understood the necessity of sanitation in food preparation and general cleaning to reduce the epidemics of diseases that were rampant at the turn of the century. At its 1904 national convention, the Women's Federation first recognized home
economics as vital club work. The Federation chose as one of its objectives "the introduction of domestic science into every school and higher institution of learning" (Breckenridge, 1913, p. 29).

Solomon (1985, pp. 85-87) indicated that the reasons for the academic development of home economics were related to the scientific developments in home technology and subsequent impact on work opportunities. Although occupational opportunities may have increased because of new technology, home economics, at least, did little to diminish gender stratification in the workplace. Home economics also continued the emphasis on service-related work for women and the value of a woman's role within the home.

Home economics courses became firmly established in public and private schools during the Progressive Era. These courses supported the connection between secondary and higher education and domesticity, incorporating women's role of nurturer and caretaker as well as the skills necessary to fulfill that role. Home economics also reaffirmed the connection between education and the religious emphasis for women to be good wives and mothers. Even women who studied home economics to teach the subject or work as institutional nutritionists in an institution, remained within the women's sphere (cf. Matthew, 1987; Straser, 1982).
Teacher Education

Teacher education was another channeled field of education for women. Teaching was considered an extension of the women's sphere and an acceptable profession for women, or at least until they married and had children. According to Clifford, four factors contributed to the legitimization of women teachers (as cited in Prentice and Theobald, 1991, pp. 115-135.)

First, women may contribute to the economy by working in and for the family corporation.

Second, women found paid work for employers outside the family circle, in work perceivable as traditional women's work, as useful preparation for their ultimate domestic careers, and as appropriate supplements to home duties.

Third, women in a diversity of occupations may be employed until marriage or pregnancy retires them from the labour force.

Fourth, women's labour-force participation, even after marriage, may be legitimated by its material contributions to family welfare and cohesion. (p. 117)

Concerning these factors legitimizing women teachers, school keeping was frequently a family business in which daughters, sisters, and wives served as instructors. Also, teaching could be argued as still part of the women's sphere, the maternal role (Prentice and Theobald, 1991, p. 118).

Teaching was considered an appropriate career prior to marriage. A Wisconsin survey in the late 1800s found that the average women's teaching career was 18 months, or about four terms (Jorgenson, 1956, p. 156).

By the 1900s, the number of married women teachers increased. Even during the Depression with campaigns
directed against married women teachers, married women in teaching increased from 17.9% of all women teachers in 1930 to 22% by 1940 (Scharf, 1980, pp. 76, 85).

Also not to be overlooked was the financial inducement of hiring women teachers at substantially lower wages than their male counterparts, a fact not lost on financially stressed schools. Newcomer (1959) noted disagreement as to how women teachers should be paid.

Sarah Josepha Hale argued that if education was to be universal, it must be cheap, and that women could manage with lower salaries than men. Lydia Sigourney argued that young women should teach for nothing if they could afford to do so. And Mary Lyon accepted low pay as inevitable. Catherine Beecher, on the contrary, insisted that if teachers were underpaid 'the profession would be as it had been, the resort of the dull, stupid and shiftless. (p. 162-163)

Women teachers were paid lower salaries than their male equivalents. “And by the time that women took over his field for their own, at least in grammar school, the lack of alternative employment for educated women gave them little bargaining power” (Newcomer, 1959, p. 161).

Commercial Education

Strom (1992) in Beyond the Typewriter: Gender, Class, and the Origins of Modern American Office Work, 1900-1930, pointed out that the demand for commercial departments came at a time when schools were concerned about the increasing drop-out rate of students. Along with classes in home economics and teacher education, women increasingly took clerical courses as jobs in business expanded. The growth of
commercial departments in secondary and even higher education can be attributed to the development of office technology, especially the typewriter. The growth additionally came at a time of crisis in secondary education in both the public and private schools concerned over an increased drop-out rate of students (pp. 276-283).

The demand for commercial courses in schools paralleled the growth in demand for clerical workers in society. Education for commercial purposes fit within the accepted women's sphere and enrollments were predominately female. Commercial courses also allowed women to earn money at a respectable job for a woman outside the home. However, Rury (1984) noted that the work women performed "was virtually the same as the work they did at home. The principal differences lay in the conditions under which work was performed" (p. 35).

Promoting the occupational opportunities in commercial and business training, educators hoped not only to create better opportunities for working-class children, but to also better sustain school enrollment. For tuition-driven private institutions, retention and recruitment were vital to their survival. The commercial courses proved to be a smashing success if measured by school attendance, retention rates, and job placement. With good clerical training, female graduates could find jobs. Yet for all its success and occupational opportunities, clerical training relegated women
into lower paying positions with minimal opportunities for advancement even though office work moved women ever slightly beyond their roles of wives and mothers (Strom, 1992).

One of the contributing factors to the change in women's work in American society was the invention of the typewriter in 1867 and its growing popularity. By the end of the 19th century, businesses purchased typewriters in large quantities (Edwards, Gordon, & Reich, 1975). Managers considered the typewriter as "sex-neutral" and did not identify it as a machine to be operated exclusively by men. Businesses discovered that they could hire women to operate typewriters for less money and without the risk of being criticized for allowing women to do men's work. As business in America expanded, so did the number and types of clerical jobs for women (Davies, 1989; Edwards et al., 1975).

Clerical work attracted women, for in spite of the discrimination in pay, clerical work did have a high status and paid better than most other jobs women could obtain. The wage scale in Table 1 (Smuts, 1959, p. 90) shows comparative wages for women's occupations in the United States at the end of the 19th century.
Table 1

Wage Data for Women's Occupations, Late 1800s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Weekly Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>$2 to $5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory Operatives</td>
<td>$1.50 to $8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Clerks</td>
<td>$1.50 to $8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typists</td>
<td>$6 to $15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographers</td>
<td>$6 to $15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women's Athletics

Progressive Era thought proposed that women could not fulfill their homemaking and motherhood responsibilities if they were not in excellent health. Good health required vigorous exercise, and athletics for women students became acceptable (Spears, 1974, pp. 28-29). An active women's athletic climate developed on campuses, and as early as 1895 the Athletic Association of Vassar College organized the first Field Day ever held by American women (Gordon, 1990, p. 138).

The history of women's athletics can be traced back to the mid-19th century when people commonly believed that the health of American women had declined. Popular theory held that if women were weak, they would produce weak children (Stanley, 1996, p. 5). Beecher wrote on the prevailing sentiments regarding the impact of weak mothers on their children "so far as the mother has hereditary influence,
feeble constitutions received." As a result, children begin life with "a more delicate organization than the previous generation" (as cited in Parker, 1972, p. 177).

Concern over women's health was reinforced by another perceived crisis—a declining American birthrate. Women in the late 19th century had fewer children, but the birth decline was greatly exaggerated. Nonetheless, social blame for the decline rested wholly on women for two perceived reasons: first, that women's health was in decline; and second, that women had not been taught their proper roles in school (Stanley, 1996, p. 33). Levenstien (1980), however, writing on the aspirations and behaviors of the middle-class during the Progressive Era, traced the declining American birthrate more to the independence and progressive movement of middle-class women.

Education was seen by many as the solution. If young women could be persuaded to be more active, positive changes in women's health would surely follow. Secondarily, advocates believed, education could also be cleared of the 19th century criticism being detrimental to women (Michelle-Newman, 1985, pp. 48, 52). "The solution, then, was not to enfeeble women's minds by denying them education, but instead strengthen their bodies" (Stanley, 1996, p. 48).

Many women educators added sports and games to their curricula. While this helped change curricula, the assumptions about the role of women in society were slower to
change. A strong undercurrent of conservative thinking ran through a much of the pro-fitness arguments. At a time in which many Americans nervously discussed the dangers of declining birthrates, heavy European immigration, eugenics, and even race suicide, the image of a stronger woman was indeed very appealing to some observers (Stanley, 1996, p. 65).

Support for women's athletics grew socially following World War I. Like homemaking, consumerism and advertising provided additional impetus for women's athletics. Women were still encouraged to be healthy to produce healthy children, but the advertising on products encouraged women to be physically healthy and modern. Dollars spent on advertising increased from $1.4 billion in 1919 to nearly $3 billion in 1929. Advertisers promoted their wares as new and modern. In that light, the image of the sportswoman was actively promoted (Marchand, 1985, pp. xxi-6).

Even being modern and attractive, women could not escape the cultural push to remain in their appropriate roles. Stanley (1996) referred to an advertisement for the Laundry Association which ran in October 1929:

The Laundry Association ran advertisements urging women to send their laundry out. By doing so, they could save fifty-two laundry days. This time, the Association proclaimed, could better be invested "in the important business of keeping radiantly young and a real partner in your husband's happiness. For keeping young is a duty in this youthful era. (pp. 91-93)
Stanley cited numerous advertisements, primarily from *Ladies Home Journal*, which used women in sporting activities to promote multiple products including household products, automobiles, and beauty products. Marchand (1985) suggested that the sportswoman became the dominant cultural symbol of the post-World War I era pointing to the sportswoman as the liberated woman of the 1920s. A counter argument, however, came from Banner (1983). She suggested that the strong anti-feminist theme of the post-Progressive period permeated society including advertising. Beauty became not just a measure of healthful living, but instead a way to keep from losing one's husband to a younger rival (p. 207).

**Summary of Literature on Women's Education**

The literature review showed that higher education for women did not follow a steady course. The issue in the education of women became not whether women could be educated, but how best to educate them, who should educate them, and how to educate them cost effectively. College administrators also discovered tuition-paying women students as a resource for financially-stressed institutions. In an attempt to respond to these issues, three models of how to educate women developed, including separate private and exclusively women's colleges with women faculty members, annexes or coordinate colleges with existing men's colleges, and the coeducational colleges. Women's education remained
primarily within the women’s sphere through channeled fields of education.

**Lutheran Education**

**Lutheran Understanding of Education**

From its beginning under founder Martin Luther, Lutheranism emphasized the value of education. Luther's writings frequently dealt with the role of women in society, and he insisted on compulsory education for girls and boys. In Luther's "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" (1520, as cited in Green, 1979), he lamented that the convent schools had neglected the education of women, and he called on the German leaders to provide elementary and secondary schools. Luther also argued that girls as well as boys should learn history, classical and modern languages, literature, music, and mathematics (pp. 94-95). German immigrants to America continued the educational philosophy Luther developed in Germany and began schools as essential elements of their communities.

While Luther was not an educational reformer per se, he placed religious weight on the value of education. He abhorred the condition of the state schools in 16th century Germany, finding them woefully inadequate. In a letter to the mayors of German cities, Luther advocated for Christian education:

> The right instruction of youth is a matter in which Christ and all the world are concerned. . . . It is indeed a sin and shame that we must be aroused and
incited to the duty of educating our children and of considering their highest interests. . . . And what would it avail if we neglect that for which we chiefly live, namely, to care for the young? In my judgment, there is no other outward offense that in the sight of God so heavily burdens the world, and deserves such chastisement, as the neglect to educate children. (Green, 1979, p. xii)

Although Luther was a product of his times and adhered to the notion that the women's place was in the home, he also suggested that, "particularly intellectual women should be trained in the liberal arts and to consider careers as teachers" (Green, 1979, p. 97). Luther also believed that continuing the Reformation depended on well-educated church members who could read the Bible and study the precepts of the new church.

His [Luther's] sermon of 1530 "On Keeping Children in School" contains his rationale for the establishment of higher schools to supply pastors and teachers to lead a new generation and the civic leadership that would assure good and orderly government. (Solberg, 1985, p. 15)

Luther's educational philosophy focused on three spheres. The Lehrstand, teaching order, included those persons in the scholastic professions, notably teachers and pastors who were responsible for proclaiming the gospel. The Wehrstand was the legal order, whose members were maintained the public sector in an orderly manner. The Nuhrstand was the nurturing group that included women and girls. Women were ultimately responsible for the education of children and could thus also become professional teachers (Solberg, 1985,
Lutheran immigrants took Luther's perspective of education to America.

**Lutheran Immigration**

Lutheran immigration began as early as 1623 with a few traders. They were compelled to worship in the Dutch Reformed faith as there were no established Lutheran congregations. Lutherans from Sweden immigrated around 1628 but were absorbed into the Episcopal faith, again because they were not in large enough numbers to maintain Lutheran congregations. The first major wave of German Lutheran immigrants came in the mid-1700s and settled mostly in Pennsylvania. They were well-educated and moved to the United States because of religious persecution. They established Gettysburg Seminary in 1826 to train Lutheran clergy and Gettysburg College in 1832 (G. Grindal, personal communication, April 4, 1998).

The second wave of German immigration occurred in the mid-1800s because of economic depression and local civil unrest in Germany. The Iowa German Lutheran immigrants were part of this second wave of German immigration. Those settling in Iowa were farmers, as land was plentiful and relatively cheap (Banner, 1974, pp. 54-57). Germany's population had grown, and the subdivision of limited land could no longer support a family. From Germany emigration slowly gathered momentum in the 1830s, and in the decade after 1846 more than a million people left for the United States.
States. These immigrants were small farmers who moved to the Midwestern United States to continue farming. They represented both Roman Catholic and Lutheran by faith (Jones, 1976, pp. 120-124; Seller, 1981, pp. 15-20).

The German Lutherans, however, were not monolithic in their theology. In 1847 more conservative German Lutherans formed the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod devoted to evangelical Lutheranism. Missouri Synod Lutheran immigrants quickly established parochial schools to support their Lutheran theology and much of their German culture. "Missouri Synod Lutheranism emphasized the interdependence between German language and culture and reine Lehre [pure doctrine], requiring members to shun Americanism and promoting isolation and a defensive posture toward any religious group, including other Germans or Lutherans, who differed on theological or social issues" (Coburn, 1992, p. 60).

The other large segment of German Lutherans made up the American Lutheran Church from which the Iowa Synod and Wartburg College developed. These Lutherans, too, lived in the rural Midwest but did not shun American culture. As soon as a small congregation of Lutherans was established, the members began a school. They maintained their Lutheran faith and the German language in their worship services and parochial schools. Iowa Synod, unlike the Missouri Synod Lutherans, accepted "strangers" (non-Lutherans) into their
schools and became slowly influenced by the surrounding American culture (Bretscher, 1947, p. 11).

In Iowa, Germans were by far the most numerous immigrants of the 1800s. Many of the settlers moved from earlier homesites in the East, including Illinois, which may account for some German Lutherans' less hostile feelings toward American culture than the Missouri Synod Lutherans who tended to remain in a more closed and less mobile community.

Immigrant women's "education was shaped by their household duties" (Bretscher, 1947, p. 11). Cooking, cleaning, textile, arts, child care, and household management required reading, writing, mathematics, as well as history, language, literature, and music. Even the study of religion could open women to the world of ideas (p. 11).

German Lutheran patriarchy advocated the traditional roles of wife and mother in the family using scripture as support. Obligations to Lutheran traditions were also based on scriptures. Such a description was given by Erna Moehl of her German Lutheran family who lived in Illinois:

I lived in the country, the wide, flat prairies of central Illinois. In fact, the area was Flatville. My father was a minister who lived by the words of St. Paul spoken, or rather written, in Timothy: A clergy man must manage his own house well, keeping his children submissive and respectful in every way. There was no doubt about who ruled the roost--my father did. Perhaps he did this to a greater degree than other fathers because we lived, as it were, in a fish bowl. However, heavy fathers were the accepted thing in that day and age. Mother, fortunately, was gifted with a sense of humor, so that made life easier. (Personal communication, November 22, 1989)
Gjerde (1997, pp. 151-153) in his study of the ethnocultural evolution of the Middle West emphasized that the Midwestern farm family of the 19th century was built on authority and hierarchy and stressed the power and authority of the adult male as head of the household. Economic necessity guided the division of roles for family members, as all members worked to maintain the farm and home. Work for children was clearly defined by their ages and gender.

Lutheran family patriarchy extended to Lutheran schools in the concept of *locus parentis*. The school would act as "local parents" to keep Lutheran children safe from too many outside influences. Lutheran education historian, Richard Solberg noted, "Socially conservative Lutheran campuses had traditionally acknowledged their responsibility in *locus parentis*" (Solberg, 1985, p. 328).

Lutheran education in Iowa grew along with public education, which was brief and intermittently scattered. The first public school beyond eighth grade in Iowa was not established until 1856. A family's economic condition rather than grade advancement usually determined how long children remained in school. Maintaining a steady enrollment in rural schools, public or parochial, was problematic, and Wartburg, too, struggled to maintain student numbers in its earliest years (Sage, 1974, pp. 94-103; Schwieder, 1996, pp. 96-98).
Public education in the early 19th century was limited largely to elementary schools open to girls and boys. Communities began schools as soon as possible after settlement. Northfield, Minnesota, was a typical example. The first schoolhouse was dedicated only 11 months after Judge North arrived with his family to begin the settlement. "Before the town was two years old it had two hotels, two blacksmith shops, a schoolhouse, a reading room, and three organized churches" (Bretscher, 1947, p. 11).

Church education took the form of parochial schools, for the public schools did not teach religion. The parochial schools, which were coeducational, taught religion, language, and cultural instruction to preserve the immigrants' traditions. From its earliest establishment in America, the Lutheran Church educated boys and girls equally in elementary parochial schools. Beyond basic education, the Lutheran Church also established several junior colleges and colleges to train young men for the ministry or as teachers in the growing number of parochial schools. As the number of men going into teaching declined when more lucrative professions opened up, the Iowa Synod of the Lutheran Church faced a shortage of teachers.

Along with the rapidly changing American culture and the increased need for teachers in Lutheran schools was the economic necessity of maintaining a viable number of students in Lutheran colleges. These three factors ultimately
hastened coeducation in Lutheran educational institutions. Solberg (1985), a Lutheran education historian described the reasons for the declining enrollment in Lutheran schools: “The decline was caused by the maturation of the American public school system. . . . More and more congregations were providing religious education during the summer and sending their children to public schools during the regular school year” (p. 128).

German Lutheran schools helped immigrants maintain their strong religious and linguistic roots. Solberg (1985) noted the following:

English-speaking settlers who moved from the eastern seaboard states assumed political and cultural leadership in the newer western communities, while German and Scandinavian immigrants were being torn between safeguarding their European heritage and finding their place in a new and strange environment. (p. 52)

Nonetheless, Lutherans did become involved in the educational movement in America following public education trends, including the academy and higher education movements. These were common to nearly all American religious denominations. "Motives for their founding were similar to those of other denominations which placed high value on an educated clergy, and they also reflected common concerns for patriotism, Americanization, vocational and professional training, and community building" (Solberg, 1985, pp. 52-53).

