

EMILY TAYLOR, DEAN OF WOMEN:
INTERGENERATIONAL ACTIVISM AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

by

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B.A., Kansas State University, 1993
B.A., Wichita State University, 1994
M.A., University of Maryland, 1996

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submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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Abstract

Historians have often linked the route of the second wave of the women's movement on college campuses with the development of women's liberation as young women involved in the New Left came to feminist consciousness working in civil rights and anti-Vietnam protests. This dissertation considers a "longer, quieter" route to feminist consciousness on a college campus by considering the role of a dean of women, Dr. Emily Taylor, at the University of Kansas between 1956 and 1974. Through her office that centered on women's affairs, Taylor used the student personnel and counseling profession to instigate the dissolution of parietals at KU, a project that has long been associated with New Left student protests. A liberal feminist committed to incremental change to benefit women's equal status in society, Taylor structured her office to foster feminist consciousness in undergraduate students, and provided staff support to New Left and radical women's groups as they emerged on the KU campus. As a result, the intergenerational exchange that occurred within the KU dean of women's office illustrates one example of how liberal and radical feminists interacted to foster social change within an institution of higher learning. The projects undertaken within her office illustrate that these seemingly separate groups of women overlapped, collaborated, and sometimes clashed as they worked toward achieving feminist goals. Her career at KU also shows that the metaphor of a first and second wave of the women's movement may not be an accurate picture of the growth of feminism on co-educational campuses.

Little scholarly work exists on the role of deans of women in higher education, or regarding women college students in the years immediately following World War II. This

dissertation adds to the literature in both areas, showing that in the case of KU the administration was not a monolithic obstacle to student protest, the New Left, civil rights, and feminism. Instead, Taylor as dean of women pushed initiatives that bore on all of these areas. While Taylor is one example, her career illustrates patterns in deans of women's activities that deserve further study and consideration.

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of anecdotes and lack of organization. He always reminded me not to let perfect be the enemy of good. Both of my parents instilled within me a love of education, and a belief in social justice. I am grateful for both.

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Note on Spelling and Capitalization

The spelling, capitalization, and punctuation used in direct quotations in this dissertation are those found in the original documents.

Preface

This dissertation is a micro-history considering the development of the women's movement at the University of Kansas (KU) after World War II. It focuses on KU dean of women, Dr. Emily Taylor, as a means to view the interactions between students and university administrators in the growth of women's activism on the KU campus through the early 1970s. Reflecting on Taylor's example reveals the national connections between women's associations, the student personnel profession (later called student affairs), and the growth of feminism¹ within the academy. Because this project relies upon Taylor's role at KU as a vantage point, understanding her personal motivations and background provide important context for the project. This preface outlines a biographical sketch of Taylor in order to consider early influences as well as her lifetime career achievements. It also reviews how the author and Taylor began working together to germinate this dissertation.

A Brief Biography

Mary Emily Taylor was born in 1915 in Columbia, Alabama, and shortly thereafter her family moved to DeGraff, Ohio. The second of three daughters, she

¹ This dissertation addresses an historical case study of the implementation of activities supporting the expansion of women's role in the public sphere outside the home. It also considers the dissolution of traditional gender roles for women in both the private and public spheres. Such activities are largely termed "feminism" today. Feminism, however, has no easy, single definition. Its meaning remains contingent upon the time and context for its use. Given that this dissertation covers a time period when such definitions varied greatly, for the purposes of this project I use the term generally unless it is qualified or defined specifically.

recalled her mother's strength of carriage as a role model for her own approach to life. Taylor credited the small high school environment in DeGraff as a key element in her growth academically and in her confidence in her own intellect. Although the small high school fostered her individual abilities, she learned that talent alone did not place girls on equal footing with boys in 1930s Ohio. For instance, at age 16, she clearly gave the most outstanding speech at a high school oratory contest, but the judges gave her second place so a boy did not lose to a girl. One of two individuals to attend college out of her 1933 graduating high school class, Taylor graduated as valedictorian and attended a two-year school, Urbana Junior College, where she earned an associate's degree in 1935. Despite the Depression-era financial challenges, Taylor achieved a bachelor's degree in 1937 at Ohio State University (OSU).

While at OSU she discovered again that society preferred male achievement over female accomplishment. A new acquaintance at OSU asked Taylor if she knew a male high school classmate from DeGraff who had been the class valedictorian. "I went to the (DeGraff) superintendent and said, 'Did you really list [him] as the valedictorian of his class?' And he said, 'This is embarrassing, he . . . you went to different schools, so I didn't think that you would ever end up at the same school.'"

Originally intending to study law, Taylor switched to education due to poor employment prospects during the Depression. As a student, she resented the tight rules and regulations administered by Dean of Women Esther Allen Gaw and disagreed with the OSU dean's approach to advising women students. In particular, Taylor remembered objecting to Gaw's emphasis on marriage. "I even heard her say one time that people really had a choice between whether they'd go on for a doctorate, or go for a 'M R S.'"

And the ‘M R S.’ was every bit as good”² Taylor objected to the way Gaw framed such questions as a choice between marriage and education.

After graduating from OSU, Taylor began her career as a teacher in her high school in De Graff for one year before a family friend recommended her to the principal at Deer Park High School in Cincinnati, Ohio, where she became head of the English Department. Teaching English, American Literature and a drama course, Taylor also counseled students. As a drama teacher, Taylor often assigned women to play male roles to help them consider other options for their futures.³ Through her counseling she began referring women students to college and remembered writing to the president of Urbana Junior College in order to help secure such students scholarships and jobs. While at Deer Park, Taylor discovered the common discrepancy between male and female teaching salaries. The superintendent had hired Taylor at fifty percent less than a male counterpart who had no expectations to assist with extracurricular duties as did Taylor. She inquired about the difference in salary, remembering the response she received from the superintendent:

“He’s got a wife and he’s got a baby on the way and you could get by with the money you have and he really needs it more.” And I said, “Well, I thought you were paying for the job that people were doing.” And so I vowed at that moment I never again would take a job where there was any distinction made in salaries paid to men and women. . . . That was 1938. The first time we had any law that involved the same principle was over 30 years later⁴

The incident defined Taylor’s belief in equal pay for equal work, and also clarified to her the social expectations for single, working women to eventually marry and stop working.

² Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 4, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.).

³ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 7, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.).

⁴ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date" (Lawrence, Kan.).

While teaching, Taylor continued to attend Ohio State, completing coursework toward a master's degree in counseling in 1944. While Taylor disagreed with Dean Gaw's approach at OSU, she developed great regard for Associate Dean of Women Grace S. M. Zorbaugh. Taylor asked to shadow Zorbaugh in the dean of women's office and the associate dean encouraged Taylor to focus her graduate work on guidance and counseling. Upon completing the degree, Taylor accepted a position as an assistant in the dean of women's office at Indiana University (IU) in 1944.