The higher education/college movement exploded across the country, particularly in the western frontiers including
Iowa. Many institutions were private with religious ties. Between 1830 and 1860, 133 institutions of higher education were established, many were private and religious ties (Tewsbury, 1965, p. 16). "It was actually this proliferation of colleges, independently founded but professing some denominational identity, that brought church organizations into direct and responsible relationship with colleges" (p. 10).

"The prevailing trend in the relationship between churches and colleges of virtually all denominations after the middle of the 19th century, and even into the 20th century, was toward greater church involvement and control" (Solberg, 1985, p. 51). In several instances denominational pressure was used to induce a college to move, more than once in some instances, to a location more strategic for the denomination (p. 52).

Women in Lutheran Education

According to Lutheran education historian Solberg, "There was no overall climate that promoted Lutheran higher education for women, but rather individuals, both men and women" (R. Solberg, personal communication, March 30, 1998). Some of the early notable women in the Norwegian tradition were wives of Lutheran pastors and college presidents such as Elisabeth Koren of Luther College. These women from distinguished families were well-educated themselves. They frequently taught in the parochial schools. On the other
hand, German Lutheran immigrants, came from an educational tradition of herr schaft, a man's world. These German Lutheran immigrant women focused on education for woman from an attitude based on the traditional roles of wife and mother (Hayden, 1985; R. Solberg, personal communication, March 30, 1998).

Schweider (1996) noted:

Gender-specific work typically reached down to children. Daughters learned to keep house, sew, garden and can by working with their mothers. In 1880 Buchanan County (Iowa) woman Margaret Miller wrote in her diary that when it was time for spring cleaning, she and her daughters worked out the following arrangement: Margaret did the everyday work of churning, mopping, and baking, and her two daughters, Mary and Letta, did papering of walls and whitewashing of ceilings. (p. 140)

The setting of early Lutheran secondary and higher education in the Midwest was one of scattered schools serving rural Lutheran immigrant children. Students were few in the early years. They were mostly boarders, meaning that they lived on the school campus. They were young, coming to school often at age 12 to 14 and staying for three to four years. The assumption underlying Lutheran education was that school was a substitute parent, providing both moral and spiritual discipline so that the child would grow to be a responsible Christian adult and citizen (Hayden, 1984, p. 52).

Lutheran schools used the model of substitute parents to their recruiting advantage. An 1896 Pacific Lutheran
College Catalog boasted: "Parents can safely send their children to this school with the gratifying expectation, that they will be made better, more able and more really prepared to meet the stern realities of life, and also better armed against its temptations and danger" (Hayden, 1984, p. 43).

While women's education was not discouraged by the Lutheran Church, full acceptance and equality were not achieved automatically. Girls were first included at the elementary level, at the secondary level by the mid-1800s, and only later at the college level through coeducation. Curriculum also often differed from the men's as women were frequently channeled in "women's departments" and "women's subjects." This channeling was as much cultural as deliberate. Lutheranism did not oppose educating women, but the primary purpose for educating women was to support them in their roles of wives and mothers. Women sought professions, but these, too, were channeled into teacher training, commercial/clerical, and later nursing and social work.

Mere access to higher education by no means assured women of equal opportunities in the educational system. In coeducational institutions the curriculum, especially courses leading to the baccalaureate degree, remained under male domination. By far the largest number of women were attracted to the music departments and conservatories and to the normal departments offering one- or two-year courses.
preparing teachers for public elementary and secondary schools or for Lutheran parochial schools. Commercial courses in bookkeeping, accounting, and business skill blossomed, drawing female enrollments that in some cases enabled colleges to weather the economic conditions of the early 1890s (Solberg, 1985, p. 277).

The growth of collegiate education for women was a significant development in American higher education in the late 19th century. The number of academies and colleges specifically for women expanded. However, the greatest expansion occurred as an overwhelming majority of all institutions of higher learning became coeducational. Historian Rudolph stated that "by 1880, thirty percent admitted women, and seventy-one percent enrolled both men and women by 1900" (Rudolph, 1962, p. 322).

Even with the expansion of women's higher education, women do not readily appear in the histories of Lutheran schools, particularly in the German Lutheran tradition that lacked the early notable women who taught and published. The stories of Lutheran schools are institutional stories about the beginnings, changes, growth, and development. The records are also institutional ones of meetings, catalogs, reports, and resolutions. The people who emerged are the administrators, decision-makers, and church leaders while the women were invisible. However, without these women, Lutheran education would not have flourished.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

A case study research design was utilized for this inquiry. Case study research has been used extensively in social science research as well as practice-oriented fields such as education and social work. Educational researcher Robert Yin (1994) noted of case study research: "The method also is a frequent mode of thesis and dissertation research in all of these disciplines and fields" (p. xiii).

This type of research has sought to understand the case in all of its complexity and uniqueness. Merriam (1998) in her book on research stated, "As a product of investigation, a case study is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit" (p. 34). This description framed the design of the study of early women faculty of Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College since the case study design in education can include historical elements as well. Case study researchers used both primary and secondary sources to describe institutions, programs, and practices as they have evolved over time (Merriam, 1998, p. 35).

In a qualitative research design, data collection has occurred through interviews, observation, and/or document analysis (Yegidis, Weinbach, & Morrison-Rodriguez, 1999). Yin (1994) noted that case studies have utilized multiple
sources of evidence. He cited the following six sources and their attributes, several of which are used in the typical case study:

Documentation: stable, unobtrusive, broad coverage.
Archival Records: precise and quantitative.
Interviews: targeted and insightful.
Direct Observations: reality and contextual.
Participant Observation: reality and contextual.
Physical Artifacts: insightful into cultural features and technical operations. (p. 80)

Because of the historical nature of this study, three of these six sources were used:

1. Documents as secondary sources: Histories, immigration, Lutheran educational history.

2. Archival records as primary sources: Wartburg records, letters, and presidential papers.

3. Interviews of former faculty and students as primary sources and interviews with historians and archivists as secondary sources.

Stake (1995) further described case study research as the investigation of problems or issues as the conceptual structure. He wrote of issues, "The researcher takes a close look at the problems, sometimes called issues, because issues are good windows for examining the conditions, the complexity, and the coping behavior of the case" (p. 127).

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) also recommended the use of issues a documented themes and as the focus of a study. "The issues are matters for study regarding the specific case. Issues

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used to organize the study may or may not be the ones used to report the case to others" (pp. 92-93).

**Data Sources**

This study of the women faculty of Wartburg is based on primary sources and secondary sources.

**Primary Sources**

1. Archival sources: the major source of primary documents came from the several thousand documents housed in the Wartburg College Archives.

   - Alumni Letters
   - Board of Directors' Records
   - Board of Regents' Minutes
   - Board of Visitors' Reports
   - Deans' Reports
   - Executive Committee Minutes
   - Faculty Council Minutes
   - Faculty Minutes
   - Letters
   - Quo-Warranto Proceedings of District Court
   - Board of Education Reports
   - Land and Deed Records
   - Inventories
   - Building Blueprints
   - Accounting Ledgers
   - Salary Schedules
   - Scrapbooks
   - Pictures
   - Graduation and Musical Programs
   - Presidential Papers
   - College Advertisements
   - Wartburg Hall Directors Report
   - Iowa Synod Meeting Minutes in the 1800s (this was the administrative body for all Synod schools).

   All records were in excellent condition, and many were handwritten in German. Assistance in translating the German
records was provided by the Marianne Beck, Wartburg archivist. There were also 50 scrapbooks of various materials saved by numerous individuals, most of whom were alumni. All data from the earliest records of the 1800s through 1945 were examined.

Newsletters, presidential papers, and some board minutes (both in German and English) were bound in volumes according to dates. Most of the documents were kept in loose files in file cabinets in the Wartburg Library Archives. A few were in boxes in the attic storage areas above Newmann Auditorium. Alumni records were maintained in the Alumni Office and in the Registrar's Offices in Luther Hall.

Early College personnel failed to keep records of all Wartburg events and decisions. For example, no personnel or specific curriculum records were kept until the 1950s. Most of this type of data was gathered from hours of searching multiple archival records such as yearbooks, board and faculty minutes, news releases, and presidential reports. Additional data related to Wartburg had to be gathered from church and public records. Many of the newspapers were microfilmed, but not catalogued, necessitating a page-by-page search.

2. Interviews: Twenty-two interviews in total were conducted. A breakdown of categories is given followed by details of each category.
Nine with former Wartburg students
Hilda Christopel, March 12, 1992
Merle Culbertson, April 3, 1992
Erna Moehl, November 22, 1989
Eldora Flugga, April 7, 1992
Gerhard Ottersberg, June 25, 1991
Frieda Ottersberg, January 18, 1992
Helene Ottersberg, January 18, 1992
Glen Woodrich, April 13, 1992
Marie Woodrich, April 13, 1992
Five with former Wartburg faculty
Anne Marie Schoenhohm Boat, April 9, 1992
Evelyn Chellevold (spouse) April 12, 1992
Floyd Culbertson, April 3, 1992
Erna Moehl, November 22, 1989
Gerhard Ottersberg, December 1, & 29, 1991
Five with archivists
Two with Lutheran historians
One with a German Lutheran historian

Nine personal interviews conducted with former students provided factual information, stories, and reminiscences from their first-hand experiences at Wartburg. Interviews ranged in length from one to three hours with most lasting approximately an hour and one-half. Interviewees shared how women faculty impacted campus life and what they remembered about these women and their classes.
Five former faculty members, three women and two men who taught at Wartburg in the 1930s and 1940s, were also interviewed. One female faculty member taught home economics from 1935-1936. The other two women faculty taught at Wartburg for many years beginning in 1946. One male faculty had taught in the commercial department in the 1930s and provided details of that program. The other male faculty member, Dr. Gerhard Ottersberg, was a student and a faculty member at Wartburg from the 1930s through the 1950s. Ottersberg was a history professor and chronicler of Wartburg history.

Additional interviews were with five archivists from: Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa; Luther College, Decorah, Iowa; St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota; the Iowa Synod, Dubuque, Iowa; and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Chicago, Illinois. Luther and St. Olaf colleges were chosen because they are sister colleges to Wartburg, similar in development. They also provided secondary data related to the context of Lutheran higher education in the Midwest.

Two prominent Lutheran educational historians--Dr. Richard Solberg from Thousand Oaks, California (March 30, 1998), and Professor Gracia Grindal, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota (April 10, 1998)--were interviewed for background and context on the development of Lutheran higher
education in America. A final interview was conducted on June 15, 1997 with Dr. Horst Becker, German Lutheran historian and former director, Evangelical Lutheran Diakonieserk, Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, Germany. He provided information on Wartburg’s founder, Wilhelm Lohe, and Lohe’s development of the Deaconess program, an early Lutheran educational program for women.

3. Physical Buildings (Locality): Buildings on the Wartburg campus were an important component of this study. With coeducation came the need to build a women’s dormitory. The first home economics department was housed in this building. Additionally, women faculty were frequently required to serve as housemothers for women students. When extra housing was required for students, women faculty were moved from their Wartburg house to community boarding homes.

Secondary Sources

Secondary data for this study were obtained from books, textbooks, newspapers, unpublished dissertations and theses, and Wartburg documents. Secondary sources include the following:

1. Newspapers

   Clarksville Star
   Clinton Herald
   Des Moines Register
   Des Moines Tribune
Sumner Gazette
Waverly Democrat
Waverly Independent
Waverly Republican
West Union Gazette

2. Unpublished dissertations and theses
3. Textbooks dating from 1900 to 1950
4. Published volumes on the development of education in the U.S. Lutheran education, social history, women's history, and immigration.
5. Letters of reply to queries.

Seven letters were sent to editors of various hometown newspapers of former faculty members requesting information about women faculty. Two useable responses were received.

**Treatment of the Primary Documents**

Lincoln and Guba (1985), stated that documents and records should be used more often in research for the following reasons:

1. They are almost always available.
2. They are a stable source of information, both in the sense that they may accurately reflect situations that occurred at some time in the past and can be analyzed and realized without undergoing changes in the interim.
3. They are a rich source of information, contextually relevant and grounded in the contexts they represent.
4. They are often legally unassailable, representing in the case of records, formal statements that satisfy some accountability requirement.
5. They are, unlike human respondents, nonreactive. (p. 277)
A systematic search of all documents and records available was conducted. Thousands of documents were reviewed. Documents were chosen for content analysis and categorized based on their relevance following six issues:

1. Economic crises at Wartburg
2. Inclusion of women faculty members including credentials and salaries
3. Curriculum taught by the women faculty
4. Administrative action related to women faculty
5. Campus roles and activities of women faculty
6. Locality

Content analysis and categorization of documents has a legitimate use in qualitative research. Merriam (1998) suggested that the researcher is initially guided by categories (issues), while allowing for issues to emerge during the study. The researcher looks for insights, and this analysis serves as communication between the author of the document and the researcher (p. 160). Merriam stated, "The process involves the simultaneous coding of raw data and the construction of categories that capture relevant characteristics of the document's content" (p. 160).

**Interview Procedures**

Information from interviews conducted was recorded in field notes. This researcher is a licensed social worker who has conducted hundreds of oral histories and taught college students how to conduct oral histories. In their discussion
of research methods, Yegidis et al. (1999) said of interviews:

Interviews (an important component of most qualitative studies) generally tend to be less structured and standardized in qualitative research than in quantitative research. Often, what the researcher learns in conducting one interview results in adaptations for the next. Hypotheses generally are not formulated beforehand. (pp. 17-18)

Interviews for this study were loosely structured asking each interviewee to tell when she or he attended Wartburg, to describe classes and faculty members, and to describe campus life as she or he remembered it. From these general subjects, this researcher probed more specifically for details and personal feelings regarding specific issues. Field notes were taken during the interviews. All interviewees signed a release to allow for the interview and use of their names and discussions for this study. As a professional social worker and bound by the Social Work Code of Ethics, this researcher did not use any information which an interviewee asked to remain confidential.

From collected notes of all interviews, idiographic themes were identified. According to Lincoln and Guba (1998), case studies rely on idiographic interpretation which "makes sense for that context at that time. Idiographic interpretation also implies understanding in a very holistic way. . ." (p. 216). Lincoln and Guba continued to support the value of idiographic interpretation: "If some other purpose is postulated (other than scientific prediction and
control} as, for example, verstehen (understanding, or meaning experienced in situations), then the idiographic position becomes not only tenable but mandatory" (p. 216).

**Data Analysis**

Data were identified, categorized, and analyzed under specific issues. The following issues were found: Economic crises at Wartburg, hiring and inclusion of women faculty, curriculum taught by women faculty, administrative actions, and campus roles and activities of women faculty.

**Limitations**

Four research limitations developed during this study.

1. All former students and faculty interviewed were in their 80s or 90s and were asked to remember events 60 to 70 years ago. They remembered a surprising amount of information as this researcher probed for details based on their initial generalized responses. However, it is possible that recollections of the former students and faculty may not be totally accurate. Yet they provided a rich context of life at Wartburg during those years and insight into the impact women faculty members had on campus life and their personal lives.

2. Of the over 2,500 students who have attended Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College from 1914 to 1945. Nine former students were interviewed who attended at Wartburg during that time. These interviews were a
relatively small sample of all students and may not totally represent the majority of students.

3. Little biographical or personal information was available on the women faculty. Until the mid-1950s, personnel records were the property of the College dean or president and left with the administrator when he left the College.

4. A Wartburg historian also only found fragmented data and little biographical information. In his search, he found little additional data to add to this document or to refute the conclusions.

Archival records were replete with administrative activities and writings of the presidents about these women and how they came to Wartburg and their actions while employed there. The women faculty themselves left few writings or publications of their work and lives at Wartburg. This case study of early women faculty at Wartburg was painstakingly developed from the many primary documents, much like piecing together a puzzle.
CHAPTER 4
HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS
Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College

An understanding of the historical context of women and education is essential in understanding how women came to become faculty members at Wartburg College and the effect they eventually had on the College's development. Several trends in American education and events specific to the Lutheran Church and Wartburg influenced the hiring of women faculty. The historical development of the College spans from 1852 to the establishment of a four-year liberal arts college in Waverly in 1935. During that era, America moved from the Civil War, through the Progressive Era, World War I, and the Great Depression. Each era impacted the roles of women and their education.

Trends in women's education included the development of private women's colleges, coordinate colleges, and coeducation. At the same time, Wartburg College was struggling as well with the education of women and use of women faculty by considering a private women's school, a coordinate system, and eventually coeducation. Wartburg also followed the national educational trends in developing of secondary education through an academy, a junior college, and eventually a four-year college. Other factors more specifically related to the Lutheran Church and German Lutheran immigration also influenced the inclusion of women
and Wartburg's development. These factors included serving Lutheran immigrants, training clergy and teachers, maintaining fiscal viability of the schools, and to some degree, responding to the wave of evangelism.

Wartburg served the growing number of German Lutheran immigrants. The hard work of farming was important to immigrants' survival. Survival for these immigrant families was directly linked to work. All family members, including women and children shared the burden of farm labor equally (Seller, 1981, pp. 83-84). Children were needed on the farm and could not be easily given up for much schooling, particularly for the long study for the ministry that the Lutheran Church (Ottersberg, n.d., p. 6). One Iowa Synod president complained in 1886 of the poor state of Lutheran education in Iowa, "Poor attendance, lack of adequate materials, in some instances lack of necessary diligence and zeal, are some of the principal reasons why so little is accomplished" (Beck, 1939a, p. 124).

In fact, Iowa students did well to attend public or parochial school, as travel over rural roads in bad weather presented an additional barrier. Erna Moehl described just such a problem when she was a child. "The roads became about three feet deep in winter, and the nearest school of any merit was ten miles away" (personal communication, November 22, 1989).
The poor quality of rural education in Iowa in the 1800s was problematic because most Iowa children began and ended their education in country schools. Public school education in Iowa in the 1800s was frequently a rural one-room school house with a minimally trained teacher (Fuller, 1982, pp. 72-78).

Even so, Iowa suffered from a shortage of teachers for four reasons cited by Johnson (1980, Winter):

a. the rapid turnover of teachers;
b. loose certification standards which permitted and even encouraged licensing incompetent and unfit persons;
c. the state's failure to provide adequate facilities to prepare teachers; and
d. low wages. (p. 75)

Lutheran education and schools like Wartburg also developed partly in response to a wave of evangelism in America in the 1800s. Religion dominated many American families, and, as Polakoff (1976) noted, "Most Protestant denominations participated in this flowering of enthusiasm, but Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians were especially active" (p. 299). Protestant evangelism also sought to "Americanize" the immigrant populations. Americanize meant the use of English as the dominant language and adherence to American customs and culture (pp. 299-301).