At IU, Taylor served as a counselor in a residence hall which housed junior and senior undergraduate women. She also found her life-long mentor, Dr. Kate Hevner Mueller, IU's dean of women. Mueller encouraged Taylor to pursue a doctorate, and Taylor would model her own mentoring of women students after the close attention she received from Mueller both in the office and off-campus. During her time as an IU counselor, Taylor presented to an audience which included National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) President Hilda Threlkeld, dean of women at the University of Louisville.⁵ Taylor's presentation caught Threlkeld's attention as Threlkeld sought a

⁵ The National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) was founded in 1916 and experienced several name changes before being absorbed in 2000 by the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) which was originally established as the National Association of Deans and Advisors of Men. NADW changed its name to the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (NAWDC) in 1956 as a means to include women who had become senior counselors reporting to deans of students. Again, the organization changed its name in 1973 to the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors (NAWDAC) to reflect the growing number of women administrators. Finally, in 1990, the organization became the National Association for Women in Education (NAWE) before it

summer replacement due to the requirements of the NADW presidency. With Mueller's recommendation, Threlkeld hired Taylor to serve two summers in the Louisville dean of women's office. In her second year there, Taylor began receiving employment offers from various schools. To sort through the options, she considered the structure of the rules and regulations governing women student's activities for each campus to find a location she felt provided latitude for women students (and the dean of women who would guide them). In 1946, the President of Northern Montana College offered Taylor twice her salary to become dean of women at that institution in Havre, Montana. There she became the president of the Montana American Association of University Women (AAUW) chapter. She served the college until 1951.⁶ She returned to IU in 1952 to earn her doctorate with Mueller as her advisor.⁷ After accepting a role in 1953 as associate dean of women at Miami University in Ohio, she finished her Ed.D. in 1955. Miami hired Taylor to replace an ill dean of women. When that woman decided to remain in her post, Taylor accepted the position of dean of women at KU in 1956.

merged with NASPA in 2000. For the purposes of this paper and for clarity, I will refer to the organization under the acronym, NADW.

⁶ "Dean Recounts Day," *University Daily Kansan*, November 9, 1962.

⁷ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 19, 1998" (Lawrence, Kan.); Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, April 7, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.); Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 7, 1997."



Figure 1: Taylor during her career at the University of Kansas. Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's papers.

During her tenure in Kansas, Taylor served on the Kansas Governor's Commission on the Status of Women from 1969 through 1975. A multi-decade member of the NADW, Taylor served as liaison to the Intercollegiate Association of Women Students (IAWS), among other roles. She also served as president of the Kansas state NADW chapter. In 1975, Taylor left KU to accept a position with the American Council on Education (ACE) as the Director of the Office of Women in Higher Education. There, she would again work with former KU dean of women's staff member Donna Shavlik who had recommended her for the job. Located at the ACE headquarters in Washington D.C., Taylor's office secured a Carnegie Corporation grant of \$195,000 to develop the National Identification Project (NIP). NIP, today known as the ACE Network, designated women in academia who were ready to accept the challenges of a presidency of an

academic institution. Through NIP, Taylor promoted the availability of women for presidencies and other high-level administrative jobs, and provided a clear list of women for universities to consider for the role. This tactic served to address the regular stance universities took in searching for a president – their search committees often indicated they would be pleased to hire a woman president, if they might find one prepared for the position. By custom, however, women’s names rarely surfaced for consideration in the early 1970s. The NIP achieved great success. “Hundreds of women who participated in the program now are presidents or chancellors of U.S. colleges and universities or serving in high administrative posts.”⁸ In addition, during her time at ACE she and Shavlik wrote a guide to Title IX which assisted institutions of higher education in implementing the law. It became accepted interpretation by the majority of institutions of higher learning.

During her time in Washington D.C., Taylor served as the national president of the National Association of Commissions for Women (NACW) from 1975 through 1977, the umbrella organization for the state commissions which spun out of the President’s Commission on the Status of Women. Taylor was present at the creation of the NACW on June 10, 1970 and edited the NACW newsletter, *Breakthrough*, from her office at KU. She also served on the national board of the Women’s Equity Action League (WEAL) in 1974, her final year as dean of women at the University of Kansas. In addition, the Maryland Governor appointed her to the Maryland Commission on the Status of Women in 1975 and she served as delegate for the International Women’s Year conference. She presided as president over the Women’s Institute housed at The American University

⁸ Ann Gardner, "KU 'Legend' Emily Taylor Dies," May 2, 2004, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, <http://ljworld.com/section/kunews/story/168971>.

beginning in 1978 through the early 1980s which provided non-credit courses regarding both women's issues and personal development. The advisory council for the Women's Institute included, among others, Marguerite Rawalt, the first legal counsel for the National Organization for Women, Bernice Sandler, often called the "mother of Title IX," and Sheila Tobias, the author of the influential *Overcoming Math Anxiety*. Taylor employed the Women's Institute and her NAWE (formerly NADW) connections to foster a new National Conference for College Women Student Leaders (NCCWSL) as a leadership training alternative for women college students due to the dissolution of the Intercollegiate Association for Women Students. The NCCWSL continues today as a partnership between the American Association of University Women (AAUW) and National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA).⁹ In addition, the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools appointed Taylor as a consultant-evaluator for the Commission on Institutions in Higher Education. Taylor also served on the Urbana College Board of Trustees for a decade, and also on the Benedictine College Board of Governors. Former student Kala (Mays) Stroup, who became president of Murray State University in Kentucky and Southeast Missouri State University before serving as Commissioner of Higher Education for Missouri, called Taylor "the most

⁹ Gail Short Hanson, "Organizational Transformation: A Case Study of the Intercollegiate Association for Women Students," (Ph.D. George Washington University, 1995); Lynn M. Gangone, "The National Association for Women in Education: An Enduring Legacy," *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education* 1, 1 (2008): 1-22.

significant woman leader on the national [women's education] scene in the late 70s and 80s.”¹⁰

Taylor's career awards are many. KU named Taylor to the Women's Hall of Fame in 1971, and in 1974, upon her retirement from the university, the Kansas Board of Regents renamed the Women's Resource and Career Planning Center she established in the dean of women's office as the Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center. In 1979, NASPA named Taylor the eighth person to receive the Outstanding Contribution to Higher Education Award. Also, the National Association for Women in Education (formerly NADW) honored her with the Esther Lloyd-Jones Award for Distinguished Service. She also received the American College Personnel Association Diamond Honoree Award, and the NASPA Pillar of the Profession Award.

After retiring from ACE in 1982, Taylor returned to Lawrence, Kansas, in 1986 where she remained active as a consultant on women's issues, education and, later, health care and hospice. Kansas governors appointed her to the State Advisory Council on Aging, and to the Kansas Board of Healing Arts where she served for eight years. David Ambler, former vice provost for student success who knew Taylor by reputation before arriving at KU in 1977 noted, “She was supposedly in retirement, but she was still in demand and was still making a difference.”¹¹ KU awarded Taylor the Distinguished Service Citation, its highest honor in 1989. By 1997, she was one of only 5 non-alumni to receive the award, and one of only 33 women out of over 300 to receive the distinction.

¹⁰ Ann Gardner, "KU 'Legend' Emily Taylor Dies."

¹¹ "Taylor Remembered," May 3, 2004, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, <http://ljworld.com/section/kunews/story/168995>.

In the final five years of her life, after being diagnosed with leukemia, Taylor founded the Lawrence Caring Communities Council to focus on end-of-life issues. She became interested in pain-management through her service on the Board of Healing Arts, and advocated for dying with dignity and establishing the legal means necessary for doctors to prescribe pain medicine at the end of life without fear of legal retribution. She served on the Kansas LIFE Project board until her death. Taylor died at age 89 in Lawrence, Kansas in 2004.

Researching Taylor's Story

Researching Taylor's story began through a match-making of sorts. I had recently completed my master's degree at the University of Maryland in 1996, and my former college housemother knew of my interest in women's issues. Coincidentally, the housemother played bridge with Taylor's sister, and arranged for me to meet Taylor in early 1997. We met at her home, and during the conversation in which she shared some short stories about her career at KU, I impulsively asked her if she intended to record them. My master's work focused on oral and life history, and I was intrigued with Taylor's feminist activities which occurred so clearly before the second wave of the women's movement. Taylor asked me about my own research and to send her an example of my writing. She noted others had asked to write her life history before, and that she had always declined. Out of courtesy, I sent a copy of my master's thesis to her, though I had the strong impression I would not be writing her life history. Several days later I received a call from Taylor, and she brusquely said, "I've finished reading your paper and I'm ready to discuss it. When are you coming to Lawrence?" Anyone familiar with Taylor will recognize my instinct that this was not a request, but a directive – and I

quickly arranged to return to her home. We negotiated that I would write the oral history, though she clearly intended to edit the work if I completed it while she lived. I agreed to the arrangement, and began interviews which lasted until her death in 2004.

Taylor was a formal and intimidating person in my initial interactions with her and we conducted interviews in her living room, often with dinner to follow at the dining table joined by her sister, Genevieve McMahan. Over time, we began to hold interviews in her bedroom, and eventually she greeted me in a housecoat rather than the dresses she always wore in public. McMahan often prepared dinner for us on beechwood trays which I would carry back to Taylor's room for our sessions. Sometimes, we discussed current events rather than interviewing, and for a short period after Taylor was diagnosed with leukemia, I spent a large amount of time helping her learn to navigate the internet so that she could learn as much as possible about the disease. It was clearer to me then than ever that Taylor handled a challenge by learning all she could about the topic.

After the first few interviews, I told Taylor that I was planning to visit the Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas to review the dean of women's files in the University Archives. Taylor suggested that I do so and return to discuss what I found there. She said it with a smirk. Once I arrived at the university archives and talked with a university archivist Ned Kehde, I understood her wry grin. The dean of women's records was comprised of mainly form letters and news clippings. There was little of substance in her files that would be useful in an historical project. When I returned to talk with Taylor, she said she doubted much would be there – as she had shredded the vast majority of her files – and she had kept few records while serving

as dean of women. Her rationale for limited record-keeping began while at University of



Figure 2: Taylor at her dining table during an interview with the author. Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's papers.

Miami at Ohio. There, Taylor experienced an FBI review of a former student whose record said she had had a conversation about communism during her freshman year. The FBI required a major review of the woman due to the comment, and Taylor felt it was

unfair.¹² Later, as dean of women at KU, she confirmed her commitment to working without records when a prospective woman student made an appointment with her to discuss enrollment at KU. The need for the appointment puzzled Taylor as enrollment did not require her permission. However, the student told her she had been dismissed from a higher education institution due to suspected lesbian activity. In her efforts to enroll in other universities, her applications had been rejected when her file was transferred to other institutions. She informed Taylor of the situation to see if she would be rejected at KU due to the contents of the file. Taylor accepted the student at KU, and suggested to her staff that they would not record sexual activity information in the office files. Taylor also avoided record-keeping that would punish individuals who tried to assist in a difficult situation. For instance, she shared an instance when a KU student tried to commit suicide. Taylor had received a confidential note from the woman's high school counselor that indicated the student might be suicidal. The parents, however, met with the KU chancellor to claim that the suicide attempt was the university's fault. When the chancellor indicated to the parents that the university was aware the student had experienced problems in high school, Taylor's office purposely "couldn't find" the record in order to protect the high school counselor who had tried to help the student.¹³ In addition, much of Taylor's work in the dean of women's office at KU focused on advocacy for women students and agitating for social change. As such, activities seen as controversial at the time were even more likely to have been handled without documentation.

¹² Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003" (Lawrence, Kan.).

¹³ Ibid.

Thus, there is very little in the KU dean of women's files to illustrate the activities of Taylor. This fact has eclipsed the role that the dean of women's office played in many of the histories of the University of Kansas written by other historians. In order to track much of the activity discussed with her and by those who worked in her office, I turned to the other KU archives files which did not come directly from her office: the Chancellor's files, the Associated Women Student files, and sometimes the dean of men's files. (The dean of men clearly took the opposite approach from Taylor as his files were stuffed with police reports and personal conduct reviews filed among more routine administrative reports.) I have also relied upon the records of the NADW, the Schlesinger Library which houses the records for the IAWS, and the university archives at Indiana University and Miami University. The result is the contents of this dissertation.

In conclusion, this work is possible due to the interviews Taylor and I conducted in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Without her memory as a roadmap, the archival research would not have been possible. As with any historical project, the use of oral history can be inordinately helpful in filling in the areas where the written record lacks substance.¹⁴ However, interviews also contain the challenge of the fallibility of an individual's memory – and the fact that individuals perceive events differently, and have various agendas that overlay their interpretations of events. Because of these obvious issues, I have relied upon archival materials to supplement and confirm the interview data which I have amassed from Taylor and others. Largely, however, the history within these pages is produced from the starting point of Taylor and her contemporaries' memories. It

¹⁴ The author plans to deposit transcripts of her interviews with Taylor in the University of Kansas Archives at a later date.

is my hope that the events at KU recalled here provide an opportunity to understand one instance of how the various phases of twentieth century feminism connect and overlap through the generations of women on one college campus.

Introduction

Kansas, today known as a conservative Republican state in the nation's center, seems an unlikely locale for the activism of the late 1960s. However, the state experienced the same tensions reverberating nationwide in post-World War II America. Kansas germinated the well-known Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*, which mandated the desegregation of public schools in 1954, and also generated civil rights sit-in protests in a Wichita drug store which pre-dated those in Greensboro, North Carolina.¹ At the University of Kansas (KU), the state's flagship institution, bombings, arson and two deaths – one a KU student – placed the campus in the midst of the turmoil facing more commonly referenced schools like Berkeley, Columbia, and Kent State. By 1969, the state almost passed a total repeal of anti-abortion laws, and soon thereafter a group of women took over a KU campus building to demand day care, an affirmative action officer, and access to women's health care and birth control. Such activism over civil rights, Vietnam, and women's issues occurred in a community that accommodated both ends of the political spectrum. The University of Kansas, located in Lawrence, produced a liberalizing influence on a largely politically conservative city and state. For instance, in the 1950s, its chancellor worked to desegregate barber shops and movie theaters for the benefit of black students. The city itself was bifurcated though; home to both academics and those who held Barry

¹ For further discussion of the civil rights movement in Kansas, see Gretchen Cassel Eick, *Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954-72* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

Goldwater-style beliefs even before his rise to political prominence. Such Lawrencians worked with the Daughters of the American Revolution and likely the John Birch Society.²

Popularly, the KU campus events fit into common narratives regarding the “Sixties.” KU saw non-violent civil rights protests in the mid-1960s give way to street people, drug culture, Vietnam protests, and black power, all as the sexual revolution unfolded around it. In news accounts, student protests pushed unwilling administrators to change, with the young insisting older adults release convention and tradition. In general, historians of student unrest tend to see the 1950s and early 1960s as an age of consensus and traditional gender roles interrupted in the late 1960s by a surge from enlightened students, usually male ones.³ Rarely do key accounts consider the narrative with women’s activism or feminism as a key factor.⁴ Such historical narratives also often posit that

² Rusty L. Monhollon, *This Is America? The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 30-33, 49-50.

³ For instance, Rossinow, asserts that the “somewhat surprising emergence of a ‘new’ political left following the politically conservative era of the 1950s.... stemmed from white youth participation in civil rights activism in the early 1950s and 1960s.” Douglas C. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 1. Also, Renée Lansley argues that the majority of the studies of student movements on campus focus on free speech and Vietnam protest as primarily male-driven events. Renee Nicole Lansley, “College Women or College Girls? Gender, Sexuality, and in Loco Parentis on Campus,” (Ph.D. Diss., Ohio State University, 2004), ii-iii, 3.

⁴ For further discussion of the marginalization of the women’s movement within student protest historical scholarship, see endnote four in Alice Echols, *Shaky Ground: The '60s and Its*

youth opposed university administrators who resisted reform and tried to quell demonstrations against war, racial exclusion, and women's activism.⁵ Two books in particular have used Lawrence, Kansas, and the KU campus to illustrate the tenor of the late 1960s in Middle America. One tells the story of the sexual revolution, the other the story of civil rights and student protest.⁶ Both books form part of a recent shift in the historiography of 1960s college unrest which unseats the premise that student movements

Aftershocks (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 237-238. Echols also discusses recent scholarship questioning the assumption that the late 1960s were an "exceptional decade" fostering a surprising change. *Ibid.*, 52.