Although the Iowa Synod Lutherans may have been open to Americanization, they nonetheless saw the aggressive evangelism of other Protestant groups as a threat. One of
the first missions of Wartburg was to train Lutheran clergy to teach and to serve as missionaries.

In the model "Constitution for Congregations" adopted by the Iowa Synod in 1862, one article read:

We acknowledge it to be our sacred Christian duty to educate our children for the Evangelical Lutheran Church and to this end send them to a school conducted in a religious spirit. As long as our congregation is not in a position to support a separate teacher, our pastor shall with willing love undertake to supply the necessary instruction in the school. (Beck, 1939b, pp. 122-124)

However, religion alone did not seem to be a strong influence on educational choices, attainment, or social mobility. Friedberger (1976) studied the education and social structure of early 20th century Iowa and did not find a significant correlation between a strong religious background and socio-economic advancement related to educational level. He concluded, "Religion, on the other hand, had little effect upon income distribution, with or without controls" (pp. 12-13). The strongest indicator of high educational level and socio-economic advancement stemmed more from a high status background not a religious background, which in turn permitted high educational attainment and high socio-economic status (Friedberger, 1976; cf. Jenks, 1972, p. 227).

It seemed logical for Lutherans to develop their own educational system given their circumstances in 1800s Iowa. The Iowa Lutheran congregations needed clergy to serve as
pastors and as teachers. At this time, pastors also served as teachers since most congregations eventually established a parochial elementary school. In the 1800s, Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau in Bavaria read with interest in the German press about the need for pastor/teachers in America, particularly in the Midwest (Lutz, 1985, p. 126; Ottersberg, 1940, pp. 5-10; Solberg, 1985, pp. 122-123). Solberg (1985) wrote in *Lutheran Education in North America*: "Fired by the idea of sending young men to America as church workers, Loehe began to solicit support for such a program through the spoken word and through the columns of a newspaper edited by a neighbor pastor" (p. 123).

Long-term implications of this change in control were that the Iowa Synod would make the final decision on Wartburg becoming coeducational and hiring women faculty.

**Early Wartburg Years: A College on the Move**

Wartburg College began as an all-male institution to meet the needs of burgeoning German Lutheran immigration by providing clergy to the settlers and missionaries to the Indians of the Midwest. In April 1852, Loehe sent Georg Martin Grossmann, a German-trained pastor, along with five students to Saginaw, Michigan. They began a school to train pastor/teachers for the German immigrant community. As Lutz (1985) described, "Thus began the school that after multiple relocations and internal reorganization would eventually emerge as Wartburg College" (p. 126). (See Appendix A.)
Early Wartburg initially adopted the German "gymnasium" educational system that included preparatory education analogous to American secondary school and beginning college levels. Synodical leaders hoped eventually through their influence to develop a classical curriculum for the school (Ottersberg, n.d., p. 1; Ottersberg, 1983, p. 5). Ottersberg (1952), in *Wartburg College, 1852-1952*, described the following curriculum in the 1850s: "Curricular offerings at this time included Biblical history, catechism, Latin, Greek, German, geography, arithmetic, writing, rhetoric, singing, and piano. All students delivered before the ministerium . . . public oral examinations" (p. 23).

A doctrinal dispute over ministry arose between Grossmann and the pastors in the Saginaw area, so Grossmann the school to Dubuque, Iowa, in October 1853. Iowa had just received statehood and was considered the beginning to the West. The school concentrated on secondary and theological instruction to prepare young men for the ministry. Financial problems were a constant concern for the fledgling Wartburg. The synod felt that costs would be lower if the school were moved to a rural location. From its location in Dubuque, Iowa, the Iowa Synod moved the school moved to a farm near St. Sebald in northeast Iowa, to a parish which had agreed to supply food and firewood to reduce the school's operational expenses (Wickey, 1962, p. 42).
So on October 31, 1857, the school moved to St. Sebald in northeast Iowa. Ottersberg (1952) wrote, "Up to this point the school had not been named, but now that a name was desirable in the open country, the name Wartburg was chosen after the castle in Thuringia" (p. 24).

During the national economic recession of mid-1800s neither St. Sebald nor the Iowa Synod could meet Wartburg's expenses. Only a fundraising visit to Germany and the Baltic provinces of Russia by then president Sigmund Fritschel saved the school (Solberg, 1985, p. 126).

However, the economic recession decreased, German immigration increased, and the Iowa Synod grew in numbers which provided increased enrollment for the school. Wartburg outgrew its facilities in St. Sebald. As a result, an energetic Iowa Synod pastor, John Klindworth, who served a flourishing congregation in Galena, Illinois, in 1886, offered a brick building at a bargain price to the Synod. The synod resolved to move the College portion to Galena. This move provided the College an independent existence from the theological seminary which remained in St. Sebald and retained the name Wartburg. The Synod intended to operate a six-year gymnasium, called Das Collegium, at Galena, but enrollments remained too low to sustain an extended curriculum. Das Collegium was more like an academy with an additional two years of college (Ottersberg, 1952, pp. 20-25; Solberg, 1985, p. 126).
Although the Iowa Synod continued to grow, congregations had difficulty supporting two institutions financially and with students—the College in Galena and the seminary which had been moved to Mendota, Minnesota. The Synod convention seriously considered closing the College in 1871, but instead moved it to Mendota to join with the seminary almost as an afterthought. The Synod and theological seminary shared some degree of prosperity, and the Synod focused its on the seminary. As long as support continued to be supplied from Germany for the College, it received little Synodical attention. The College continued to function at Mendota during the 1880s, but according to historian Ottersberg, "that is about all that can be said" (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 41; Solberg, 1985, pp. 126-127).

By 1879, the Synod recognized the need for a teacher-training institution and took the steps to restore the original educational focus of Wartburg College on teacher preparation. Attempts in the 1860s to establish a normal school failed because of the lack of financial resources. But in 1878 an orphanage in Andrew, Iowa, donated one of its buildings for a teacher training school. Synod president Grossmann personally went to Andrew, and the following year, the College was moved from Mendota to Waverly. Waverly citizens pledged $4,000 toward the construction of a new building. The Waverly facility now housed the College and the teacher training Academy (Solberg, 1985, p. 127).
During the mid to late 1800s, Wartburg College flourished with increasing numbers of students. However, the Academy struggled with declining enrollment and income due in part to the growth of public high schools in Iowa. Public schools posed direct competition for students with the Lutheran parochial schools. The growth of public education in Iowa began with the School Act of 1858, sometimes called the Free School Act. The act established that property taxes be assessed to support public education, and authorized one high school in each county, along with a state superintendent of public instruction and superintendent of education for each county. By 1866, a town or village of 200 people could organize its own school. Public schools proliferated, and by 1870, the federal census revealed that Iowa had the nation's highest literacy rate (Johnson, 1979, pp. 91-93; Petersen, p. 370).

More congregations were therefore providing religious education during the summer and sending their children to public schools during the regular school year. Many pastors felt that the college at Waverly was crippling the teachers' seminary [academy] and that the synod should make stronger efforts to preserve the parish school system. Consequently, when a seemingly attractive offer was made in 1893 to provide a campus and a building for the college in Clinton, Iowa, the proposal to separate institutions and move the college to Clinton received general support. (Solberg, p. 128)

The College moved to Clinton while the Academy remained in Waverly, both of which were called Wartburg.

Declining enrollment also produced ongoing financial difficulties for the school. Wartburg Academy administrators
saw one way to bolster sagging enrollment was to supplement the teacher training program with courses in business and music, so called "community-service" courses. These were also called "academy courses" to distinguish them from the regular teachers curriculum. Solberg (1985) explained, "The process extended well into the 20th century and eventually developed into a two-year junior college primarily adapted to teacher education. Its beginning marked the first step in the adaptation of Iowa Synod schools to the American educational system" (pp. 128-129).

Wartburg Academy was organized into various departments. The main departments were general education (high school), the normal department for teacher training, a business department established in 1907, and a music department established in 1922. The normal (teacher training) department remained one of the major programs. With less need for parochial school teachers, teachers who graduated from the normal department were in demand for public school teaching (Wartburg Catalogs, 1900-1912). Ottersberg (1952) expanded, "By 1912, keeping with national trends, almost all of the students in the normal department were women" (p. 54).

Since the Academy was also established to meet the needs of the local Waverly community, it developed the popular business course in 1907. Along with the normal course, the business course was predominately female, both
students and faculty. The business course was designed as a two-year program, but students often completed it in one year. Throughout the 1920s, the business department remained the largest department in the Academy reaching a peak enrollment of 70 students by 1920. Most of the students were Waverly area women who became secretaries upon graduation.

The music department was also established primarily for local appeal. While the music department served the entire student body, most of its students were local school children who took lessons at the school.

School records listed these local, part-time students in the business and music departments along with the regular full-time Academy students. Many of the students were listed in school records more than once, showing up in various departments. These local part-time students, mostly female, provided additional economic support to the financially strapped school. Additionally, listing both part-time and full-time students together gave the school the appearance of being bigger than it really was. These inflated student numbers would be presented later in Waverly's appeal to the synod to move the four-year college from Clinton to Waverly in 1935 (Ottersberg, personal communication, June 25, 1991; Wartburg Catalog, 1920).

Even though the Academy was diversified as far as programming, normal training remained one of the major purposes of the school. Standards for teacher preparation
education continued to rise nationally and in Iowa. An academy (high school) degree was no longer sufficient to meet state standards for teaching. Wartburg Academy administrators petitioned the Iowa Synod requesting permission to establish a normal school (junior college) designed for teacher training. Synodical permission was received, and in 1920, the normal school began in Waverly, adopting the name Wartburg Normal College (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 52). Wartburg Normal College was accredited by the Iowa State Board of Examiners as a recognized teacher-training institution in 1925 and by the Intercollegiate Standing Committee in 1927 (Ottersberg, n.d., pp. 20-21; Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, 1925 and 1927; Wartburg Catalog, 1926).

Development of One Coeducational Wartburg College

The direction of the College's development was impacted by an additional factor beyond educational trends, clergy and teacher shortages, and financial crises--the merger of three Lutheran synods. In 1930, the Iowa Synod (of which Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College were a part), Ohio Synod, and Buffalo Synod merged to form the American Lutheran Church. The new Church faced the financial burden of maintaining a multitude of schools, many of which were quite small. The newly formed Board of Education of the American Lutheran Church was to prepare a report for the 1930 church convention on the educational institutions including a

Prior to the 1930 Lutheran Church's merger, the Iowa Synod struggled with budget constraints and considered consolidating its schools. Under the circumstances, consolidation of the competing Wartburg institutions in Waverly and Clinton, which would reduce both the number of both faculty members and facilities, seemed the logical choice. Deciding where to locate the College created intense verbal and written arguments between the two institutions, which continued in floor debates during the synodical conventions (Ottersberg, n.d., pp. 22-25). The location issue affected the focus of the institution that directly impacted women's education. In other words, would the College focus on all-male pre-seminary training or focus on teacher training and other fields of study with predominately female students and faculty?

The Iowa Synod's Board of Education members examined reports from both institutions, but could not agree on advising an institutional merger of the Waverly and Clinton schools. The board eventually agreed to recommend establishing a standard liberal arts college in Clinton. The 1928 Iowa synodical convention attendees postponed any more major decisions and resolved to:

1. establish a standard four-year college
2. refer the location issue, and its relation to a synodical merger . . . to a special committee which was

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to consult expert advice and present definite recommendations for the convention's next session
3. permit both schools to continue to develop internally in compliance with previous planning, but prohibit construction of new buildings. (Ottersberg, n.d., pp. 22-25)

The Synodical convention's next session, in 1929, also failed to resolve the institutional reorganization issue. After lengthy and heated debate, the convention declared that the status of its educational institutions would not be changed at that time. The school at Waverly would remain a normal college. The school at Clinton would remain a three-year college, except that it would take strides toward becoming a standard four-year college. The Iowa Synod's decision not to take any definite action at that time left the matter far from settled. Both campuses waged intense campaigns (Ottersberg, n.d., p. 24). Wartburg records use the term "propaganda" to describe recruitment and promotion efforts on behalf of the school.

However, as the Great Depression grew more serious each year, the Lutheran Church's income diminished. Church schools experienced declining enrollments and increasing unpaid student fees because students, both male and female, had to work to help support their families (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 76).

Lutheran school boards of directors grappled with the dilemma of raising tuition at the risk of losing students, yet somehow finding enough funds to pay staff and faculty
salaries to maintain acceptable academic standards. One Wartburg board member lamented: "The board grapples most desperately for a long time without breaking the stranglehold; no funds. Fatigued and depressed . . . a Gordian knot which the board vainly endeavors to untie" (Ottersberg, n.d., p. 62; Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, April 15, 1931).

The impasse was broken in 1930 when Synodical convention members voted to focus the Church's attention on strengthening the four-year college at Clinton and to close the academy and normal college in Waverly at the end of the 1932-1933 school year. The November 22, 1932, minutes of the Board of Directors of Wartburg Academy and Normal College in Waverly recorded the directors' reaction to the Church's choice of Clinton.

The Board receives the verdict of the church with calm self-possession and dignity such as becomes regents of a great and noble school. Naturally, this resolution is far reaching in its consequences, and which practically seals the doom of our school, provokes a long and earnest discussion. (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, November 22, 1932)

The ensuing discussion reflected the actual deep bitterness of the Waverly directors concerning the news of closing of the Academy and relocating the Junior College to Clinton.

The Director explains that the recent shrinkage of enrollment is largely due to the unfair propaganda waved by Clinton against Waverly prior to the convention at Fond du Lac, and this in violation of what was understood to be a gentleman's agreement which
obligated both interested parties to refrain from any propaganda that might harm the chances of the sister institution. Waverly scrupulously abided by the terms laid down, but Clinton carried on a ruthless campaign, much of it along the lines of Loyola's Principle: the end justifies the means. The Board regrets that the sister institution saw fit to resort to a practice so unlutheran. Possibly the apprehension the church might vote her a more comfortable and more magnificent home in Waverly, may have made her desperate. What if Wartburg Normal should go down to defeat, so long as she comes out of the struggle with her shield of honor un tarnished? Later when the smoke of battle has cleared away Wartburg Normal's past, splendid record and the history of her behavior in her struggle for existence may yet, perhaps too late, convince the unbiased observer, that she, after all, was the fittest to survive. (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, November 22, 1932)

The Church encouraged students to transfer to the College in Clinton, but no female students and only three male students transferred from Waverly to Clinton. Hard feelings between students and supporters of both institutions remained. The Clinton curriculum afforded only limited opportunities for women students, and thus, women faculty. The merged Wartburg College began its first academic year in Clinton in September 1933 (Ottersberg, 1952, pp. 76-77).

Waverly's Wartburg alumni, both men and women, called for the Synod to reconsider its decision to combine the schools at Clinton. Alumni and citizens of Waverly encouraged Church leaders to hold the next synodical convention in Waverly. Dr. Gerhard Ottersberg, a member of the Wartburg faculty at that time, described what transpired:

The Waverly citizens banded together to repaint and refurbish all the buildings on the Waverly campus. College officials and Waverly citizens invited
convention delegates to stay in campus buildings during the convention. In their rebid for the College, the Waverly directors cited the inflated Waverly student numbers, which included the many girls from the community who studied at the school part-time, to show the stability of the College. They also claimed to have much better facilities than did the Clinton campus. (Ottersberg, personal communication, December 29, 1991)

Waverly's progressive and persistent attitude prevailed, and convention delegates concurred with the plea to return the College to Waverly. Wartburg College returned permanently to Waverly in 1935 (Wickey, 1962, p. 57).

Wartburg College began classes in Waverly in September 1935 with 188 students and 24 faculty members, 21 from the Clinton campus and three from the Waverly campus. The school gained North Central accreditation as a liberal arts college in 1948 (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 79).

The predominately "female" courses from both institutions continued including the two-year elementary teacher training course previously offered both at Waverly and at Clinton. The music course from Clinton and the short business course from Waverly were also retained. Boards of Directors had been established for both schools since their beginnings, but until the merger, the Iowa Synod made all the major educational decisions. After the merger, board members from both schools made up the new board and were granted enhanced authority over the school. The merger brought with it many organizational changes which would ultimately affect the students and faculty, both male and female (Ottersberg,
Wartburg Consideration of Female Students and Faculty

The first attempt at coeducation occurred at Wartburg College in Clinton in 1898. To broaden the scope of the College and to provide additional tuition revenues, College President Kraushaar then proposed to the Iowa Synod that Wartburg College become coeducational. An additional incentive to his interest in coeducation was that his daughter and another girl had taken some academic courses at the school and wished to continue their education (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 66; Ottersberg, personal communication, December 1, 1991).

Kraushaar discussed the positives and the dangers of coeducation in several issues of the school newspaper, *Kirchenblatt*. He alluded to some possible dangers, citing material from an 1873 book about coeducation called *Sex in Education* by Dr. E. Clarke of Boston.

Wartburg President Kraushaar wrote several articles for the school paper that reflected the changes in society at that time. In one article in the January 15, 1898, edition of *Kirchenblatt*, Kraushaar reflected on Clarke's views:

The assertion that women don't have the same tasks as men and therefore should not have the same education may have previously been justified when the sphere of activity of a woman did not extend beyond the care of husband and children and various other relatives. But times have changed. In present-day society, many women have to care for themselves and even make a living for
the family. Would it not be unjust of those whom circumstances compel to work are denied the weapons with which men successfully wage the war of existence, namely knowledge, and education? Some opponents of coeducation concede the injustices in education for women in comparison with men, but demand that, because of physical and spiritual differences, they learn in different schools. But is this difference really so great as to require different schools? If the rose and the lily receive their own special care from the horticulturist, with equal amounts of air, sun, and rain, they bloom in the same garden. All unlike plants are nourished in the same ground, and each takes in the necessary material that it needs for the growth of its cells. (pp. 15-16)

Kraushaar included a spiritual focus in his article as well. His idea of "nurturing" students alludes to the Lutheran education responsibility of locus parenti that included spiritual nurture.