⁵ For further discussion of student movements, see Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); David Burner, *Making Peace with the 60s* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (Toronto: New York, 1987); Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "The 1960s and the Transformation of Campus Cultures," *History of Education Quarterly* 26, 1 (1986): 1-38; Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984); Melvin Small, *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement: Essays from the Charles Debenedetti Memorial Conference* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1992); Irwin Unger, *The Movement: A History of the American New Left, 1959-1972* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974).

⁶ Beth L. Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Monhollon, *This Is America?*

began on the east and west coasts of the nation. These two local histories show that protests occurred in the heartland of the United States contemporaneously with those on the coasts.⁷

While the KU campus and Lawrence provide a microcosm for the social unrest that rocked the nation at the end of the 1960s, Christine Stansell has argued that historians of the twentieth century women's movement too often focus on the chaos of the 1960s which eclipses earlier feminist activity. Stansell notes in her book, *The Feminist Promise*, "[T]here was a longer, quieter route to the new feminism, one that is overlooked when historians are too quick to fasten onto the combustion of the late 1960s."⁸ This is the case with the scholarship on KU and the emergence of feminism on that campus. This dissertation considers the activity in the dean of women's office at KU as an example of the "longer, quieter" route to feminism. Focusing on Dr. Emily Taylor, who served as KU's dean of women from 1956 through 1974, the project considers one woman's career as a window into how women's higher educational opportunities, the student personnel profession, and women's organizations connected with university

⁷ Rossinow shows that at the University of Texas (UT) the "movement" began contemporaneously with protests on other campuses located on the east and west coasts. Of significant importance was that the UT efforts were fostered in Christian activism rather than rooted in the communist and Jewish activism seen in the northeast. Douglas C. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*. Both Bailey and Monhollon's books also disproved that student movements originated solely on the coasts. Another example is Mary Ann Wynkoop, *Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

⁸ Christine Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2010), 212.

students and public policy initiatives as a venue for feminism before and during its popular resurgence. It also deliberates on how such feminist work corresponded and collaborated with civil rights and New Left resistance. As a result, this work adds to the sparse historical literature regarding deans of women and women's higher education in post-World War II America. Furthermore, it bears on several historiographical issues: the connections between the first and second waves of the women's movement, the intergenerational role of women's organizations and groups in fostering women's liberation, and the assumption that social change at universities occurred due to student-initiated resistance to campus administrators.

Little historical work exists recording the activity and careers of deans of women, and historians have not have written much more on the state of higher education for women within the cold war years of 1945 – 1965.⁹ This case study provides new

⁹ Much of the scholarship on deans of women is included in the following works: Geraldine Joncich Clifford, *Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Universities, 1870-1937* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1989); Lynn M. Gangone, "Navigating Turbulence: A Case Study of a Voluntary Higher Education Association," (Ed.D. Diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1999); Gangone, "The National Association for Women in Education: An Enduring Legacy"; Linda Eisenmann, *Historical Dictionary of Women's Education in the United States* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998); Linda Eisenmann, "A Time of Quiet Activism: Research, Practice, and Policy in American Women's Higher Education, 1945-1965," *History of Education Quarterly* 45, 1 (2005): 1-17; Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). Nidiffer, "More Than 'A Wise and Pious Matron': The Professionalization of the Position of Dean of Women, 1901 – 1901" (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard

scholarship in these areas, gleaned insights about the evolution of feminist action in higher education during the 1950s and early 1960s, an area that has been shortchanged according to historians Linda Eisenmann and Lynn Gangone.¹⁰ Post-war America saw the contradiction of expanding opportunities for women in employment and education while also witnessing the rise of narrow gender role expectations within the larger mass culture of the nation. During the 1950s, cultural norms for women lagged behind the actions women took in expanding their role outside the home. The fact that women's behavioral choices did not match the cultural norms meant that feminism would find wide support when it surged in the late 1960s. In historical scholarship on feminism, however, the post-World War II time period has been regarded as a time of complacent conformity. Too often, scholars wrote off the years between WWII and the Sixties as "the dark ages" for women's rights advancement. Scholars, though slowly, have begun to question this

University, 1994); Jana Nidiffer, "From Matron to Maven: A New Role and New Professional Identity for Deans of Women, 1892 to 1916," *Mid-Western Educational Researcher* 8, 4 (1995): 17-24; Jana Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women: More Than Wise and Pious Matrons* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000); Jana Nidiffer, "The First Deans of Women: What We Can Learn from Them," *About Campus* 6 (2002): 10-16; Jana Nidiffer and Carolyn Terry Bashaw, *Women Administrators in Higher Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (State University of New York Press, 2001); Kathryn Nemeth Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women? Changing Roles for Women Administrators in American Higher Education, 1940-1980," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Kansas, 1996).

¹⁰ Eisenmann, "A Time of Quiet Activism," 17; Gangone, "The National Association for Women in Education: An Enduring Legacy;" Gangone, "Navigating Turbulence: A Case Study of a Voluntary Higher Education Association."

position and illustrate that feminist activism existed between the achievement of woman's suffrage – the culmination of the first wave of the women's movement – and the second wave in the late 1960s.¹¹ While the social fabric of post-war America left little room for expression of outright feminist agendas – in fact the word “feminism” had become strongly linked to communism – some women educators and women's organizations kept the feminist imperatives alive. Within organizations such as these, scholars have begun to see culturally accommodationist actions in a conformist culture as feminist activity rather than as an expression of the “dark ages.”¹² By tracing Taylor's career, gaps become apparent in the historiography. The harsh division between the first and second waves of the women's movement, the categorization of older liberal feminists apart from younger radical ones, and the development of student protest on college campuses against the administration become simplifications of the nuanced overlap of

¹¹ For further discussion of women's activism during the 1950s, see Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1987); Susan Ware, "American Women in the 1950s: Nonpartisan Politics and Women's Politicization," in *Women, Politics and Change*, eds., Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990); Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*; Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Joanne J. Meyerowitz, ed. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

¹² One book that encouraged the idea that the 1950s consisted of repression was Marty Jezer, *The Dark Ages, Life in the United States, 1945-1960* (Boston: South End Press, 1982).

feminist ideology, generational exchange and administrative involvement in social change.

Largely, the two “waves” of the women’s movement have been understood to reflect different types of feminist ideologies. The first, with its almost unifying effort to achieve woman’s suffrage, illustrated liberal feminism as it focused on equalizing women’s status with men’s through existing governmental and legal structures. The second wave split into two distinct approaches. The liberal feminists, often older, professional women committed to equal rights to those of men under the law, engaged with the President’s Commission on the Status of Women and the National Organization for Women. The other portion of the second wave arose from the women’s liberation movement. These younger radical feminists developed their feminist consciousnesses in the New Left and the civil rights movement. Their ideology eschewed accommodation or compromise – the hallmark of liberal feminism – and critiqued all of society as patriarchal and therefore flawed.¹³ To Stansell’s point, many histories, by focusing on the clamor of the late 1960s and the events immediately preceding it, have adopted this narrative as the story of the unfolding of the second wave of feminism.

¹³ The argument that the second wave of the women’s movement was born from women’s participation in the civil rights and the New Left belongs to Sara M. Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1979). Another important text supporting this argument is: Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 23-50. Monhollon, *This Is America?*, credits the KU women’s movement to the same influences, though he also notes Taylor contributed to the growth of liberal feminist views at KU.

While these divisions provide a general method for understanding the women's movement of the twentieth century, William Chafe, in *The Paradox of Change*, notes this problematic categorization:

Because the women's liberation movement drew its primary support from younger participants in the civil-rights struggle and the New Left, it logically reflected a more radical political perspective – peculiar to that generation – than might be found among the older, more-established women who came to the feminist movement through their participation in business and professional activities or commissions investigating the status of women. *Although such an explanation contains substantial truth, it runs the risk of attributing total causation to age and of obscuring other sources of ideological and political difference.* In fact, women of different political persuasions moved in and out of a variety of feminist alliances during the late 1960s and early 1970s, seeking the particular organization that most effectively represented their assessment of the causes and solutions for women's condition.¹⁴ (emphasis added)

Not only did women move “in and out of a variety of feminist alliances” during the second wave, the split between liberal and radical feminists by generation obscures political and ideological difference *as well as* the growth of the women's movement on a college campus where exchange of feminist ideas was *purposely* intergenerational. Studying the intergenerational connections between women regarding feminist principles brings into view the connections between the early twentieth century legacy of suffrage and the emerging popular support for feminism in the late sixties. In fact, viewing Taylor's career at KU brings into question whether the metaphor for the first and second waves of the women's movement fits the historical reality of the unfolding of twentieth century feminism.

¹⁴ William Henry Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 202.

Furthermore, when considering the flow of feminist thought between generations, the ideological diversity of feminisms becomes visible as a mixing of liberal and radical feminist precepts. The labels of liberal feminism and radical feminism have long given shape to historical explanations of the approaches women tried in order to foster feminist change in the United States. But, the career of Emily Taylor (and the experiences of other deans of women seen intersecting through her career) illustrates that even during the 1940s and 1950s women labeled later as “liberal feminists” were identifying and using what became a part of the radical feminist analysis and agenda.

The existing studies of KU social movements have considered the women’s movement and the New Left at KU from the perspective of students initiating an agenda for change. However, little attention has been paid to how elimination of parietal controls began on the KU campus, or how Taylor seeded a flourishing women’s movement at KU. The events at KU show that women students did not originate social change on this campus in the 1950s and early 1960s, but rather that Taylor pushed women to reconsider their normative views of gender roles. Because women’s issues on college campuses are often seen as arising from the civil rights and the New Left, there has been little consideration of how intergenerational connections between older and younger women influenced the outcome of civil rights and campus protests. Not only did Taylor involve herself in some civil rights efforts, in later cases of campus riots and violence she and her staff worked at the heart of negotiating with KU students to respond to their protests. At KU, the assumption that the women’s movement for students arose from racial

integration and the New Left has eclipsed the interlocking elements between women's activism, student protest and civil rights.¹⁵

The study at hand demonstrates these historiographical contentions by first tracing the state of higher education for women within the context of Cold War America between 1945 and 1965. As such, chapter one provides an overview of the national trends regarding gender roles in post-war America, and the influence of such expectations on opportunities for women in higher education and for their lives after graduation. A review of the public policy debates regarding women's education illustrates the role the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) took in advocating for women's education outside normative gender roles as well as links between deans of women and the first wave of the women's movement. For Taylor, her education with Kate Hevner Mueller, a significant figure in the student personnel field as well as within the network of deans of women, defined her approach to her role at KU. Mueller directly argued what few women in the fifties were willing to say: that educating women should be a tool for overall social change – a radical principle outside the liberal project of educating each woman based on her own needs.

¹⁵ One reason for this research gap is that the dean of women's files are sparse for Taylor's tenure at KU. Taylor stated that she destroyed the majority of her files because she did not want disciplinary cases to become public. Although others have completed short interviews with Taylor, the author conducted interviews over a period of six years in Lawrence, Kansas. In addition, on subjects about which Taylor did not elaborate, the author's interviews with former employees and students have been extremely helpful. In particular, these individuals' memories pointed me toward archival sources in other university records.

Chapter two captures Taylor's personality and her efforts to put Mueller's philosophy into action at KU. Taylor built an infrastructure within the dean of women's office that operated to create social change by encouraging KU women students to develop feminist awareness. Focusing on the women's student governance organization, the Associated Women Students (AWS), Taylor set up programs to enhance students' understanding of the position of women in American society through public lectures, a campus commission on the status of women and the establishment of a library for information on women's issues. Like many deans of women, Taylor advised the AWS chapter and worked closely with the IAWS as well as the American Association of University Women (AAUW) in creating her programming. The network of women working for her office within student residential buildings meant that her influence stretched into every living organization housing women on campus. She groomed undergraduates through leadership roles in student government to later become resident assistants in dormitories, and employees in her office. These women, then, worked to advance feminist initiatives on various fronts. The network she built stretched through sororities, dormitories, and into the lives of married women students and graduate students alike.

Chapter three shows Taylor instigating social change at KU by pushing the women to dismantle the parietal rules which governed women's lives so thoroughly. While parietals are often considered to be a focus of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), removal of the parental controls held by university administrators at KU was instigated by Taylor. In the instance of parietals, Taylor worked to implement Mueller's philosophies by creating an environment where women had opportunities for

autonomous decision-making. As a result of breaking apart the parietals for women, Taylor's efforts also challenged social conventions regarding dating and sex as the rules for women largely served to provide boundaries against premarital intercourse. As such, chapter four focuses on how such changes influenced what are now largely seen as issues relating to the radical feminist agenda. As the parietals dissolved, Taylor's office intervened in sexual harassment cases, organized sexuality seminars, distributed information on birth control, counseled women with unplanned pregnancies, and organized rape counseling and sexual assault prevention efforts using the formal and informal network mentioned above. Chapter five explores the relationship between the office of the dean of women, civil rights and the radical student groups on the KU campus in the 1960s. In addition to supporting some civil rights initiatives, Taylor and her staff collaborated with radical students to help stabilize a violent situation on campus during a time when the Union building burned and violence threatened.

Chapter six considers the cross-generational influences between women students, Taylor, her staff and other women faculty. The ideologies of liberal and radical feminism informed the developments on the KU campus and Taylor's national connections with liberal feminist organizations opened the door for close collaboration between radical young women and Taylor's buttoned-up, feminist approach. The combination of youth and maturity ultimately forced KU to open its culture to women's needs, and equitable hiring and faculty salaries.

The history of U.S. feminism largely revolved around the deconstruction and rejection of gender roles defined by white, middle-class culture that permeated mainstream American society. While the actions discussed in this dissertation sometimes

overlapped with the civil rights agenda of American racial and ethnic minorities, it is largely a history of white women resisting the norms of womanhood set out for them. Clearly, scholarship has shown that the white women involved in American feminism did not often understand that their pursuit of equity sometimes ignored the needs of working-class women, or those who were of color. This occurred because white women assumed a universal experience of womanhood rather than understanding that non-white women faced varying obstacles due to race and class prejudice. Thus, this dissertation largely catalogs the development of feminism for white women on the KU campus. However, its trajectory clearly overlapped with civil rights agendas at various times and the women involved found themselves facing questions regarding racial inclusion.

In total, this study calls for closer examination of how women's education and feminist activity were related during the period between suffrage and the campus uprisings of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Intergenerational influence fostered the "longer, quieter" story of feminism in twentieth century America and brings into question whether the metaphor of a first and second wave fits the feminist organizing which occurred between suffrage and the mid 1970s. This project also elicits questions regarding how the relationships between administrators and students shaped both the women's movement and the social movements that manifested on college campuses across the country. As this case study shows, Taylor not only fostered women's student activism at KU, but she also personified a link between the results of the earlier woman's suffrage movement and the later feminist activism in the late 1960s. Although women's subordinate experiences in civil rights and new left organizations are widely understood

to have created young women's political consciousness in the 1960s, this dissertation illustrates that women's activism at KU significantly grew from administrative influence.