Kraushaar ended his writings, however, by clearly asking the Synod to favorably consider coeducation for Wartburg College. He wrote in Kirchenblatt in March 1898:

At the moment there is lacking among our means of education a college for young women. But still we can't consider this educational question as not existing for us. The teacher's seminary in Waverly already has introduced coeducation in its academy. Practical considerations point towards also making such an experiment in college. (pp. 15-16)

In a follow-up article on coeducation in the March 26, 1898, Kirchenblatt, Kraushaar reiterated his spiritual focus, but added economic goals were couched as loftier religious or social goals. He wrote: "It is in every individual case a matter of survival. What should we do? In our congregations, too, there are parents who wish to let their
daughters study. Under current conditions, they perhaps send their children to a nearby Methodist college" (pp. 87-88).

The economic impact of coeducation for the College in Clinton was obviously not lost on Kraushaar. If women were going to be educated, they might as well be educated in Lutheran colleges rather than in public or, even worse in Kraushaar's appeal, other religious schools. Women's historian, Coburn noted the extensive pressure on parents in the local parish to send their children to Lutheran school. Coburn (1962) wrote, "The minutes from early voter's meetings reveal pleas and warnings by early pastors urging reluctant or uninterested parents to take better care of their children's spiritual and educational welfare by sending them to a parochial school" (p. 63).

Kraushaar's proposal for coeducation at Wartburg College formally came before the Iowa Synod later in 1889, but the Synod felt no pressure to deal with the coeducation issue and did not approve coeducation for Wartburg College.

Because of the Iowa Synod's reluctance to consider coeducation, the College developed a version of the coordinate college to meet the needs of local female students, including Kraushaar's daughter. With his initial request denied by the Synod, Kraushaar hired a woman teacher who provided "room and board in her home in the vicinity of the College for girls who would enroll in its classes" (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 66). No record can be found regarding
how many students attended this annex school, who the teacher was, or how long it lasted. School and synodical directors focused their attention instead on the mounting debt of the College and did not see coeducation as related to the school's economic well-being (Ottersberg, 1983, p. 27; Ottersberg, 1952, p. 67). Consequently, women students and faculty members were not included at Wartburg College in Clinton until 1928.

During these early years, the Iowa Synod and Wartburg, struggled with the issue of how to educate women and for what purpose and discussed developing a girls' school with a female teacher. In May 1857, the Iowa Synod called a second teacher for Wartburg, Gottfried Fritschel, who had just completed his theological training in Neuendettelsau. Fritschel was so enthusiastic about the prospects of Lutheran education in America, he proposed that a school for girls be established in Dubuque. "If a suitable woman could be sent over, she should readily be able to find a position there, and after gaining experience, to open a school for girls of her own under synodical auspices" (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 22).

Deaconesses were already serving in the Iowa Synod by 1857 when Fritschel made his proposal. A trained deaconess would have made an ideal teacher and first female faculty member for Fritschel's proposed girls' school. While records do not indicate whether any interest in a female faculty
position was shown, no girls' school was established at that time.

A second attempt to include women students and faculty at Wartburg occurred in 1864 to encourage women to become teachers in the parochial elementary schools. The Iowa Synod recommended that pastors select capable girls in their congregations and "give them private training to enable them to take charge of schools in smaller congregations" (Ottersberg, 1940, p. 371). The Synod also encouraged congregational interest in a proposed teachers' seminary, which "was to be located in the congregation making the best offer" (Ottersberg, 1940, pp. 370-375). Apparently no congregation accepted that offer.

The positive and negative discussion of coeducation continued, along with the growing need for parochial school teachers in the Iowa Lutheran schools. The extensive Lutheran parochial school system employed women as teachers, but they had little professional education. Until the turn of the century, academy (secondary) education was all that was needed to teach elementary school. The need for more teachers was met by accepting women as students in 1896 at Wartburg Academy in Waverly rather than at the College in Clinton. As teacher training increased in 1907, the synod established a teacher training program, or a normal department within Wartburg Academy and finally a normal
school at Wartburg in Waverly similar to a junior college in 1920 (Bretscher, 1947, p. 145).

Financial problems were a constant concern for the fledgling Wartburg. The various moves and inclusion of women students provided some relief for financial crises. The school, once relieved of immediate financial difficulties, still did not have a clear educational direction. The gymnasium curriculum had not attracted students as had hoped, so the Synod explored a return to the original purpose of the school, that of teacher preparation (Ottersberg, 1952, pp. 27-34; Solberg, 1985, pp. 125-127; Wickey, 1962, p. 57).

Ottersberg (1952) wrote in his history of Wartburg College about the admission of women to Wartburg:

This action introduced coeducation into the synodical institutions of higher learning. They [women] were also admitted to the business department when it was organized and into the normal course in 1907. Once the beginning was made, they soon enrolled in numbers, and by 1912 almost all students of the normal department were women. (p. 54)

Women were finally accepted as students into Wartburg Academy in 1896. With the introduction of coeducation, the number of women students at Wartburg Academy and Normal School at Waverly increased as well as the number of courses and programs with high female enrollment. This increase set the stage for hiring the first female faculty member in an Iowa Synod Lutheran school. In 1914, Henriette Pribnow was hired at Wartburg Academy to organize and teach in a new home economics department. Wartburg Normal School, established in
1920, included women students and faculty from its beginning (Ottersberg, 1952, pp. 54-56).

The presence of women at Wartburg provided an important dimension to the campus of Wartburg Academy. Erna Moehl, a former Wartburg Academy student, told of her arrival at Wartburg Academy as a young, shy pastor's daughter. She left home for the first time at age 14 to come to Wartburg Academy. Moehl related:

I remember that the house mother, and even some of the women faculty who lived in the girls' dormitory, made sure that we received personal attention. They treated us to hot chocolate along with their warm hospitality which helped many a homesick student to decide to stay in school. (personal communication, November 22, 1989)

Along with curricular issues, social factors and economic considerations influenced the decision favoring coeducation and women faculty at Wartburg Academy and Normal School. Those social factors included the religious influence from increasing German Lutheran immigration, the growth in public academies and colleges, the need for more parochial school teachers, and the realization of women students and faculty as an economic resource.
CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

The findings in this chapter are presented in three sections based on the three evolutionary designations for Wartburg: Wartburg Academy, Wartburg Normal School, and Wartburg College. Since Wartburg was a private institution and tuition driven, maintaining strong enrollment numbers was critical for the well-being and often the survival of the institution.

**Enrollment Increased**

Wartburg Academy had been coeducational since 1896, however general enrollment began to wane after the turn of the century. Once again, the institution looked to female students to help increase enrollment, this time through the development of a home economics program beginning in 1914. With the addition of home economics and new women students, enrollment at Wartburg Academy increased from 1914 through 1925.

In addition to a rise in tuition, these female-dominated courses carried with them additional special fees which also increased revenue for the school. Table 2 shows the increased enrollment by gender and those courses that particularly attracted female students.
Table 2

Wartburg Academy Enrollment by Gender 1912-1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Home Econom-</th>
<th>Teacher Training</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
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<td>48</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
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<td>53</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
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<td>57</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
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<td>49</td>
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<td>1918</td>
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<td>59</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
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</table>

Note. *Wartburg Catalogs, 1912-1928; WAHSA, 1912-1931*

Enrollment declined after 1925 as the nation moved toward the Great Depression. The February 21, 1914, *Kirchenblatt*, Wartburg newsletter, recorded that Wartburg had added more dormitory space for girls in anticipation of more female students because of the development of a Domestic Science (home economics) program.

If the signs do not deceive us, the number of female students will rise more quickly than we first supposed. We need more teachers for the schools of our congregations. Here let it be noted that last Fall four more teachers were required than were available and in the course of this winter we should have had
employment for three more. Also we could count on a further contingent of female students, if the planned Art and Domestic Science courses are offered, which would offer girls the much sought after opportunity to obtain basic instruction not only in drawing and painting, but also particularly in sewing, embroidery, cooking, and other manual skills and housework. (p. 55)

*Kirchenblatt* continued:

The education of women in our institution is relatively speaking somewhat new. But we can no longer close our eyes to the importance of this matter. If we neglect to respond to the ever growing educational needs of our female youth, the members of our congregations will send their daughters to other people's institutions. (p. 57)

In 1915, the Academy received its Iowa State accreditation for secondary institutions. Enrollment continued to increase, and most of the new students were female. Recruiting girls and boys became an ongoing effort of President Englebrecht. Englebrecht encouraged parents of prospective students to send their children to Wartburg Academy rather than to competing schools. Along with the appeal to faith, Englebrecht included the concept of *locus parenti* which would have appealed particularly to German Lutheran families.

Now we ask all the parents in the circle of our Synod to take under consideration our institution. . . . How many hundreds of our boys and girls go forth from their father's house to some higher school. . . . There is a completely irreligious school, there a Methodist, there a Baptist, there another. And we send our children, our Evangelical Lutheran Children, there! Here in Waverly you can entrust your children with good conscience, even your daughters. (*Kirchenblatt*, June 26, 1915, p. 3)
The 1915 school year began with an encouraging enrollment of 102 students. The President reported that "as soon as the corn crop is in, an even grander troop of students comes." Following the harvest, female students also arrived in greater numbers. Englebrecht lamented that it would be better if everyone began at the same time, but added philosophically, "better late than never" (Kirchenblatt, October 16, 1915, pp. 6-7).

For five of the years between 1914 and 1922, female students outnumbered male students. The additional female students provided more tuition at $55.00 per student per year. Figures from the 1919-1920 Wartburg Catalog (pp. 64-65) showed $40 tuition for the home economics course only. Additional fees of $4 for cooking and $1 for sewing provided more revenue for the struggling school. In 1919 alone, tuition plus additional fees totaled $1,260 from the year for all students taking home economics.

Wartburg was enrollment dependent and operated almost entirely from tuition income. A declining student enrollment could spelled disaster for the institution. The addition of female students and the promotion of courses directed to the interests of young girls increased student enrollment, particularly female, and provided a stronger economic base for the school.
Channeled Fields of Study

Most female students were enrolled in three courses of study: home economics, commercial, and teacher training. Women faculty taught most of these courses in addition to developing and coaching women's athletics. As more girls attended Wartburg Academy, the school developed more specific curricular offerings for them. Three courses of study were particularly appealing to female students. Wartburg Academy began the teacher training, or normal course, in 1885 and the business (commercial) course in 1888. These two courses of study quickly became predominately female enrollment after the Academy became coeducational in 1896 (Ottersberg, 1952, pp. 46-48). Only later would these courses also be taught by women. The Domestic Science (home economics) program, however, was added in 1914 to specifically appeal to female students. Soon teacher training, commercial, and home economics became channeled fields of study for the girls.

As former Wartburg student Erna Moehl commented, "The course of study was exceedingly narrow, and there was the matter of choosing a profession. Fortunately, my choice was in line with what tradition allowed women to become. You could go into nursing, teaching, clerical work, or home economics. I chose teaching" (personal communication, November 22, 1989).

These channeled fields for girls also presented the greatest concentration of early women faculty members. The
first woman faculty member at Wartburg developed and taught the home economics course. Although the school began in 1852 and admitted female students in 1896, the first woman faculty member was not hired at Wartburg until 1914 the same year the Domestic Science program was added.

The recruitment and economic value of establishing a Home Economics Department was not lost on the Wartburg Academy faculty and administrators. A 1914 Wartburg Catalog description of the newly proposed department fit the ideology of the day.

The aim of the course in Home Economics or Domestic Science is to fit young women for the responsibilities of intelligent housekeeping and home making. The work is practical and appeals to the average young woman because it emphasizes the practical side of life in her sphere. We urge young women to consider the advantages of this course in preparation for the dignified and noble work of home making. (p. 37)

On February 23, 1914, the Wartburg faculty voted that they purchase "the necessary equipment for a Domestic Science Department and a search begin for a suitable teacher." Wartburg Hall, which served as the girls' dormitory, was to house the domestic science laboratory (Wartburg Faculty Minutes, p. 2). Miss Henriette Pribnow was hired as the teacher of domestic science at a salary of $60 a month, plus free room and board for serving as matron of Wartburg Hall, the girl's dormitory (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, June 11, 1914, p. 1).
In a personal reminiscence written late in life, President August Englebrecht penned:

In this building [Wartburg Hall] the home economics department was arranged for with modern equipment for instruction in sewing and cooking. We were fortunate in securing the services of Miss Henriette Pribnow who had been in the government service as head dietician of the old soldiers' hospital at Hot Springs, South Dakota (Personal remembrance, n.d. Anniversary speech).

Henriette Pribnow came from Mellen, Wisconsin, and was a graduate of the Boston School of Domestic Science. A September 8, 1914, article, "New Wartburg Faculty" in the Waverly Democrat newspaper stated: "Miss Pribnow is well fitted for her work, having taken her domestic science at one of the best institutions in Boston" (p. 7). Photographs of Pribnow pictured her as a stern-looking woman of small stature wearing a white starched shirtwaist dress. The 1914 Wartburg Catalog said Pribnow's home economics classes stressed not only the value of family work, but also the value of work in general that could be learned from the home economics classes. Pribnow believed that work was to "form high ideals of accuracy, neatness, system, and other qualities that go to make up perfection in work" (p. 15).

Besides teaching home economics and serving as matron of Wartburg Hall, Pribnow taught art courses and an occasional English course. She served on various faculty committees, including one for Programs and Student Affairs, and selected flowers to be sent to the widow of a former
professor (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, June 17, 1915 and January 31, 1916).

Wartburg administrators left it to Pribnow to purchase the cooking and sewing equipment and establish the home economics department. Because Pribnow taught home economics, she may have also been responsible for directing all of the food preparation, laundry, and social events on the Wartburg campus. Records and interviews were limited as to her specific duties. However, these additional responsibilities were typical for the home economics teachers who followed Pribnow at Wartburg.

With a salary of $60 a month, she saved on personal expenses by serving as matron of Wartburg Hall. Pribnow not only taught female students during the day, she lived with them the rest of the time. Teaching at Wartburg became a 24-hour job for many women faculty. In Pribnow's case, Wartburg Academy not only got a home economics department to enhance its recruitment of female students, it got an experienced teacher and a girls' dormitory supervisor all in one.

Pribnow successfully established the department, and home economics developed as a two-year course of study at Wartburg Academy. It could be taken as a special academic course with a certificate granted, or the classes could be incorporated into a regular four-year academy degree program (Wartburg Catalog, 1914-1915).
Wartburg Academy promoted home economics and promised to "teach the scientific principles underlying food preparation and their practical application" (Wartburg Catalog 1914-1915, p. 8). Keeping with a scientific approach, in addition to general food preparation, Pribnow developed a curriculum that included the Study of Bacteria; Chemistry of Cleaning; Heat, Fuel, and Combustion; Digestion and its Relation to Cookery; Dietetics; Home Care for the Sick; and Home Sanitation (Wartburg Catalog 1914-1915).

Hiring of Pribnow and developing a home economics program had the anticipated positive benefits for Wartburg Academy. Student enrollment increased to 102 in 1915 with 15 more girls than the previous year.

Only two years later, the March 24, 1916, faculty minutes recorded, "Miss Pribnow has given loyal service to the institution and has submitted her resignation." She left to study further at Columbia University in New York. Pribnow eventually took a position as nutritionist at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia (Wartburg Faculty Minutes, March 24, 1916).

The duties of the succeeding home economics instructors were described by Floyd Culbertson, Wartburg's Dean of Men at the time:

As home economics instructors, they were responsible for many of the social activities on campus and made all arrangements for banquets and the entertainment of guests. They had a mission of enhancing the social life on campus and organized a coeducational dining
room where male and female students could eat together. (F. Culbertson, personal communication April 3, 1992)

The commercial course of study also attracted additional female students and faculty to Wartburg Academy. The commercial course was authorized as early as 1888, but both students and faculty members were all male. Following the introduction of coeducation to Wartburg Academy, the commercial course grew to be predominately female, and the school once again reflected the economic and cultural changes of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. To meet the growing demand for office workers, Wartburg Academy offered a comprehensive commercial program by the early 1900s. The 1919 *Wartburg Catalog* stated that "the Commercial Department was designed to furnish instruction in those branches which pertain to modern business, its laws, customs, and tendencies" (p. 24). The department offered three emphases: the business course, the stenographic course, and the complete course (*Wartburg Catalog, 1919-1921*).

From its beginning in 1888 until 1910, the enrollment in the business course at Wartburg was around 30 to 40 students. By 1920, the enrollment reached a maximum of 70 students. The business course grew, and the academy added new faculty members to meet the increased demand (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 53; WAHSA, 1920).

The commercial course had been taught only by male faculty until 1917. This situation changed when Alma Neil
was hired to teach English and stenography. Neil remained at Wartburg for four years and eventually became an important member of the business faculty.

Neil took charge of stenography, English, and other branches of the Commercial Department and served as advisor for the school paper. She graduated from Hiland Park College of Des Moines and received a B.C.S. (Bachelor of Commercial Science) degree (Wartburg Bulletin, 1917; Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, July 12, 1917). One former student remembered Miss Neil opening each class with the statement, "'Think, think, think.' She expected a high degree of performance from her students" (E. Flugga, personal communication, December 19, 1991).

The business and stenographic courses could each be completed in nine months. The business course that Neil taught included courses in commercial arithmetic and rapid calculation, business English and spelling, bookkeeping, community civics, commercial law, and penmanship. Neil's stenographic course included business English and spelling, penmanship, and commercial law. The stenographic course differed from the business course by the addition of shorthand, typing, economics, letter writing, and office training. The complete business course required 18 months for completion and combined both the business and stenographic courses. The cost for the two courses in 1919 was $55 for the school year, if paid in advance, which was

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higher than the regular tuition. An additional $3 charge was added for typewriting (Wartburg Bulletin, 1918).

The gross income for the commercial course in 1919 with 67 students, most of whom were women, would have totaled $3,386. This tuition represented positive income for the school when compared to the women faculties' salaries. Using Alma Neil's salary for example, if she had been paid at the maximum for female faculty in 1919, her annual salary would have been $840. This sum provided for substantial revenue income. Neil also taught at Wartburg for four years that were among the peak enrollment years in the commercial course. The program grew from 44 students in 1917 to a high of 70 students in 1920 and provided increased revenue for the school.

Neil enhanced the involvement of the Commercial Department in campus activities beyond the curriculum. The 1918-1919 Wartburg Bulletin listed for the first time social events sponsored by the Commercial Department. Neil sponsored a debate in her commercial English class, "Resolved: That the Right of Suffrage should be given to women." Also in the 1918-1919 Wartburg Bulletin, students cited one of Neil's qualities as being "Best Friend" and composed a poem about her:

Then N stands for Neil
The instructor with class
Who teaches everything from
Glaciers down to glass. (pp. 51-53)
An additional female faculty member, Ella Engel, joined the Commercial Department in 1920. After Neil resigned in 1921, Engel was the only commercial course faculty member from 1921 until 1925 when Neil returned to Wartburg.