CHAPTER 1 - Higher Education for Women in a Changing World

At age 37, Emily Taylor sat at the dining room table of Kate Hevner Mueller along with Dr. Mueller's husband Professor John Mueller.¹ An older graduate student in the School of Education at Indiana University, Taylor had recently left Northern Montana College after serving as the dean of women from 1946 to 1951. She had returned to Bloomington to credential herself with an Ed.D. so that she might find a position at a larger institution. Mueller, her mentor, was a prolific researcher and writer who constantly reminded Taylor that to "count" for anything on a university campus, one must publish. Taylor, a former English teacher, was an excellent writer who preferred action and activism to the slow process of research and writing. However, in pursuit of the doctoral degree she worked to identify images of working women in popular fictional accounts. The topic dovetailed with the work that Mueller, a psychologist by training, pursued regarding the purpose of educating women. Mueller proposed that one problem for young women in higher education was the lack of role models for pursuing careers due to the gender expectations for women in the 1950s.

¹ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003"; Emily Taylor, Letter to Kate Hevner Mueller, July 28, 1955, in Collection 170, Box 5, General Correspondence 1909-1979, Folder: Taylor, Emily - Dean of Women, University of Kansas; Miami U, Oxford, Ohio 1958-1965, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Ind.

The Muellers regularly invited Taylor for dinner and intellectual discussion. The two women developed a particularly close faculty-student bond: Taylor was one of only three people who read Mueller's full manuscript for *Educating Women for a Changing World*.² The mentoring relationship between the two began in 1945 when Taylor worked as Head Resident in one of the IU dormitories while Mueller was IU's dean of women. Under Mueller's guidance, Taylor honed her thinking regarding counseling college women – and she also gleaned a clear picture of the realities of university politics regarding women as administrators. In 1946, as Taylor left for the Montana position, Mueller received one day's notice from the newly appointed Dean of Students Col. Raymond B. Shoemaker to move out of the dean of women's suite of offices. Mueller read in the newspaper that the dean of women position had been eliminated as a part of Shoemaker's effort to streamline student services and that she had been reassigned to a "senior counselor" role.³ As a result, Mueller lost direct access to the university president

² Kate Hevner Mueller, *Educating Women for a Changing World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), vi. Taylor discussed the close relationship with Mueller in numerous interviews. In addition, the Kate Hevner Mueller Papers, Collection 170, General Correspondence, the Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Ind. contains a folder regarding the correspondence between the two women for a number of years. Within those letters, it is apparent the two had built a friendship. This is particularly notable since Taylor did not frequently write to anyone.

³ Kathryn Nemeth Tuttle discusses this in Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women." She interviewed then assistant dean of students at IU, Robert Schaffer, who recalled that he was the individual assigned to tell Mueller her responsibilities had been reassigned. This account does not directly align with Mueller's version of learning about the change in the newspaper in Kate

and found herself working in a small office with two file drawers and a promise for a single bookcase. In addition, with the loss of the “dean of women” position within the IU administration, no one interested in how student life policies at IU affected women served on the committees which defined the parameters for student life policies at IU. Not only did IU lose the voice for women students, the university also lost the well-respected counseling program Mueller had established. In it, she had guided twenty women graduate students through the guidance curriculum while employing them in residence halls and utilizing their skills to offer inexpensive administration and counseling for IU’s women students.⁴ While some at IU felt that Mueller lacked talent as an administrator, Mueller’s outstanding professional reputation within the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) left many shocked over her demotion.⁵ In fact, the NADW and AAUW both considered formal protests of Mueller’s change in stature.⁶ Taylor watched as women’s concerns – once represented by Mueller while Taylor worked for her in the 1940s – lost a platform as the dean of students’ realignment of student services left no well-positioned woman within the administration to speak for women students on the IU campus. In a pre-Title XI America, this left many discriminatory practices unchecked,

Hevner Mueller, Letter to Mrs. Balz, June 5, 1948, in Collection 170, Folder: Women, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Ind.

⁴ Mueller, Letter to Balz, June 5, 1948.

⁵ Tuttle noted that IU student personnel employee, Robert Schaffer, later indicated that Mueller’s demotion was based on “chauvinism.” Tuttle, “What Became of the Dean of Women,” 189.

⁶ Mueller, Letter to Balz, June 5, 1948.

and eliminated the major platform for providing women students with support for their education and vocational future.

Mueller's demotion was not a singular experience. Nationally, deans of women lost positions to deans of students as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 brought large numbers of male veterans to campuses across the country and changed university demographics. In 1920, women constituted 47.3 percent of enrollments, but by the mid-1950s, the influence of this G.I. Bill meant the proportion of women decreased to a third of the collective student body.⁷ As such, the influx of veterans caused many universities to focus on male students as colleges wrestled with inadequate classroom space as well as limited student housing. For example, while Taylor served as acting dean of women at the University of Louisville, President Einar Jacobsen called her in at the end of the war, pounded on his desk and ordered "Get the women out of the men's residence halls . . . I don't care if you put them six in a room."⁸ For university administrators, the rising enrollments increased their workload, and the large number of male students rearranged the historical organizational structure of campus administration. Traditionally, campuses employed a dean of men and a dean of women to oversee male and female student life, respectively. Both dean positions originated as dormitory disciplinarians providing oversight on curfews and student behavior in the late nineteenth century, with the dean of women enforcing rules of conduct in order to prohibit sexual activity and ensure female students' virtue. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the two roles over a sex-

⁷ The G.I. Bill resulted in the "displacement" of many non-veteran women according to Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 54-55.

⁸ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 169.

segregated system evolved into administrative posts that reported to the chief university officer. Their responsibilities revolved around counseling, the extracurricular portion of students' experiences, and discipline. By the 1940s, the dean of women often held one of the only high-level professional administrative positions available to women at coeducational state universities.⁹

The transfer of attention to GIs, combined with several other factors, caused universities to eliminate or weaken the dean of women's position. For instance, in the 1920s, schools began receiving higher accreditation marks when student personnel operations consolidated under a single dean of students. In addition, the Depression forced administrative cuts that encouraged universities to place student personnel under a single administrator. Like the rest of the national employment market, opportunities for women in higher education declined during the Great Depression.¹⁰ As a result, deans of women positions began to disappear. Between 1940 and the end of 1959, these forces caused numerous deans of women like Mueller to lose their jobs to the new dean of students, who was invariably a man, often the former dean of men. Moreover, in 1940, 86 percent of deans of women reported directly to the chief officer at their institution. By 1962, only 30 percent had the same access to the primary decision-maker.¹¹ The result of this shift in organization dramatically changed the influence of women in co-educational

⁹ Deans of women were not the only women in academic administrations. At land grant institutions, deans of colleges or departments of home economics were often women.

¹⁰ William Henry Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*. Women did not fall out of the labor market, instead they moved lower within it.

¹¹ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 3.

university administrations. Deans of women assumed other titles such as “counselor” as their position on organizational charts moved from parallel to the dean of men to being supervised by him. As with Mueller, the adjustment meant that the only high-level female administrator on many campuses lost her position on the major committees charting the direction of the university. At IU, Mueller’s demotion particularly pointed out the link between the federal G.I. bill policy for placing male veterans in universities and the loss of the position of dean of women. In Bloomington, IU President Herman B. Wells had hired Shoemaker, a U.S. Army veteran, as dean of students. Mueller, at least, felt his lack of academic training in the student personnel field and tendency to treat students as military personnel led to what she believed were poor decisions for the women students and faculty at IU.¹² Until women began assuming other faculty and administrative roles on campuses in the 1980s, the new ‘dean of students’ structure systematically excluded their voices at the top of many co-educational campuses across the country.¹³ For Taylor, this lesson would not be forgotten. She believed that there was no substitute for a seat at the decision-making table within a university and this premise defined her administrative career as she built her own influence and stature through serving and wielding power on significantly powerful committees at the University of Kansas.