Teacher education was the third channeled field of study for female students at Wartburg. While the need to train parochial school teachers had declined, the need for public school teachers had risen. Increasingly, these trained public school teachers were women.

Teacher training had been one of the original intents when Wartburg was established in 1852. From 1882 to 1885, 44 students were admitted to Wartburg Academy, and eight graduated as teachers. As the school continued to grow, normal training (teacher training) remained a major focus of Wartburg Academy. By 1911, student enrollment of 117 exceeded the 100 mark for the first time (Ottersberg, 1952, pp. 45-55).

To become a school teacher in the early 1900s the individual had only to complete what was equivalent to a high school degree plus a few specialized courses called normal training. The 1914 Wartburg Catalog described the normal course as "a four year course preparing students for the teaching profession, primarily for the work of the parochial schools of our synod." The normal course met all the requirements for teaching in the parochial schools and in the public schools (Wartburg Catalog, 1914, p. 11).
The Normal Program (teacher training) enrollment at the Academy was almost entirely female students. For the 1919 academic year, Wartburg enrolled 29 students, all female, in the teacher training program. Tuition for teacher training was $55 which realized a gross tuition revenue for that year of $1,595 (Wartburg Catalog, 1919).

In 1917, Tina Rogness joined the faculty to teach history and English. She had an A.B. degree from St. Olaf College and had completed some graduate work at the University of Minnesota. The annual meeting of the Wartburg Board of Directors reported on efforts to obtain the services of Rogness. With 10 years of teaching experience she had refused to accept a position below $70 per month plus room and board. This salary was lower than the $75 offered a male counterpart, but it was higher than the $60 later offered to Marie Ropte and the other new women faculty members. Rogness finally accepted the $70 salary offer, and the Executive Committee approved her appointment (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, September 18, 1917; Wartburg Bulletin, 1917, p. 13).

Rogness' lower salary provided a financial bonus for the school. With a 12-month contract, Rogness annual salary was $840. If student tuition for teacher training was $1,595, Wartburg realized a financial difference between tuition and Rogness' salary of $840 instead of $900 ($75/month) had she received what male faculty members
received. While tuition fees covered additional overhead expenses, the financial gain was still greater to Wartburg by hiring a female rather than a male faculty member.

An additional education faculty member, Marie Ropte, was hired in 1918 and taught until 1920. Ropte was a graduate of the Dramatic Arts Department of Drake University. She taught English, American history, and expression. Expression included the study of literature and the use of vocal expression in reading and interpreting literature. Ropte wrote: "The course does not only offer the interpretation of someone else's thoughts but strives to enable the student to put forth his best effort for his own expression. What is worth doing at all is worth doing well" (Wartburg Bulletin, 1918, p. 15).

Rogness' and Ropte's English studies consisted of the study of composition, basic grammar rules, and the study of literature and the classics. Female authors and subjects were not yet included in their extensive list of readings even though English was taught entirely by female faculty members (Wartburg Catalog, 1918).

Rogness and Ropte taught history, which until 1917 had been taught by male faculty. The switch in the gender of the history faculty probably occurred because more women faculty members qualified to teach history were hired. The study of history at Wartburg Academy, as taught by the women faculty, did not differ from the courses as taught by the male
faculty. The only difference was that women were paid less than the men. The courses covered included ancient Western history from the time of the Pharaohs of Egypt to the Age of Revival. Students studied ancient, medieval, and American history and American government. Government included lectures on the federal government along with territorial, state, county, and municipal governments (E. Moehl, personal communication, November 22, 1989; F. Ottersberg, personal communication, January 18, 1992; Wartburg Catalog, 1914).

Ropte taught at Wartburg Academy for two years while Rogness taught for four years. No reasons were given in the records for their resignations.

A course called Mothercraft was taught for only one year, in 1920, and only female students were required to attend. This may have been Wartburg's nod to the specific, practical courses for women as debated by other institutions. A course such as Mothercraft emphasized the importance of women's roles as wives and mothers. Mothercraft was an educational movement which swept the nation in the early 20th century founded in Boston by May Bliss Dickinson, R.N. The Mothercraft at Wartburg course was taught in addition to the personal hygiene and home nursing courses taught by Dr. Carl Graening. His wife, Dr. Adele Kimball Graening, M.D., was extension secretary of the State Baby Betterment Association, and was hired as a lecturer on Mothercraft. She had studied with May Bliss Dickinson and taught Mothercraft classes with
80 Wartburg Academy girls. No reason was given as to why the course was taught for only one year (Wartburg Catalogs, 1919-1921; Waverly Democrat, April 21, 1920).

Dr. Adele Graening taught the skills needed for motherhood, with particular emphasis on personal hygiene and home sanitation. She began the course with health for girls, the importance of standing correctly, and seeing that the weight of carrying school books was evenly distributed to guard against deformities. The course next outlined the relationship between a clean home and child life. Graening finished the course with instructions on the care of babies through their first year of life. The Mothercraft course was, in the estimation of the April 21, 1920, Waverly Democrat, "One of the most essential subjects of a girl's education and training for life" (p. 4).

Other women continued to be hired to teach in the Normal School and throughout the academy. They did more than teach classes, they also enhanced campus life for students. Many of the women faculty lived on campus either in the Annex, the Academy's private house, or served as matrons of the girls' dormitory. Given the close proximity of living arrangements between the female faculty and the female students, the women served as available faculty advisors and event organizers. For example, Margarete Reu came to Wartburg Academy in 1918 and taught both home economics and girls' physical education (Wartburg Catalog, 1918-1919). She
also organized an annual May Festival to highlight the girls' athletic activities. The festival combined musical, social, and physical activities including the crowning of a May Queen and various dances. Reu must have worked hard with her students. Students wrote in the 1919 Wartburg Bulletin, that Reu had, one evening, requested a funnel apparently to try to get knowledge "funneled" into her students' heads. Later the same publication indicated that a group of students had given Reu her wished-for funnel, "but as yet her classes show no improvement" (p. 11).

Reu resigned from the Academy in 1923, and Lydia Wimmer acquired the physical training responsibilities. Wimmer organized an official girls' basketball team. The Academy had allowed boys to play competitive sports against other schools for several years, while the girls competed only between the classes of Wartburg. Now, for the first time, a girls' basketball team played other schools in the area. Fourteen girls signed up for the team and established the following training rules: "They refrained from eating sweets and pastry. They sat at a separate table in the dining hall, and cheerfully accepted their lot when other people had better victuals" (WAHSA, 1924, p. 21).

Despite Wimmer's special training and coaching, the Wartburg Academy girls lost their first game 7 to 24 to Clarksville High School and continued a losing record against Gates College of Waterloo and Plainfield High School.
Managing a competitive basketball team must have been no small task for Wimmer. She not only had a losing team but difficult logistics. The 1924 WAHSA reported that the final game of the season with Clarksville had to be forfeited, "due to the fact that the Great Western was again the 'late Western,' coming four hours late" (p. 22).

In 1925, an additional home economics teacher was hired—Mrs. E. F. Cramer. Mrs. Cramer graduated from Iowa State College and had taught home economics at the Waverly High School. Cramer was the first faculty member listed as "Mrs" (Wartburg Catalog, 1922-1923, p. 41).

The State of Iowa did not have a law that banned married women from teaching in public schools. However, there were many references across the state school districts to "rules of the school board" which most likely included the marital ban on female teachers. Section 2782 of the Code of Iowa of 1897, which was in effect until 1939, read in part:

Dismissal of teacher: Under a contract by which a teacher agreed to faithfully and impartially govern and instruct, etc., and to strictly conform to the rules and regulations established by the board, etc., and that the subdirector should have the power to dismiss the teacher for the violation of any stipulations of the contract. . . . . (State of Iowa, 1897, pp. 946-947)

Although nothing more is recorded about Cramer, not even her first name, perhaps she came to Wartburg to continue teaching following her marriage since Wartburg Academy had no
restrictions on female teachers being married. Former student Erna Moehl recalled:

I wanted to be a teacher, and you usually had to be single. In those days many school districts in the Midwest required female teachers to resign when they got married. Schools lost a lot of good teachers because of that rule, but it did make room for the new teachers right out of school. (personal communication, November 22, 1989)

While Wartburg did not require its female faculty members to be single, all records referred to female faculty members of the academy as "Miss" (with the exception of Mrs. Cramer), whereas the male faculty members were all titled "Professor." Former students and faculty members indicated that most of the female teachers at Wartburg Academy were single, and many left the teaching profession when they got married. Mrs. Cramer proved to be the exception to that pattern.

Female faculty members were readily hired, although they remained in the minority. They were paid less than male faculty with comparable degrees and experience. The women were not hired to teach in the natural sciences, but did so anyway whenever male faculty was unavailable.

Wartburg Normal School

Wartburg established a normal school in 1920 primarily for teacher training that attracted female students and faculty. Wartburg Historian Gerhard Ottersberg reported the following:
"Time was running out for the academy with the growth of Public high schools. But with the accreditation—the accreditation of the normal school—the directors hoped to see a growth in the normal school. It did grow, and most of the students were women" (personal communication, December 1, 1991).

Iowa and many other states in 1919 raised the qualification standards for teacher certification. Students had previously qualified for teaching by completing their academy education with an additional summer of normal training beyond a high school. After 1920, qualifications for elementary teaching included two years of undergraduate education beyond the academy level (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 54).

Wartburg responded to the changing state mandate by organizing a two-year college primarily, though not exclusively, for teacher education. The 1920 Wartburg Catalog announced the new Junior College Normal Department as follows:

Announcement

The urgent need of courses of college grade, which are being demanded by an ever increasing number of Lutheran schools, as well as by the rising standards in the field of education in the United States, has moved the Board of Directors and the Faculty Council to introduce a Junior College Normal Course. (p. 5)

The Normal Course is strictly a professional course for those who desire to enter the teaching profession as well prepared, either as parochial school or public school teachers. A state certificate of the second grade is granted upon completion of this course. (p. 6)
As Wartburg Academy continued offering courses, Wartburg Normal School enrolled its first students, five women, in the fall of 1920. The student population remained predominately female throughout the Normal School's history. During its first five years, enrollment varied between five and eight students. Following this slow beginning, the Normal School grew to a peak enrollment of 76 students in 1931 (Wartburg Catalogs, 1920-1931).

The Normal School was accredited in 1925 by the Iowa State Board of Examiners. The WAHSA reported that "on October twenty-seventh the State Board of Educational Examiners voted unanimously to place the Normal College Department of Wartburg Academy and Normal School on the accredited list" (WAHSA, 1925, p. 10).

Wartburg Academy and Normal School relied heavily on student tuition for financial support and survival. Normal School students increased the school’s enrollment and also paid a higher tuition than Academy students, enhancing overall revenues.

The establishment of this two-year college, or normal school, put Wartburg in Waverly in direct competition with Wartburg in Clinton. The competition between the two institutions continued to grow. But in 1920, Waverly's Wartburg directors were optimistic about the growth and future of the Wartburg Normal School.
Graduation requirements from the Normal School included two college years of 36 weeks each and 60 hours of work, or the equivalent of the first two years of a liberal arts college. The teacher education program was directed by a woman, women faculty developed the curriculum, and women taught throughout the Normal School programs.

Women faculty members taught English, languages, history, mathematics, home economics, and education courses. The curriculum they introduced listed the following courses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>2nd Semester</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bible</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bible</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 hour</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catechetics</strong></td>
<td><strong>Catechetics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hour</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Psychology</strong></td>
<td><strong>Psychology</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>College Algebra</strong></td>
<td><strong>Trigonometry</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>.3 hours</td>
<td>.3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chemistry</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chemistry</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>.5 hours</td>
<td>.5 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>German</strong></td>
<td><strong>German</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>.3 hours</td>
<td>.3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Harmony</strong></td>
<td><strong>Harmony</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>.2 hours</td>
<td>.2 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Public Speaking</strong></td>
<td><strong>Public Speaking</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>.1 hour</td>
<td>.1 hour</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Manual Training or Home Economics</strong></td>
<td><strong>Manual Training or Home Economics</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th>Second Year</th>
<th>2nd Semester</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Bible</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bible</strong></td>
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<td>1 hour</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Public Speaking</strong></td>
<td><strong>Public Speaking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.2 hours</td>
<td>.2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>History of Education</strong></td>
<td><strong>Principles of Education</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.3 hours</td>
<td>.3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School Management and Methods</strong></td>
<td><strong>School Management and Methods</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.2 hours</td>
<td>.2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>German</strong></td>
<td><strong>German</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>.3 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Harmony</strong></td>
<td><strong>Harmony</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>.2 hours</td>
<td>.2 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>European History</strong></td>
<td><strong>European History</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.3 hours</td>
<td>.3 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Science</strong></td>
<td><strong>Political Science</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.2 hours</td>
<td>.2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Practice Teaching and Catechetics</strong></td>
<td><strong>Practice Teaching and Catechetics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hour</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
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(Wartburg Catalog, 1920, pp. 12-15)
The Normal School also offered a Liberal Arts Course with the same basic curriculum as teacher education and included courses in history, political science, and public speaking in place of specific education courses. The goal of the Liberal Arts Course was to prepare students for "admission into the junior year of the standard college or University or for entrance to professional courses requiring two years of college work, such as law, medicine, journalism, commerce, dentistry, etc" (Wartburg Catalog, 1920, p. 10).

Beginning in 1921, Wartburg also offered a 12-week summer normal training course, similar to the old teacher institutes. The course enabled those without a normal school education to qualify for Uniform County Certificates examination. It also enabled teachers to raise the grade of their existing certification for advancement opportunities. The Summer Normal Course included the following credits:

**Summer Normal Course**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Credits</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Psychology</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education Courses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Methods</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Methods</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey of Manual Arts</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Training Methods</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Management</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Speaking</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible Study</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European History</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wartburg Catalog, 1921, p. 33)

The Summer Normal Course lasted only two summers. One can only speculate if the inclusion of Bible Study in the normal course echoed the moral character building of the old
teacher institutes of the previous century. With the demise of the summer courses, school administrators encouraged the faculty to take summer courses themselves instead of teaching.

**Women Faculty at the Normal School**

When Wartburg Normal School opened in 1920, four women held faculty positions in both the Academy and in the Normal School. Only a bachelor’s degree was required, which all of these women held. Margaret Reu taught Latin, physical training, and English and also served as preceptress in the women’s dormitory. Florence Kruger taught mathematics and domestic science. Hilda Grieder taught history and English, and Alma Liessman taught English, economics, and German. Liessman was unique among the Wartburg women faculty at that time as she had studied abroad at the University of Berlin, Germany (*Wartburg Catalogs, 1920-1922*).

Two new women faculty were hired in 1923. Lenore Thompson taught English. Annette Nelson, who replaced Liessman, was hired as librarian and also taught Latin and English (*Wartburg Catalog, 1923*).

Cecile Crandall came to Wartburg in 1924 and was offered a different position than previous female faculty. Crandall had a master’s degree from the University of Wisconsin and had taught at the Iowa State Normal School in Cedar Falls for one year. She came to Wartburg to teach English and education, and also to take charge of the normal
School teacher-education program. Crandall was the first woman to head a program and serve in such a leadership position at the College.

Crandall had additional campus responsibilities which included serving on the library board and the school annual committee. She also proposed a new literary society to the faculty to be coeducational and strictly for the Normal School students. Prior to Crandall’s proposal, literary societies were gender segregated, and the women’s literary societies included both Academy and Normal School students. Crandall wanted to separate Normal School students from the Academy students to promote the same intellectual rigor for female as for male students. The Faculty Council concurred and suggested the following requirements:

1. be composed of high school graduates only
2. have at least 14 meetings per year
3. have only voluntary membership
4. that a standard higher than that of the existing societies be the aim” (Wartburg Catalog, 1923, p. 27).

Former teaching colleague and Wartburg historian, Gerhard Ottersberg, described Crandall in the following terms: “She was an excellent teacher and allowed for little laxity from her students. She place high expectations on them and on herself. She may have been small in stature, but students and administrators listened to her. She worked hard
to make the Normal School more like a real college* (personal communication, December 29, 1991).

From former students' recollections, Crandall's high expectations of students, and her insistence on separation from the Academy and elevation of the Normal School seemed typical for Crandall. She was a small, quiet, even stern-looking woman (H. Ottersberg, personal communication, January 18, 1992; E. Flugga, personal communication, April 7, 1992). Crandall taught at Wartburg until the Normal School merged with Wartburg College in Clinton, Iowa, in 1933 (Ottersberg, 1983, p. 33).

Not all female faculty members were as well remembered as Crandall. A notable exception was Edith Davenport who taught at Wartburg Normal School for only the 1928-1929 academic year. Davenport, like Crandall, had her master's degree. She taught college English, public speaking, and Latin and served as the drama coach (WAHSA, 1928-1929).

Former student, Frieda Ottersberg remembered that Davenport had her difficulties particularly related to teaching:

Students openly challenged Miss Davenport in class. Davenport taught beginning college English, but even at that level the students corrected her. She was particularly inept at diagramming sentences which was an English requirement at that time. She probably got tired of all the student criticism, and she left Wartburg. (F. Ottersberg, personal communication, January 18, 1992)
Home Economics Faculty

Wartburg Normal School also included a home economics program. A "program" was a course of study and another term for "major." Florence Kruger taught home economics for the Normal School and served as dietician.

Florence Kruger became a member of the Wartburg faculty in 1920 and remained at Wartburg for nine years, a rather long tenure for a Wartburg woman faculty member. She was well-remembered by students as being directly instrumental in improving the food and increasing the social life. As dietitian, Kruger supervised the cooks. One former student remembered: "Wartburg had its own cooks who lived in a little apartment off the kitchen that was located in Wartburg Hall, the girls' dormitory. Miss Kruger worked with the cooks, and soon we had homemade bread and pastries and the most wonderful lemon pie which was the usual Sunday fare" (M. Woodrich, personal communication, April 13, 1992)

Kruger also got her home economics students actively involved in preparing and serving the many campus banquets and theme parties. The campus seemed to have been a better fed and livelier institution thanks to Kruger's leadership.

Kruger, along with other women faculty members, was also credited by former students with lessening the harshness of discipline. For example, the Inspections Committee reported to the Board of Directors that some students' rooms
were disorderly and untidy, and the directors were to do something about these infractions. Kruger appealed to the directors with a suggestion not to punish the offenders but to use the opportunity to teach them. Yielding to her appeal, the Board of Directors approved the following resolution:

Whereas order is heaven's first law and that of the college, barring all disorder and untidiness except classical negligence which is alone the privilege of genius, whereas the Board believes that the lessons of order and tidiness can be taught more effectively by means of moral persuasion and object lessons rather than by the stern measures of the law, Resolved that the executive be directed to arrange a model room in Grossmann Hall and thus demonstrate "ad oculos" how the students can make and keep their rooms cozy and neat. It is sincerely hoped that all will soon contract the contagion and that all rooms will soon be patterns of the model room. (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, October 11, 1927)

Kruger, as home economics teacher, was directly involved in setting up this model room and in reducing the potential for punishment for untidiness.

After teaching at Wartburg for 10 years, Kruger tendered her resignation in 1929 and apparently did it with characteristic flair. "Florence and her home economics class prepared a luncheon for the Board of Directors. Following the luncheon, she announced her resignation to the surprise of the Board members" (G. Ottersberg, personal communication, December 29, 1991).
Women Athletic Coaches

Women faculty members worked with students on school plays, in musical organizations, and on athletic teams. Women taught physical education and coached women’s athletics for the Normal School.

In 1926 Margaret Guetzlaff became the women’s athletic coach. She came to Wartburg in 1924 as a mathematics teacher and had previously served two years as superintendent of public schools in Avoca, Minnesota. She not only had her master’s degree, but administrative experience as well, and may have been persuaded to come to Wartburg by her brother, Albert Guetzlaff, who also taught at Wartburg. Upon becoming the women’s athletic coach, Guetzlaff requested hockey sticks to organize a women’s field hockey team. The Faculty Council had previously accepted recommendations from the Athletic Committee for new equipment, but they deferred the purchase of hockey sticks (Wartburg Faculty Minutes, September 15, 1926, p. 4). Guetzlaff must have persisted, however, as a 1930 calendar of school events listed, "Hockey! New girls handle clubs carelessly--repent of carelessness" (WAHSA, 1930-1931, p. 52).

Guetzlaff resigned in 1930 as the Board of Directors’ minutes indicated, to "enter upon the sea of matrimony" (May 12, 1930). She later returned to teaching at the University of Kansas (G. Ottersberg, personal communication, December 29, 1991).
In spite of "careless clubbing," women's athletics at Wartburg continued to flourish. Elsie Kruger became the women's athletic coach in 1930. Elsie was Florence Kruger's sister and came to Wartburg in 1926 to teach English and girls' physical training. Kruger helped create a new athletic organization for female students, the Girls' Athletic Association. Charter membership consisted of 25 students who promoted interest and involvement in women's athletics. The Girl's Athletic Association developed a point system whereby the female athletes could join the association and eventually could earn their athletic letter "W" just like their male counterparts (WAHSA, 1930-1931).

The development of Wartburg Normal School increased the enrollment of female students and additionally increased teaching opportunities for women faculty. Women faculty taught primarily in the teacher education program and provided additional teaching staff for Academy classes. They went well beyond classroom teaching by creating women's literary societies as opportunities for student self-expression. Women faculty also elevated the opportunity for female students to compete athletically. With the addition of the Normal School and increased number of women students and faculty, the campus grew academically, intellectually, socially, and athletically thanks to these women.
Impact of Women Faculty on Campus Life

Women faculty enhanced campus life and lessened the harshness of campus discipline. Although women faculty members may not have been part of the administrative decision-making process, they were nonetheless, highly visible in the life of the students and the campus. As a residential campus, most of the students, Normal School and Academy alike, lived together on campus along with many of the women faculty.

Gender separation in living arrangements among students at Wartburg was strictly observed. Men and women students lived in separate dormitories and ate segregated meals. Rules and regulations appeared to be similar for both men and women as far as restrictions, bedtime, and lights out time (WAHSA, 1925). As one former female student recalled:

The school took over for the parents now with rules that kept boys and girls separated except in classes, at church, and at well-chaperoned functions. There were ways of eluding these rules of course. One could sneak, or one could invite a relative of the opposite sex to visit in the parlor of Wartburg Hall. He could bring a friend along. So could you. Many a romance blossomed in such group situations. (E. Moehl, personal communication, November 22, 1989)

Social life became important on the campus. Although the older generation of women faculty may have been disappointed in their women students' preoccupation with dating, they nonetheless found social activities a venue for leadership. Wartburg social life revolved around frequent banquets. The Ottersberg sisters credited the women faculty
members with initiating and supervising social events
designed to bring the men and women students together.

It was usually the home economics teachers who arranged
for special parties and social events. Often the women
faculty would cook the food and arrange for special
events on campus. These events often revolved around
holidays and special theme parties such as a spring
social or May Day. (F. Ottersberg, personal
communication, January 18, 1992)

Female students frequently worked with the home
economics teacher and other women faculty to prepare and
serve the banquets. They decorated the gymnasium and dressed
in costumes appropriate to themes based on school colors, the
Colonial Era, a Japanese tea room, or special holidays.
Faculty members attended the banquets with the students.
Attendees participated in programs, musical entertainment,
and frequent toasts. Women faculty also organized all-school
student mixers where students played games such as treasure
hunt. “Dancing, of course, was not permitted at that time”
(E. Moehl, personal communication, November 22, 1989).

Another event heavily dependent on the women faculty
was called Outfly, an approved day away from classes. The
entire student body, faculty, and staff headed off campus to
spend a day at the Outfly grounds, a local park. The cooks
prepared the food, and the women faculty served the picnic
lunch. Faculty also organized games and activities including
a pie-eating contest and a blindfold banana-eating contest.
Four o'clock marked the end of Outfly, and all returned to
the campus (WAHSA, 1926-1930).
Women faculty fostered and sponsored additional women’s literary societies on campus. Wartburg required every student to participate for at least two years in one of the many literary societies. Women formed their own literary societies with women faculty serving as advisors (WAHSA, 1926, p. 94; 1928, p. 79).

The campus literary societies encouraged women students to write about their lives and impressions. Former student Helen Michelke wrote a story in 1927 from the perspective of Old Main, the main campus building which had been Wartburg College since 1881. In "Old Main Speaks," Michelke addressed the contribution of women students to Wartburg while expressing a wish to return to a previous time. She wrote:

But my life has not been all labor, for there is a humorous side as well as an intellectual. My chief source of amusement has been the ever-changing costumes of my students. For many years my halls were filled with solemn tones and deep peals of laughter, for men in dark attire were under my observing eye. Soon, however, gay peals of laughter resounded for many blocks, and my halls were filled with bright colors of every hue. I welcomed my girl students with open arms. The first ones looked very neat to me in their trim dresses that swept the ground, and were so full that some of the 1927's dresses would appear very insignificant beside them. . . . But I had to get accustomed to it all, for the styles changed constantly; to my utter misery the skirts began to grow shorter, until in 1927 it fairly makes me blush to glimpse the fair sex. Another example of our radically changing customs is the disappearance of long locks and the appearance of the bobbed head so prevalent now. What would the man say who was once hear to utter, "Hair is woman's crowning beauty," if he could see the innumerable bobbed tresses about my campus? Perhaps my dear readers will think me a bit old-fashioned and childish, but it would give me a feeling of serene satisfaction to see the styles of yore come back into
vogue, even for a short time. Perhaps I should pause
to give the male sex a word of praise regarding the
stability of their styles, but then it is always the
female of the race who makes the world progress.
(WAHSA, 1926-27, p. 79)

Senior Marie Haefner wrote a poem in 1925 about being a
senior. Her emphasis was on service no matter what one's
profession. Haefner eventually became a licensed clinical
social worker and never married.

This is the answer, wisely told:
(True Wisdom's words will ne'er grow old)
No matter what your place may be,
Fill it, and fill it honestly.
Or talents great, or talents small,
This busy world has use for all.
Service by deeds we cannot rate,
For it is said, 'They serve who wait,'
Great deeds are not the surest test,
For each is great who does his best.
So in your places do your bit
As your abilities permit.
And more than this we do not ask,
Save faithfulness in every task.
Rewarded shall such labor be,
This promise has been made to thee.
(WAHSA, 1925, p. 47)

Creative writing in the literary societies also allowed
women students to express their thoughts on the status of men
and women in their time and their reactions. One such
example is an essay by Agnes Hoeger entitled, "The
Superiority of Brothers."

Yes, brothers are superior. At least their sisters
think so. Show me any girl who does not think that her
brother is superior to her. Show me the brother who
does not realize that he is superior.
Sisters think that their brothers are superior to
them in all things--talent, sport, everything. No
matter what subject you speak of, in nearly every
conversation the superior brother will be brought in
some way. Talk of sports to any girl who has a big
brother; there is a topic which will prove to have inexhaustible material for any conversation. Sisters tell you of the great things their brothers have done. Of course, he was always the best. Begin speaking of talent. Brother was the greatest musician in the band; he was the editor of this and that paper; he was the chairman of Art Staff for the Annual; whatever he was, he was always popular. They do so many clever things. They always have lots of fun, more than their sisters have, but the sisters do not get jealous; in fact, they rejoice that their brothers can have a good time. Not only do they have lots of fun, but they do many noble deeds and work hard. In fact, is there anything which a big brother has not done?

Naturally, brothers feel their superiority, and they become proud and vain. As a result, sisters must do what brother bids, and do it first. Most sisters do it, too, with the greatest of pleasure.

We older and more sedate sisters are completely ignored. No matter what talents we have or what heights we may reach, our brothers will always be held superior to us. Although we do not like to admit it, we can not prove that our brothers are not superior, because the opposition is too great. But we should like to plead that we also be considered. Perhaps brothers are not the only angels without wings. (WAHSA, 1926-27, p. 84)

Student recollections of the women faculty members seemed to be generally positive. Wartburg was a residential campus, and women faculty added an additional and less-harsh dimension to the campus. Women increased the social life and lessened the strictness of the discipline which had been characteristic of this German-heritage institution. To the female students interviewed, the presence and work of these women faculty were significant positive influences in the students’ lives.

Women Faculty as an Economic Resource

Women faculty provided an economic resource for Wartburg Normal School. Women faculty represented an
additional economic boon for the school as well because they were paid a lower salary than comparable male faculty. At Wartburg Academy, the highest paid female faculty member in 1923 was Alma Liessmann at an annual salary of $1,450. In contrast, male faculty member, Alf Swensen, was paid $1,700. Both Liessmann and Swensen had bachelor's degrees with some post graduate experience, and both came to Wartburg Academy in 1921 (Board of Directors minutes, May 10, 1922; July 20, 1922).

Another example of this salary inequity was the salary difference between Edith Davenport and Arthur Johnson. Davenport had a master's degree and taught college English and public speaking. Her annual salary was $1,400 plus board. Johnson had a bachelor's degree and taught college economics and history. Johnson's annual salary was $1,600 plus room. A comparable woman holding a bachelor's degree, Esther Erickson, was paid an annual salary of $1,125 plus room and board (Wartburg Faculty Minutes, October 28, 1925, p. 5).

College records provided no reasons for the disparity in salaries. It could be argued that the women faculty did not remain at Wartburg long enough to reach the higher pay levels. However, Wartburg still showed a disparity in wages between female and male faculty members in the beginning salaries and for those with comparable degrees and experience.
The Iowa Synod had a policy of making housing arrangements for teachers, usually female teachers. However, few single houses were available in Waverly for the Synod allowance, and those houses were assigned according to seniority. Since women faculty members rarely stayed long enough to attain seniority, few women got their own individual house. Several women faculty members did live together in a house that was owned by the College and adjacent to Wartburg Hall, designated the Annex. Other women faculty lived in a boarding house downtown but ate their meals with the girls on campus (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, April 10, 1928, p. 5). Still other women faculty often ended up living in Wartburg Hall, the women's dormitory. As historian Ottersberg recalled, “There weren't many houses available for rent in Waverly. So many of the women faculty members also worked as housemothers in the dormitory or just lived in Wartburg Hall with the girls" (1983, p. 42).

A former student who lived in Wartburg Hall recounted the story of one teacher in particular, Esther Murrill:

Esther Murrill was the piano teacher. She was a tiny woman who seemed to be practicing most of the time. She ended up living in the girls' dormitory. Her incessant practicing treated, or subjected, the girls to frequent piano concerts that carried throughout the hallways. (H. Christophel, personal communication, March 12, 1992)

Another way in which women faculty provided additional economic resources was through summer work. All faculty
members were requested to work during the summer as part of their call and with no additional compensation. Faculty could only officially take one month off. If faculty were not otherwise engaged in teaching or taking summer courses, the College administration expected them to actively involve themselves in what the administration called "propaganda." Propaganda was another name for student recruitment. The school relied heavily on student tuition and seemed to be forever recruiting. The Board of Directors resolved in 1927:

That the eloquent teachers of the college carry the propaganda into the high schools of neighboring towns. They should visit high schools toward springtime, address the students in higher grades, distribute advertising literature, get names of prospects, etc. They should not only accept, but also solicit invitations to deliver public speeches, such as Commencement speeches, baccalaureate sermons, Decoration Day speeches, etc.

That our teachers go out weekends to do publicity work in our neighborhood congregations wherever and whenever opportunity affords. Such opportunities should be sought by them. (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, October 11, 1927, p. 4)

The summer work and lower salaries of the women faculty provided an economic resource to the school. Faculty ranking had an additional impact on the women and on the school's economic situation. Wartburg Normal School did not have a system of faculty ranks, and faculty were either engaged as professors or instructors. Professors received a formal call and usually, although not exclusively, came from the ranks of the clergy. These calls carried tenure. Almost all lay faculty, including all of the female faculty, were also
called, but served as instructors with annual contracts. Promotions from instructor to professor occurred occasionally but not very often (E. Flugga, personal communication, April 7, 1992).

Throughout the history of the Normal School, all male faculty were accorded the title, if not the rank, of professor. Female faculty continued to be recorded and referred to as "Miss" and remained at the instructor level. Historian Ottersberg noted perhaps one advantage to being an instructor. "Actually, it wasn't all bad to be an instructor. Instructors were on an annual contract and received their salary payment first. Whatever money remained went to the tenured professors. Since the College was frequently short of money, this policy was not insignificant" (personal communication, December 29, 1991). This may have been the only advantage, however, of remaining at the lower rank.

Given the circumstances, it is no wonder that the women faculty did not remain at Wartburg for very long. Many moved on to other teaching positions frequently at higher paying public institutions. The competition from public high schools and colleges and the deepening national economic crisis negatively affected Wartburg.

Women faculty who stayed at Wartburg continued to be directly affected by Wartburg’s frequent economic crises.
For example, in an effort to economize because of declining College revenues, the female faculty lost their housing allowance. Additionally, the Board of Directors rented the Annex to a private family for the rental income. "The female faculty from the Annex were provided with rooms in Wartburg Hall" (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, March 18, 1932, p. 3).

The Board of Directors lamented undiminished financial difficulties. Following the presentation of the financial report, the Board secretary wrote, "The discussion of the baffling problem as to how the financial condition of the institution might be improved consumes much time, but yields no tangible result save the usual sigh: Ignoramus" (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, May 1, 1920, p. 4).

The propaganda work on behalf of the school intensified during the Great Depression. Both administrators and faculty actively recruited prospective students through public speaking engagements, correspondence, and personal calls and visits. Wartburg students participated in Luther League meetings throughout the Synod. The musical organizations went out on extended concert tours. They presented programs in churches and at community gatherings in hope "that like the Pied Piper of old they may allure many new students to Wartburg by the magic of their music" (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, October 11, 1927, p. 2). Wartburg presented programs over WMT radio station in Waterloo.
Expenses were cut, and salaries were frequently only partially paid or not paid at all. Still the problems of decreasing enrollment and budget shortfalls persisted (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, March 8, 1932).

Student enrollment continued to decline and even the regular students had difficulty paying their tuition. Only as a last resort did the Board of Directors appeal to the Synod in April 1931. In seeming desperation, the minutes recorded:

But we must have teachers--and whereas our extremity is the Finance Board's opportunity, it is resolved that the Director . . . deliver our S.O.S. message to the Finance Board in a manner similar to that of the famous Athenian delegation which in the time of famine appeared before the king of Sparta and laid down at his feet an empty grain sack, saying: "It is empty; fill it." Our delegation will plead with the committee for adequate financial support of our institution. (April 15, 1931, p. 8)

The Board of Directors waited throughout the summer for a positive response from the synodical Finance Committee. Help was not forthcoming, and the Board received a negative reply from the Finance Committee. So on August 12, 1931, Wartburg President Englebrecht called a special meeting of the Board of Directors to discuss only one topic--the financial plight of the school. The situation had never looked more grave. Sister institutions, both public and private, were also suffering. The Board suggested only "two exits, both leading into the dark" (Wartburg Board of Directors Minutes, August 12, 1931):
What shall we do?
Cut down our budget still more— when we have already maimed and mutilated it beyond recognition in the vain endeavor to force it into the narrow frame of an inadequate appropriation? Reduce and eliminate curricula, dismiss necessary teachers— and thus chance losing the accreditation of the College? That would spell ruin for the school.
Maintain the present standard of the institution and incur more debts as surely we must. In that case the members of the Board would be held personally liable for the deficit. Profound silence broken only by the beating of troubled hearts. A long discussion ensues. Many remedies are suggested, but none gives promise of a permanent cure, save the Gold cure which is most effective when prescribed by the Finance Board's best efforts to solve it. (p. 4)

The Board took its appeal to the highest level, the Lutheran Church itself. The response from the Church came in the form of an explanation that the Lutheran Church, too, had reached the limit of its borrowing power and must resort to drastic measures. "Reason and the law of self preservation demands retrenchment." Retrenchment in this case meant the merging of schools. After much heated debate, the Church voted to close Wartburg in Waverly and to merge the Normal School with Wartburg College in Clinton (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, March 31, 1932, p. 5).

The competition and rivalry between the two Wartburg institutions at Waverly and Clinton became full-blown in the location dispute. The Waverly board composed this final response to the Church:

We object to the slanderous and untruthful remarks about the city of Waverly, such as calling Waverly a "hick town" a town in a cornfield and questioning whether Waverly has all modern conveniences— which are wholly undeserved in the face of the loyal and
exemplary support given to our institution by the city of Waverly. The moral and financial support given by the citizens of Waverly far surpasses that displayed by Clinton.

And furthermore to the credit of Waverly, we want to state emphatically that it is one of the most modern of the smaller cities in Iowa.

We furthermore object to the confusing statements concerning the enrollment. While it is true that the enrollment of Waverly had suffered perceptibly on account of the insidious propaganda through the press and otherwise . . . yet comparing Lutheran enrollments, Clinton 76 students and Waverly 71 . . . we are of the opinion that under these adverse conditions the enrollment here compares more than favorably with the enrollment at Clinton.