¹² Mueller, Letter to Balz, June 5, 1948.

¹³ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 3-4, 80-99. Further discussion of such points may be found in Dorothy Truex, "Education of Women, the Student Personnel Profession and the New Feminism," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors* 35 (Fall, 1971): 13-21.

National Trends in Post-War America

Dean Shoemaker at IU and the Louisville President Jacobsen demonstrated the philosophy that Linda Eisenmann has argued predominated in post-war higher education policy – that consensus views relegated women to the position of ‘incidental students’ whose ancillary needs could be served within a higher education structure designed to foster male students’ careers, particularly in science, math, technology and engineering. During the time Taylor studied with Mueller, national trends in America meant the two women’s interest in equitable women’s education was a very minor thread in the tapestry of cold war American concerns. In reality, the consensus culture of post-war America from 1945 to 1965 enmeshed higher education policy and professional practices placed approaches like those of Shoemaker at the forefront.

Often referred to as “the fifties,” the immediate postwar period was preoccupied with avoiding a return to the economic depression of the 1930s. Economic growthmanship determined public policy and bolstered a consumption economy, and the nation worked to create and purchase manufactured goods ranging from cars to refrigerators to air conditioning. Marriage rates rose, the baby boom exploded with returning soldiers marrying, and the end of the war released pent-up demand for consumer goods. The cold war created a society focused on domestic stability and national defense. With China adopting communism and Korea in turmoil, Americans worried about nuclear war as President Truman publicly pondered the possibility of a third world war. Containment philosophy not only defined international relations, it also defined popular domestic norms for American life. As such, the nuclear family and the home sat at the nexus of American cultural expectations and beliefs regarding securing and maintaining democracy for the nation. People like Sen. Joseph McCarthy drove an

anti-communist agenda which looked to the institution of the family as the backbone of the fight against communist infiltration in the United States. Within this matrix, traditional gender roles for men and women became the “containment” philosophy in action – and any effort to derail the primacy of the nuclear family became labeled as anti-American. Popular psychology reached a height, and Sigmund Freud’s influence provided a new venue for justifying women’s domestic role as natural and psychologically satisfying.¹⁴ Freud’s notion that “anatomy is destiny” underscored biological reasoning for women as wives and mothers and men as the household breadwinners.¹⁵ In addition, Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Farnham’s *Modern Woman* popularized the notion that the nation’s democracy rested upon the back of the nuclear family’s home – and that a woman working or discontented with her traditional role within that home was dismantling the American way of life.¹⁶ In short, the view of

¹⁴ Jo Ann Fley, "Presentation of the Presidents of NAWDAC," March 28 - April 1, 1978, NAWDAC National Conference, Detroit, Mich., National Association of Women in Education, in Convention Files, Box 4, Bowling Green State University, Center for Archival Collections, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green, Ohio.

¹⁵ In this milieu, motherhood met a new level of scrutiny in popular culture. For instance, Philip Wylie popularized the notion of “momism,” suggesting that over-zealous mothers smothered their children and therefore raised weak sons who could not grow into the masculine ideal necessary for the next generation of leaders to protect American democracy.

¹⁶ Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia F. Farnham, *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex* (New York: London, Harper & Bros., 1947). Some of the many books that examine the implications of 1950s culture on women are Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). Also, chapter ten in Chafe, *The Paradox of*

American womanhood which Betty Friedan outlined in her enormously influential book, *The Feminine Mystique*, dominated popular culture. As Christine Stansell has argued, this “neo-domesticity” of the 1950s “did not set itself *against* feminism; it claimed to have surpassed feminism by building on what was substantial about women’s rights and jettisoning ...the proposition that women could live like men.”¹⁷ However, as will be discussed later, this hegemonic view was not uncontested, nor was it universal among either the mass media or intellectuals.¹⁸

Within this milieu, the United States’ pro-defense philosophy coupled with an unrelenting focus on economic growth resulted in significant changes to higher education. The government sought to use higher education to avoid an unemployment glut by routing returning soldiers for vocational training on college campuses. Educational focus for veterans centered on the areas most important for defense and the growth of the economy. As such, the government looked to higher education and their engineers and scientists in residence to produce the research and development to maintain the nation’s security and primacy. To activate these plans, a new significant stream of federal revenue began to flow to universities in areas of research and in student aid (of which the GI Bill was a major part). The cold war drove such efforts as the National

Change. Finally, Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003).

¹⁷ Stansell, *The Feminist Promise: 1792 to the Present*, 187.

¹⁸ Joanne J. Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne J. Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

Defense Education Act of 1958 to strengthen science, math and engineering education as a key to national security. Even before that, in 1947, President Harry S. Truman created a President's Commission on Higher Education that produced a six-volume report, *Higher Education for American Democracy*. The President's Commission looked to post-secondary education to produce graduates who could benefit the nation by solving its social problems – especially through public administration. In such efforts, under the auspices of the report, higher education became the avenue for focusing the human resources of the nation into areas which would most benefit the nation's economic and defense needs.¹⁹ While in 1951 the American Council on Education hosted a conference for 900 participants on “Women in the Defense Decade” and the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor considered women's role in post-war America, the question of women's role in a military society remained a footnote in wider considerations. Because the post-war focus on science and engineering excellence was believed to be the basis for future national security and clearly associated with male students, educational policy

¹⁹ The report stated that college attendance should not be an experience only for the elite as it had been before the war. Instead, it recommended that over 30 percent of the population attend four-year institutions and that almost half of the population would benefit society through two-year associate's degrees. The report called for federal funds and fellowships to support this expansion in attendance. Although the fellowships never came to fruition, the report suggested eliminating barriers to college attendance based on religion, race and gender. Largely, such discussions of inclusion related to African Americans and Jews. In fact, only three paragraphs of the report were devoted to women. Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 52-54.

largely set aside women's involvement in higher education and focused instead on fostering education for men in these areas.

The Effects of Cold War Culture on Women's Education

With the national policy on higher education centered on "male" topics such as science, technology, engineering and workforce development, progressive era advances for women's education retreated during the period.²⁰ The post-war push toward traditional gender roles meant loud calls for a specialized curriculum for women students training them for roles as wives and mothers.²¹ Books like Robert Foster and Pauline Park Wilson's *Women after College*, published in 1942, argued that the traditional college curriculum was entirely inadequate because young women married shortly after graduation and worked only briefly.²² Foster and Wilson helped define the national debate on women's education by promoting the assumption that women's education must be for the "average girl." As higher education became more accessible to Americans in the twentieth century, handling the "average" student was no longer the purview of lower technical schools. More and more institutions of higher learning would begin to think

²⁰ Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). Gordon dates the progressive period from 1890 to 1920.

²¹ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 191.

²² Robert G. Foster and Pauline Park Wilson, *Women after College: A Study of the Effectiveness of Their Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

about how to educate these students who would not have achieved college degrees in the decades before.²³

Leading the call for the “domestication” of women’s higher education was Lynn White, president of Mills College. His 1950 book, *Educating our Daughters*, fit the national consensus culture by suggesting that educating women through a liberal arts curriculum simply prepared women to be men. He argued that such instruction did not train them for their role in the home.²⁴ Such requests for a “female-oriented” curriculum meant home economics programs grew rapidly from their late nineteenth century roots. Post-WWII enrollment trends showed a decrease in core liberal arts and professional programs while fields like nutrition and family studies which emphasized domesticity increased in popularity. As women undergraduates increasingly enrolled in such programs, Elaine Tyler May has argued that “older professional women watched helplessly as early feminist gains were depleted.... But at the time, those who bemoaned the trends were overshadowed by those who welcomed the domestication of women’s education as a way of meeting a need expressed by many educated women who found few opportunities for careers.”²⁵ Although home economics reflected a serious effort based on scientific research to professionalize women’s place in the home, in post-war

²³ Paula S. Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 161-163.