We regret that in spite of the fact that the Board of Christian Higher Education after thorough inspection had designated Wartburg Normal College as having "splendid building facilities for the merger" that this fact and finding has been belittled by the powers of untruth and consequently almost entirely ignored by the convention. . . . There is nothing more to do, but to adjourn. (Wartburg Board of Directors' Minutes, November 22, 1932, p. 3)

In spite of this impressive protest, Wartburg Academy and Normal School in Waverly locked its doors at the close of the 1932-1933 academic year. Three male members of the faculty--Professors Swensen, Hilton, and Ottersberg--were given faculty positions at Clinton. Only three students transferred from Waverly to Clinton (Ottersberg, 1983, pp. 77-78; G. Ottersberg, personal communication, December 29, 1991). The other faculty members, including all of the women, lost their teaching positions.

Wartburg Academy and Normal School in Waverly closed at the end of the 1932 academic year. Wartburg College continued to operate in Clinton, Iowa. Following a heated Synodical convention and with the support of the Waverly
community, Wartburg College consolidated and permanently located in Waverly in 1935. However Wartburg College, a liberal arts college, was still financially insecure and curricularly incomplete when it returned to Waverly.

The 1935-1936 academic year began as a time of adjustment and healing. Resentment over the many disagreements and fights among the Clinton and Waverly constituencies began to diminish. The College, no matter the location, still faced the economic hardships of the Depression. The Lutheran Church continued its "pay as you receive" policy and imposed a no-expansion policy on all of its colleges as well as limiting the Colleges' fundraising campaigns to a system under which only that portion of the budgeted grant which the church actually received from its membership was paid, while at the same time the school was forbidden to incur debts. This meant that such operational costs as charges for coal, boarding hall provisions, and educational supplies had to be met in full, while salaries could be paid only the extent permitted by the remaining funds. (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 76)

In the midst of difficult economic times, Wartburg College reopened in Waverly with 170 regular college students, 18 full-time male faculty, and three part-time male faculty. New faculty members, all male, came to Wartburg from Eureka College, Eureka, South Dakota, and from St. Paul Luther College, St. Paul, Minnesota. The Lutheran Church closed both of these small Lutheran colleges because of financial reasons and merged them with Wartburg College. An
additional 18 male faculty members came to Waverly from the Clinton campus (Ottersberg, 1952).

Much work had to be done to get the campus ready for the new term. When faculty members arrived on campus in the summer of 1935, each was assigned a specific responsibility. One was to set up the laboratories, another the library, and still others were responsible for arranging the dormitories. All members of the faculty, along with faculty spouses cleaned and organized the College facilities (E. Chellevold, personal communication, April 12, 1992).

With the opening of Wartburg Normal School in 1920, the mood of the College must have been optimistic. Waverly's Wartburg had ventured into higher education, enrollment had the potential for increase, and teaching opportunities for women also increased. Former students and colleagues spoke highly of the women's commitment, dedication, and sacrifices on behalf of their students and the school. Even this level of commitment could not overcome the economic crises most of the Lutheran schools faced. In the end, schools merged and closed, and in Wartburg's merger, no women faculty were retained.

**Women Faculty at Wartburg College**

Full time women faculty members were hired at the reorganized Wartburg College beginning in 1936. When women faculty members were again hired at the College beginning in 1936, they taught home economics, education, and some
languages. A total of 20 women faculty taught at Wartburg College from 1936 to 1945. Several women were particularly noteworthy.

Although not hired as a regular faculty member, Marie Scheie came to Wartburg in 1935 as part-time librarian. She seemed to be a favorite staff member and worthy of note. Scheie was from Minneapolis, Minnesota, and received her bachelor's degree from Concordia College and librarian's certificate from the University of Wisconsin Library School. She came to Wartburg from the College of St. Scholastica, Duluth, Minnesota (Wartburg Trumpet, October 28, 1935; November 11, 1935; Wartburg Catalog, 1937). A 1939 Wartburg Trumpet article referred to Scheie as "our modest, little librarian." The same article also mentioned that she was a "shark" at ping pong (Wartburg Trumpet, November 11, 1939, p. 17).

The Board of Regents had, at one time, considered Scheie for the position of Dean of Women but lamented that she did not have the appropriate credentials. Scheie resigned from Wartburg in 1943 to become librarian at Oregon State College. Students gave her this tribute, "Well known to the students for her modest, unassuming manner, Miss Scheie is a well-liked member of the faculty" (Board of Regents' Minutes, January 25, 1943; Wartburg Trumpet, April 10, 1943). Scheie expanded the library for the new college that was an essential component for the College's successful
North Central Accreditation. Although Scheie did not see the fruits of her labors related to accreditation, she went from part-time to full-time status and was a well-respected figure on the Wartburg campus.

In 1936, the Wartburg administration developed a new administrative position, Dean of Women, and appointed Katherine Kaiser to the post. Kaiser received her bachelor's degree from Capital University, Columbus, Ohio and her master's degree from Ohio State University. She was hired to be Dean of Women and an instructor of Latin and physical education. However, by the time she arrived on campus, a male faculty member was already assigned to teach Latin. Kaiser became the Dean of Women and additionally took responsibility for the women's physical education program, the women's dormitory, and the dining room (Wartburg Trumpet, February 17, 1936; Wartburg Catalog, 1937).

The job description for Dean of Women was identical to the description for the Dean of Men except for the additional responsibilities previously listed. The backgrounds of Alvin Fritz, Dean of Men, and Katherine Kaiser, Dean of Women, were also similar. Both Fritz and Kaiser had B.A. degrees from Capital University and M.A. degrees from Ohio State, and both began teaching at Wartburg in 1936. Both taught regular college courses along with serving as deans. Fritz held the rank of assistant professor with an annual beginning salary of $1,500 while Kaiser was an instructor with an annual
beginning salary of $1,200 (Board of Regents’ minutes, April 23, 1936).

From the beginning of her employment at Wartburg, Kaiser vigorously promoted an active athletic program for women. Women students participated in hiking, soccer, basketball, volleyball, tennis, kittenball, and track. Most of these activities were on an intramural level as opposed to intercollegiate competition available to the men. The women's basketball team did play competitively against other schools, but the competition was usually against the local high school and not other senior colleges. In spite of Kaiser's efforts, all things were not equal between women's and men's athletics. The student newspaper commented that the women could not put in a "public exhibition" of their games because that might interfere with the men's games (Wartburg Trumpet, December 7, 1936).

Kaiser formed the Women's Athletic Association to promote intercollegiate competition for women and to recognize the accomplishments of women athletes. Membership in the organization required active participation in athletics and the adherence to health rules. These rules required getting nine hours of sleep at night, eating a regular diet, and "good health habits." The Wartburg Trumpet referred to the women's team as the Wartburg Knighties, a "ladies" version of the men's Wartburg Knights (May 4, 1937; July 21, 1937). Respect seemed difficult to obtain.
The spouse of a former Wartburg faculty member remembered Kaiser as small in stature and a tireless worker. In addition to her administrative and athletic responsibilities, Kaiser found more to do to help the college. For example, the local farmers regularly brought in so much produce that Kaiser spent her summers and falls canning food to use in the College dining room (E. Chellevold, personal communication, April 12, 1992).

College records stated that Kaiser resigned in 1938 to teach at a public university in Ohio. However, an October 1938 Wartburg Trumpet article reported that Kaiser had been engaged as a house director at Valparaiso University in Indiana (May 14, 1938; September 8, 1938).

Home economics continued as an emphasis and a major in the College as it had in the Academy and Normal School. The need for more students was just as critical for Wartburg College in 1936 as it had been in earlier years. Thus, one of the first women faculty members hired for the new four-year college was a home economics instructor, and the home economics program was actively promoted in the College's recruitment efforts.

Most women students took at least some home economics courses to prepare for marriage and homemaking. Most of the home economics graduates, however, intended to teach the subject. Whether intentional or not, home economics became another professional career path for women. Through the
years, the home economics curriculum at Wartburg expanded beyond cooking, sewing, and hygiene to include meal planning and household management. New home economics faculty members added further to the curriculum by incorporating topics on love, sex, and marriage, plus consumerism and family budgeting. Home economics students took supporting courses in art, education, natural science, and social sciences, thus gaining a basic liberal arts education (Wartburg Catalogs, 1937-1944; Wartburg Trumpet, September 21, 1936).

Anne Marie Schoenbohm came to Wartburg in 1936 for only one year as an instructor in home economics. She received her training at Wartburg Normal School and her bachelor's and master's degrees from Iowa State Teachers College. Schoenbohm developed Wartburg’s Home Economics major. Additionally, she taught human physiology and hygiene in the Biology Department (Wartburg Trumpet, October 21, 1936; Wartburg Catalog, 1937).

In an interview, Schoenbohm remembered her year at Wartburg College:

I remember feeling like I was part of a large family. My home economics students were all women and were interested both in homemaking and in teaching. The home economics classes were active on campus. We organized most of the campus social events and even redecorated the women's dormitory lounge as one of our class projects.

The human physiology class, which I was also assigned to teach when a biology professor went on leave, was made up of senior men and women. I used Gray's Anatomy as the text. I remember the year as being very busy as I also assisted with women's physical education and supervised the floor of the women's
women's dormitory. I lived on the floor as well and received free room and board for the supervision. Overall, I felt that male and female faculty members as well as students were treated equally and fairly at Wartburg. (Anne Marie Schoenbohm Boat, personal communication, April 9, 1992)

Schoenbohm left Wartburg to get married, and Ida Ratzlaff of Chicago replaced her as director of the Home Economics Department. Ratzlaff received her Bachelor of Science degree from Iowa State, her Master of Education degree from Harvard, and had additionally taken the culinary tour of Europe (Wartburg Trumpet, May 24, 1937; Wartburg Catalog, 1938).

Ratzlaff was an active lecturer in Waverly. She gave lectures on planning weddings and successful marriages. The Wartburg Trumpet reported on one Ratzlaff lecture citing four major reasons why marriages fail: "sexual maladjustment, incompetent home making, insufficient use of leisure time, and failure to agree on division of labor" (February 26, 1938). She seemed to have presented some rather radical topics for her time, especially sexual maladjustment and division of labor. In spite of Ratzlaff's active involvement on campus and in the community, some of her activities, which were not specified, must not have pleased the Board of Regents. "The President is instructed to tell Miss Ratzlaff that her continuance as teacher is made contingent on her actions until the end of the present school year, and that her contract is to be withheld until acted upon by the
Executive Committee” (Board of Regents' Minutes, April 19, 1938).

Ratzlaff and the Executive Committee did not come to an agreement because Ratzlaff resigned her position at Wartburg stating that her plans were indefinite. She suggested that she might study family relations at the University of Chicago or at Vassar College (Wartburg Trumpet, September 25, 1938; May 24, 1938; Waverly Democrat, July 29, 1938).

After two home economics instructors in two years, Wartburg engaged Charlotte Klyng for four years. Klyng received her bachelor's degree from the University of New Mexico and her master's degree from Iowa State. Like her predecessors, Klyng's duties also included physical education, coaching, and supervising the College's kitchen staff (Wartburg Catalog, 1938). She was a tall, pleasant woman who, when thanked for something, usually responded, "You are as welcome as the flowers in May" (E. Chellevold, personal communication, April 12, 1992).

The Waverly newspaper reported that Klyng used innovative teaching methods. One class project was to construct a model house out of paper that was suitable for Iowa’s climate, fit a designated piece of land, and met the needs of a designated family. The students studied aspects of house design and architecture as well as more traditional homemaking. The final exam for one year’s home economics class was to serve an elegant dinner for the Board of Regents
(Wartburg Catalog, 1937; Waverly Democrat, May 10, 1939; January 26, 1941). Fortunately for Wartburg, Klyng did not also submit her resignation at the dinner as her predecessor, Florence Kruger, had done in 1930.

Klyng developed evening classes in 1938 in order to include local community citizens and the regular students. Topics discussed were "Growing Up with Pictures in the Home, The Family Budget, and Handicapped Children" (Wartburg Trumpet, April 30, 1938, p. 3). In 1939, Klyng continued teaching an evening home economics class. That year the class focused on sewing and covered topics on how to renovate old clothing, make new garments, and cover furniture. Klyng also provided frequent community lectures on home economics subjects (Wartburg Trumpet, October 14, 1939). The subjects seemed to have been safer topics for discussion than those Razlaff presented. Klyng returned the Home Economics Department to the more traditional roles for women which may have contributed to her popularity and longer tenure at Wartburg.

In 1940, Klyng married Howard Hodgman who operated of a beauty parlor in Mason City, Iowa. Although married, she continued to teach at Wartburg (Wartburg Trumpet, January 20, 1940). The College had no policy against employing of married women, but Klyng-Hodgman's living arrangements were a concern for Wartburg administrators. The President's report to the Board of Regents stated that she was doing "splendid"
work. However, the report stated that she "and her husband are now both living in Waverly, thus removing the objection voiced against her work while her husband was in Mason City" (Board of Regents' Minutes, December 5, 1940).

Klyng-Hodgman resigned her position in December 1942 to join her husband in a move to Englewood, California. He had taken employment at the North American Aviation Company as part of the war effort. Her students wrote the following tribute:

Mrs. Hodgman's teaching has been characterized by a genuine interest in her students and a real desire to make them not only the best home economics teachers possible, but also the finest type of students and citizens. She will be greatly missed by all who knew her. (Wartburg Trumpet, December 12, 1942)

With the departure of Klyng-Hodgman, Estelle Tandy from St. Louis, Missouri, took charge of the Home Economics Department. Tandy had a master's degree and prior teaching experience. However, Tandy taught at Wartburg for only one year with no reason given for her departure. Eloise Clair Smith was hired to replace Tandy. Smith also had her master's degree and remained at Wartburg for several years (Wartburg Trumpet, January 30, 1943; February 24, 1945; Wartburg Catalog, 1943).

Home economics faculty members actively involved students in the Home Economics Club and a more unique organization that was exclusively for women, Pi Sigma. Pi Sigma was devoted not only to social activities for women but
also to the development of health and charm. Pi Sigma conducted a charm school that sponsored a series of visiting speakers. Meetings focused on topics such as beauty, health, dress, dating, etiquette, and information a young woman of that era needed to know to be socially acceptable. The group also sponsored social events such as a tea for the faculty wives and women faculty, a Christmas party for the local Lutheran orphanage, and a tea for high school seniors (Fortress, 1937, p. 43).

In conjunction with the home economics director, women faculty members and faculty wives served the annual faculty dinner to the male administrators and male faculty members. The women then retired to the kitchen where they ate their dinners (E. Chellevold, personal communication, April 12, 1992; E. Moehl, personal communication, November 22, 1989). One former female faculty member, after relating the story of the tradition, added philosophically, "It really wasn't so bad. The women enjoyed the evening and each other's company. Besides it saved one from having to spend the evening sitting at a table with someone they might not like" (E. Moehl, personal communication, November 22, 1989).

Wartburg College hired women faculty members to teach additional college subjects. Although the Home Economics Department provided the most opportunities for women faculty at Wartburg, women faculty joined the College in other teaching roles. One such faculty member was Dorothy Carr who
came as instructor in education in 1937. She had bachelor's and master's degrees in education from the University of Idaho. Carr opened a pre-school in the fall of 1937 which was housed in a room in Wartburg Hall, the women's dormitory. Carr served as the director, and students in advanced education and psychology classes assisted her. Carr, too, left after only one year to teach at a public college in the west (Waverly Independent, September 28, 1937; Wartburg Catalog, 1938).

Pearl Nieme came to Wartburg in 1937 as instructor in French and history. She, too, had a master's degree and had studied in France. The Wartburg Trumpet stated that Nieme would teach a new course in French "to relieve the crowded German department" (Wartburg Trumpet, September 25, 1937, p. 3). Nieme's contract was not renewed for the following year, and the Board of Regents' minutes gave no reasons for her termination (Board of Regents' Minutes, January 25, 1938).

In 1938, Wartburg engaged Grace Roark from Warrensburg, Missouri, as an instructor in freshman English, as an assistant in education, and as acting Dean of Women. She remained Dean of Women for six years.

Roark, too, had a master's degree. In a student newspaper interview that gave some insight into her personality, Roark stated that she enjoyed her supervisory work because it gave her an excuse to go walking every day. She added, however, "Of course, I would also like to drive if
I had an automobile" (*Wartburg Trumpet*, September 24, 1938; November 23, 1939; *Wartburg Catalogs*, 1938-1943). Ottersberg pointed out that at one time the cooks at Wartburg had cars, but the female faculty did not. However the cooks usually lent their cars to faculty upon occasion (G. Ottersberg, personal communication, December 29, 1991).

As Dean of Women, Roark became actively involved in students' personal lives. She reported that much of her time was spent counseling with students. "So far this year I have considered with individual students their financial, vocational, emotional, social, and scholastic problems" (*Dean of the College Report*, November 18, 1941).

Margaret Wacknitz joined the Wartburg faculty in 1939 as instructor in French, German, and history. Wacknitz was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and lived in Romania before coming to America in 1923. She received her childhood education in schools in Romania, Germany, and Switzerland and received her master's degree from the University of Minnesota. Wacknitz stated in the *Wartburg Trumpet* that she liked "the friendly spirit of the school and the 'get down to business' attitude of the students" (*Wartburg Catalog*, 1939; *Wartburg Trumpet*, September 23, 1939; September 25, 1943). Wacknitz resigned from Wartburg in 1943 to become an interpreter for the Women's Armed Forces. She was one of three faculty members, and the only female faculty member, to
resign from Wartburg to join the military services (*Wartburg Trumpet*, September 27, 1941; *Wartburg Catalog*, 1941).

Two part-time women faculty members, English instructor Helen Coffman McKenzie and art instructor Helen Wright, were particularly active at Wartburg College. McKenzie was married to Wartburg's athletic coach and began teaching part-time at Wartburg in 1938 as enrollment needs demanded. McKenzie had her master's degree in English. She taught English and served as drama and speech coach (E. Chellevold, personal communication, April 12, 1992). McKenzie was willing to assist wherever she was needed. She organized a pep club and cheerleaders. During her second year at Wartburg, she became the advisor for the Forensic Society and built up a successful debate squad of 22 students (*Wartburg Trumpet*, December 9, 1939; September 28, 1940).

Wright, a graduate of the Art Institute of Chicago, began as a part-time instructor of art in 1936. She expanded course work to include interior decorating. Wright was active in hosting social events to encourage public viewing of her own and her students' art exhibits. One of Wright's exhibitions on hobbies included the audience's involvement in finger painting. Wright developed an industrial arts class for teachers to "help children to a better understanding of our modern civilization." The class included the following problems of society: "dealing with clothing, transportation, food and shelter, and record-keeping" (*Wartburg Trumpet*, December 9, 1939; September 28, 1940).
April 11, 1942, p. 4). In 1941, the Dean of the College appointed Wright recreational director. No description could be found as to what specifically the administrator expected of the recreational director (Board of Regents' Minutes, November 11, 1941). Given Wartburg's past history of finding women faculty members as convenient resources, recreational director probably had more to do with organizing social events than it did with art appreciation. Wright was another example of a woman faculty member, this time a professional artist, finding herself channeled into traditional niches for teaching and campus activities.

Just as they had at Wartburg Academy and Normal School, women faculty contributed on several levels to the development of Wartburg College. They promoted and taught in traditional women's courses, expanded the curriculum, enhanced campus life, and provided a valuable economic resource to the struggling school.

Room and board was often considered in lieu of faculty salaries. Often room and board for female faculty also meant serving as a women's dormitory preceptress or as a dietician and dining room director.

Female faculty members were paid less than male faculty members at the Academy, Normal School, and at the four-year College as well. Table 3 demonstrates the discrepancy in proposed ranking and salaries between male and female members. Ranking and salaries for 1938 were as follows:
Table 3

Gender, Rank, and Salary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Hired</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>A.M.</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Professor</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>1935</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Ph.D.</td>
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<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>1933</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1923</td>
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<td>1926</td>
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<td>Ph.D.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>M.S.</td>
<td>1930</td>
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<td>A.M.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>$1,600.00 &amp; room</td>
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<td>1935</td>
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<td>Instructor</td>
<td>A.M.</td>
<td>1937</td>
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<td>Instructor</td>
<td>A.M.</td>
<td>1937</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note. Board of Regent’s minutes, June 1, 1937; Wartburg Catalog, 1937.

Women Faculty Influenced the Direction of the College

The presence of women students and faculty influenced the purpose and direction of the College to become a liberal arts college and provided an important economic resource. With relocation of the facilities to Waverly in 1935, the College reiterated its commitment to coeducation. It additionally moved closer to becoming a full liberal arts college. The 1937 catalog described Wartburg College as “a
four-year coeducational senior college offering standard courses in the humanities and science. It also maintains music and business administration departments, and possesses complete equipment for domestic science and manual training departments" (Wartburg Catalog, 1937, p. 21).

In 1936, the College had developed a system of majors. Upon admission to the College, students were required to sign up for the course of study they wished to pursue. The following "majors" were listed in the 1936 Wartburg Catalog (p. 36):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Art</th>
<th>Liberal Arts</th>
<th>Medicine</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business or Commerce</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Nursing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mission and Church Workers</td>
<td>Pre-Professional</td>
<td>Office Training</td>
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<td>Engineering, Law</td>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>Theology</td>
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<td></td>
<td>High School, Elementary</td>
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</table>

All majors were open to all students but remained somewhat channeled. Women students still predominated in subjects such as office training, teacher training particularly at the elementary level, and eventually in home economics and social work.

Even as late as 1940, however, debate regarding the educational focus of Wartburg continued among some church officials. In his report to Wartburg College's Board of Regents, then President Braulick requested that the Board clearly define the school's objectives. Should it follow the classical pattern or adopt the more American public school emphasis on sociology and biology? Should it be a
"mere feeder for Dubuque [seminary] or a normal training school for teachers?" (Board of Regents' Minutes, December 5, 1940, p. 2).

Ultimately the College committed itself to a liberal arts curriculum and to gaining North Central Accreditation. The College and the Lutheran Church both decided that the direction of the College should be to focus on the social sciences and to strengthen the liberal arts. The debate as to the College’s objectives was finally settled, and Wartburg received North Central Accreditation as a liberal arts college in 1948 (Ottersberg, 1952, pp. 83-93; Ottersberg, 1983, p. 64; Wartburg Catalog, 1937).

Following the development of majors, Wartburg assigned teaching ranks in 1938 having previously engaged teachers on one-year contracts. With a faculty ranking system, three-year tenures were granted to faculty above the level of instructor. Since no woman had advanced above that level, no woman faculty member ever had a contract beyond one year at a time (Ottersberg, 1952, p. 81; Board of Regents' Minutes, June 1, 1937; F. Culbertson, personal communication, April 3, 1992). Women faculty remained at the lowest level of instructor where they received not only less job security but also less pay than their male counterparts.

This differential in ranking and pay was evident in an example from 1939. Male faculty members with master’s degrees received an average annual salary of $1,985, and male
faculty members with Ph.D.s received $2,500. Women faculty with master’s degrees averaged an annual salary of $1,300 which sometimes included room and board (Board of Regents’ Minutes, June 1, 1931; Wartburg Catalog, 1939). However, the room and board usually meant living in the women’s dormitory and serving as hall floor supervisor.

Salary levels may have also contributed to the short tenure of women faculty members at Wartburg. In contrast to most of the male faculty members, none of the full-time female faculty members listed in 1937 were still at Wartburg in 1944. While the male faculty numbers remained relatively stable, women faculty members displayed a much higher rate of turnover. By this time, women faculty primarily left not to get married as in earlier years but to teach in public colleges and universities where the salaries were higher.

Women faculty members influenced the purpose and direction of the College to become a liberal arts college as they taught courses and expanded the curriculum predominately within the social sciences and humanities. The presence of women students and faculty provided an important argument against moving the College back to its male-predominated emphasis on pre-seminary training and toward the liberal arts. Additionally, women students and faculty provided an economic resource vital to the College’s very survival.
The presence of women faculty during World War II allowed Wartburg College to survive the loss of male students and faculty. The entrance of the United States into World War II in December 1941, impacted the nation and Wartburg. The war took its toll on student enrollment. The College began in the fall of 1942 with a record enrollment of 258 students and 20 full-time faculty members, three of whom were women. The fall of 1944 found enrollment at 153 with 17 full-time faculty, four of whom were women (Wartburg Trumpet, September 26, 1942; September 25, 1943; September 16, 1944; Fortress, 1941, 1943, 1944). Women faculty members moved into teaching slots vacated by male faculty members who left to join the armed services.

The wife of a former faculty member, Evelyn Chellevold, described the College during the war years:

My husband left his faculty position to join the Navy and was not replaced by another faculty member. The rest of the faculty filled in as best they could, including the women. The women even taught in the sciences which was new for them. When the war caused a shortage of janitorial services, the women faculty picked up those duties as well. (personal communication, April 12, 1992).

Women students and faculty additionally sold war bonds, advocated for rationing, engaged in Red Cross volunteer work, and provided support for each other, the College, and war effort (Wartburg Trumpet, March 11, 1943). Until World War II, Wartburg found women faculty members to be a ready
economic resource. During the war, the women faculty became a ready physical resource as well. They stayed on to teach at Wartburg when salaries were sometimes not paid, and they provided additional teaching, supervisory, and physical labor for the College.

Throughout the history of Wartburg Academy, Normal School, and College, the presence of women added to the financial stability of the school and the quality of life for students. Enrollment increased with the admission of women students. Women faculty taught primarily in the channeled fields of home economics, teacher training, and commercial studies. Women faculty expanded the curriculum, enhanced the social life on campus, and provided additional services such as canning food for the kitchen and serving as dormitory preceptresses.

The presence of women faculty supported the College’s final decision to remain coeducational and to become accredited as a liberal arts institution. Much of what Wartburg College is today is because of the work and commitment of these college foremothers.
CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION

Beginning with Wartburg Academy through the development of the four-year college, women students and women faculty played a key role in the survival of the school. Women students were admitted to Wartburg Academy in 1896, earlier than many of the Lutheran educational institutions. Because of this early inclusion of women students, Wartburg employed the first woman faculty member in an Iowa Synod educational institution—Henriette Pribnow in 1914. The women faculty did not view themselves as extraordinary for their era. They did not hold any upper administrative positions. Yet these women made a significant contribution to the development and survival of Wartburg College.

One of the reasons for adding women students and faculty was economic necessity. The minutes from the Boards of Directors' meetings showed frequent discussions regarding the need for increased revenue. Since the school was tuition driven, attracting more students, particularly female students, was encouraged. Wartburg increased its enrollment of female students at critical times in its history, and more female students necessitated the hiring of more women faculty. An additional institutional benefit was that women faculty members worked for lower salaries than their male counterparts.
Much of the general history of women faculty in education discussed the impact of higher education on the economic development of the women themselves. However little has been written on the economic benefit to an institution itself. One reference to institutional economics came from den Boggende (1995) in his article *The Female Department of Cobourg's Upper Canada Academy, 1836-42: A Monument of Wisdom, Piety, Loyalty and Patriotism*. den Boggende wrote, "The institution's finances were unstable, and the inclusion of girls and women not only permitted a larger enrollment, but required extra tuition for the fine arts courses girls tended to choose" (Boggende, pp. 271-291).

From 1914, most of Wartburg's women students were concentrated in three courses of study: home economics, commercial, and teacher training. Home economics became a vocational study for women and reached its peak enrollment in the first two decades of the 20th century, and Wartburg was no exception. Ellen Richards, one of the founders of home economics, stated, "Tomorrow the woman who is to be really mistress of her house must be an engineer, so far as to be able to understand the use of machines, and to believe what she is told" (Rury, 1984, p. 26).

Along with teaching in the three concentrations, many women faculty members also provided additional in-kind services to the institution. The home economics teachers
also supervised the kitchen and dining room and canned produce for student meals.

One example such a multipurpose woman was Florence Kruger who taught home economics and served as dietician. A former student recalled that Kruger was directly instrumental in improving the food as well as the social life on campus. Student Marie Woodrich noted: “Miss Kruger worked with the cooks, and soon we had homemade bread and pastries and the most wonderful lemon pie which was the usual Sunday fare” (personal communication, Waverly, Iowa, April 13, 1992).

Another example is Alma Neil. While the commercial course of the Academy was developed by male faculty, Alma Neil, expanded the curriculum and opened up the world of clerical and business opportunities for female students. She taught Commercial Arithmetic and Rapid Calculation, Business English, Spelling, Bookkeeping, Community Civics, and Commercial Law. She also organized and sponsored the debate team (Wartburg Bulletin, 1918-1919, p. 25).

Female faculty added to the campus life by encouraging and developing women’s athletic activities. In 1923 Lydia Wimmer, athletic director, organized a women’s basketball team and successfully petitioned the Academy administration to allow the women to play other teams competitively, a first for Wartburg (WAHSA, 1924, p. 22).

Even with increased enrollment, enhanced student life, and the additional duties performed by women faculty,
Wartburg Academy struggled at a time when the public high schools flourished. One way to bolster Wartburg's financial difficulties was to supplement the regular curriculum with courses in music and business (commercial), so called "community service" courses taught entirely by women faculty members. "The process extended well into the twentieth century" (Solberg, pp. 128-129). These courses attracted additional students from the community of Waverly. This early inclusion of community students proved to be significant in 1935 and helped win approval to move the previously merged College from Clinton to Waverly. The proponents of the Waverly location used the inflated enrollment figures which included the many years of students taught in these community courses.

Wartburg developed a normal school in 1920 primarily for teacher training which attracted female students and faculty. The Normal School, too, relied heavily on tuition for financial support. Additionally, Normal School students paid a higher tuition than Academy students which enhanced revenues. Teacher training courses were taught almost entirely by women faculty members, who, like those in the Academy, were paid less than their male counterparts.

Female faculty in the Normal School enhanced the intellectual and social climates at the Normal School. Director of Education, Cecile Crandall, developed a new literary society to elevate the intellectual rigor for female
students. She insisted on the following requirement, “that a standard higher than that of the existing societies be the aim” (Wartburg Catalog, 1923, p. 43).

Women faculty added to the athletic program at the Normal School. Elsie Kruger became the women's athletic coach in 1930 and created a new athletic organization for female students, the Girls' Athletic Association to promote interest and involvement in women's athletics. Through the Girls' Athletic Association, female athletes earned their athletic letter "W" like the male athletes (WAHSA, 1930-1931, p. 43).

Women faculty expanded that curriculum to include college-level courses. Women faculty members taught English, foreign languages, history, mathematics, political science, economics, and education courses. They also taught many courses in the Normal School's liberal arts study to prepare students to transfer to four-year colleges or professional schools (Wartburg Catalogs, 1920-1922).

Women faculty made a significant positive impact on Wartburg College following its permanent relocation in Waverly in 1935. For example, Dean of Women Katherine Kaiser organized the Wartburg Women's Athletic Association in 1936 to promote intercollegiate competition for women and recognize the accomplishments of women athletes. Membership in the organization required active participation in
athletics and adherence to health rules (Wartburg Trumpet, May 4, 1936; July 21, 1936; December 7, 1936).

Another example was Marie Schoenbohm who came to Wartburg College to teach home economics in 1936. She additionally taught human physiology and hygiene in the Biology Department because the Biology Department was short a faculty member. Women faculty added more liberal arts courses such as natural sciences, social sciences, art and architecture to the home economics curriculum (Wartburg Catalogs, 1937-1944; Wartburg Trumpet, September 21, 1936).

These women enhanced campus life through the development of social activities, literary societies, athletics, and facilitated curriculum expansion in the Academy, Normal School, and College. They taught courses vacated by male faculty members who left to join the armed forces during war time.

Wartburg College provides a case study for the examination of the inclusion of women faculty members, their roles and influence on the College. Wartburg’s development followed the path of public education in the United States. Women faculty members held few leadership positions at the school, were not accorded rank or the title of professor, and were paid less than the male faculty. Women faculty taught in channeled fields, but also taught in other disciplines such as the natural sciences whenever a male faculty member was unavailable.
Many of the women faculty lived on campus with the students. They ate with the students, listened to students' problems and concerns, and counseled them on educational and personal problems. As former Academy student Erna Moehl observed: "The presence of women faculty dramatically changed the campus for the better. They changed the whole atmosphere of campus life with numerous social events and provided a more warm and nurturing place in which to live and learn" (personal communication, November 22, 1989).

With few exceptions, women faculty members did not remain at Wartburg Academy, Normal School, or College as long as most male faculty. Many women faculty left after two years of teaching. While records did not provide the reasons for most resignations, interviewees stated that many women faculty left to teach in the public schools or state colleges for higher salaries. Some women faculty married and left to become full-time homemakers even though Wartburg had no restrictions against married women remaining on the faculty.

Much about the women faculty members must be inferred from school records, newspaper articles and publications, and distant memories of former students. Former students and the few living faculty members from that era who were interviewed, reflected positive memories about Wartburg and its strong feeling of family.

These women served as teachers, directors, literary guides, dormitory mothers, coaches, and dieticians. Women
faculty provided a needed economic resource, enhanced campus life, and impacted the educational development of the school. They were credited by students with helping to temper the intellectual with the emotional, for making both the academic and campus life more personal, compassionate, and communal.

Not many details of these women's personal lives remain, however their service and their importance cannot be discounted. Wartburg College exists today as a strong liberal arts college because of these women's presence and contributions to the students and to the institution. As former Wartburg student and faculty member, Erna Moehl, summarized, "The presence of women faculty dramatically changed the campus for the better" (personal communication, November 22, 1989).
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APPENDIX A

HISTORY OF WARTBURG COLLEGE
History of Wartburg College

Saginaw
1852-53
Opens as hospice for immigrants and teacher training center.

Dubuque
1853-57
The school's beliefs are too moderate for the Saginaw area, so the school moves to Dubuque and includes students studying to be ministers.

St. Sebald
1857-68
The school moves to a rural area because of high costs and operates a farm.

Galena
1868-75
Growth of the college requires more space causing move to Galena.

Academy

Andrew
1878-79
Arrangement made with the Andrew Orphanage to recruit more students to become teachers.

Waverly
1879-1933
Waverly chosen as site of teacher-training institution because of land and funding.

College

Mendota
1875-85
College joins seminary school in Mendota.

Waverly
1885-94
Students from Mendota are moved to Waverly.

Normal School

Waverly
1920-1933
Public education grows and Wartburg Normal College expands and offers coeducation and academy education. Joins Clinton in 1933.

Clinton
1894-1935
The college students and faculty separate from teacher-training students and move to Clinton.

Waverly
1935-Present
Entire college moves to Waverly where the facilities are most adequate and was located among Lutheran congregations.

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Move again?
Why?

Saginaw, Mich., 1852
The school began as a hospice (place of refuge) for immigrants and a training center for teachers.

Dubuque, Ia., 1853
Doctrinal dissention arose between school personnel and Michigan Missouri Synod congregations, so the school moved to Dubuque.

St. Sebald, Ia., 1857
High costs induced a move to a rural area where the school could operate a farm.

Galena, Ill., 1868
Enrollment increased because of additional German immigrants, and St. Sebald became too small. A vacant building was available for purchase in Galena where Synod had a strong congregation.

Mendota, Ill., 1875
Unstable financial equilibrium caused the college to join the theological school already established at Mendota.

Waverly, Ia., 1879
A teacher-training institution was needed. The site at Waverly was chosen because the community raised funds for building.

Clinton, Ia., 1894
Again facilities were inadequate. Separating from the teacher-training institution in Waverly, the college students and faculty moved to Clinton.

Sterling, Neb., 1925
The academy at Sterling was founded by the Western District. After the district merged with the Iowa Synod, the academy closed because of financial needs.

St. Paul, Minn., 1933
To cope with the depression, the school at Eureka merged with the school at St. Paul.

For many years Wartburg was literally a school on the move.

Clinton, Ia., 1933
Wartburg College (Clinton) and Wartburg Normal College (Waverly) merged at Clinton.

Waverly, Ia., 1935
Dissipation of programs and financial problems caused the Clinton and Waverly schools to rejoin in Waverly.

St. Paul-Luther also moved to Waverly. Waverly was selected because it had good plant facilities and was located in the midst of Lutheran congregations.

Waverly, Ia., 1942
The junior college at Hebron, Neb., closed because the newly formed American Lutheran Church was the guardian of more colleges than it could finance.
APPENDIX B

WOMEN FACULTY OF WARTBURG COLLEGE
Women Faculty of Wartburg Academy, Normal School, & College

1914 1920 1925 1930 1935 1940 1945

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<th>1930</th>
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Henriette Pribnow was the first women faculty member of an Iowa Synod Institution and taught Home Economics at Wartburg Academy from 1914 to 1916. She was born on August 17, 1886 in New London, Wisconsin. Her parents were J.F. Pribnow and Ernestine Gorges Pribnow.