²⁴ Lynn Jr. White, *Educating Our Daughters: A Challenge to the Colleges* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950). Fass discusses White’s reflection of the 1950s culture in Fass, *Outside In*, 164-165. She also notes that equality in educational curriculum between women and men were judged by whether it conformed to a liberal arts program.

²⁵ May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, 81- 83.

America marriage preparation became the subtext for many women's education. By 1956, one quarter of all urban white college women married while attending college in part because it was increasingly difficult for women to find professional positions and their chances to marry decreased the longer they waited.²⁶ Once married, many women left the university.²⁷

For women faculty in the mid-twentieth century, their appointments within higher education also showed the influence of U.S. cultural norms. Overall, women's representation among academic personnel peaked in the early 1940s at 27.7 percent, dropping to 24.5 percent in 1950 and 22 percent in 1960.²⁸ Nationally, the number of women faculty varied greatly based on the size and prestige of an institution. Though overall numbers of women faculty across all institutions approached 22 percent in 1954-55, they remained at that percentage in 1960 and only moved to 25 percent in 1970. In a 1955 National Education Association study, nonpublic universities women totaled only 13 percent of faculty and in public universities 16 percent. Teacher's colleges fared better with over 35 percent of the faculty as women, and small nonpublic colleges had over 30 percent of women in these roles. Within areas of specialization, the limitations for women's faculty participation become even more apparent as gender roles defined the areas in which women were active. Notably, women's representation massed in categories associated with traditional gender roles. For instance, 96 percent of home economics professors and 71 percent of library scientists were women. Conversely, a half

²⁶ Ibid., 79.

²⁷ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 190.

²⁸ Ibid., 189.

of 1 percent of engineering faculty and 1.7 percent of law faculty were women. While physical and health education saw 38 percent women faculty, general education 36 percent and health sciences 32 percent, in larger universities women faculty resided almost exclusively in home economics. Religion and agriculture at such institutions were 100 percent male, and engineering, philosophy and the physical sciences were more than 95 percent male.²⁹ In addition, the percentage of women earning Ph.D.s declined and continued to do so throughout the 1950s – though absolute numbers of women attaining such degrees did increase.³⁰ Women pursuing graduate education in “serious academic studies” in the “prestigious ‘male’ fields” found difficult paths as they competed with a large number of veterans who received priority for entrance. “Graduate women had to be far better qualified than men to gain admission: and married women desiring to enroll part-time found it very difficult.”³¹ In fact, in 1945, American medical schools set a quota for admission of women into their programs at 5 percent of the incoming class.³² Finally, some university policies on nepotism also limited women seeking academic careers, as on many campuses family members were prohibited from holding academic posts on the same campus. The practice usually disadvantaged married women. With few women finding faculty appointments outside of teachers colleges and women’s colleges, the dean

²⁹ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 58-59.

³⁰ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 85; Susan Levine, *Degrees of Equality: The American Association of University Women and the Challenge of Twentieth-Century Feminism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 91.

³¹ Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 190.

³² Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 73.

of women was often the highest ranking woman on an elite or large public university campus.³³

Women's Associations, The Issue of Work, and Women's Educational Philosophies

Some women – especially in NADW and AAUW – met with dismay the changes to women's curricula and to the positions of women on campus. The two groups – though sometimes at odds over nontraditional professional degrees like the Ed.D. which were attractive to young deans of women like Taylor– largely worked in tandem.³⁴ The membership rosters of the NADW and the AAUW contained a number of the same names – including Mueller and Taylor. These two significant groups shared members and kept close connections with the Women's Bureau in the U.S. Department of Labor as well as the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW) and the League of Women Voters (LWV, formerly the National American Woman Suffrage Association). All of these groups focused on educational opportunity for women as

³³ One notable exception to this is that at land grant institutions and other campuses offering Home Economics, women invariably filled the deanships of such schools or colleges.

³⁴ The AAUW did not relax its policy preferring liberal arts degrees until 1963 when it began admitting members who had completed professional undergraduate degrees. Levine, *Degrees of Equality*, 140; Nidiffer and Bashaw, *Women Administrators in Higher Education*, 250.

integral to their organization's mission. They cooperated on projects and formed a network of activism.³⁵

The history of NADW and AAUW has always been intertwined as the mission of both included advocacy for women's education. AAUW founder Marion Talbot became dean of women at the University of Chicago where she was instrumental in initiating the first women deans meetings in 1903. Also, the two organizations worked closely enough that in 1926 AAUW shared space in its national headquarters with NADW so NADW could establish an office.³⁶ "NADW and AAUW shared a commitment to advocating for women's campus needs, and NADW clearly appreciated AAUW's leadership in opposing the demotions [of deans of women]."³⁷ Mueller, herself, felt that the public criticism by AAUW and NADW against the demotion of deans of women "is the only thing that will ever help us."³⁸ Not surprisingly, conversations regarding the subject of women's education – often argued on the pages of the NADW journal and through AAUW activities – revolved around the debate over the purpose of women's education. Because the student personnel profession rooted itself in the liberal tradition of educators like John Dewey, who focused on holistic counseling – treating each individual student as a whole person in order to develop his or her full potential – deans of women like Mueller and Taylor found that confronting gender role expectations lay at the heart of

³⁵ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 115.

³⁶ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 57, 59.

³⁷ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 134.

³⁸ Mueller, Letter to Balz, June 5, 1948.

their job.³⁹ “At each stage of advisement, (women) deans and their advisees were forced to ask, ‘Education for what?’”⁴⁰ For deans of women, the practice of student administration meant maximizing a woman’s capabilities. Queries regarding women’s “full potential” meant juxtaposing post-war social expectations that assumed women would become wives and mothers with their own commitment to education for career and intellectual development.⁴¹ With the nation’s media and others like Lynn White calling for the country to tailor a woman’s educational curriculum to the gender expectations of domestic life, the policy debate revolved around whether women – particularly married women – should work. If women did not work outside the home, then White’s position began to look quite reasonable for the majority of women. However, if adult women were expected to enter the workforce, then both vocational and collegiate learning should be part of women’s education.

The Reality: Working Women

World War II significantly changed mainstream attitudes toward women and work. Before the war, marriage and children had almost exclusively meant the exit of white middle-class women from the workplace. In the pre-war years, educated white women interested in pursuing employment often felt they faced a choice between marriage and career. However, WWII sanctioned the presence of married women in the workplace by linking women’s work to patriotic responsibility. When discussing women in the workplace, it is important to note that these changes in attitudes impacted white,

³⁹ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 2, 9, 14-15, 25-27, 41-42.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 39.

⁴¹ Ibid., 86-87.

middle-class women. Women of color and poor women in America had always worked outside the home in order to help support their families financially. The dominant ideology regarding married women not working applied to white middle- and upper-class females. Thus, the presumed choice between marriage and work applied almost solely to economically-privileged white women.

While the wartime employment of women largely affected non-professional positions, it significantly changed the demographics and opinions regarding the American workplace permanently. For instance, in 1940 15.2 percent of working women were married. By 1945 the percentage rose to 25 percent.⁴² After WWII, 80 percent of women over 45 indicated an interest in a permanent job, and in one poll 88 percent of female students wanted a career in addition to homemaking. In 1938, 80 percent of Americans strongly opposed work by married women, but in 1943 60 percent approved of them working. After the war, the female labor force had increased by 5.25 million; the number of clerical workers increased two-fold, while women in manufacturing rose by 50 percent. By 1952, 10 million wives worked – 2 million more than during the war. The total proportion of women working went from 27 percent to 33 percent which outpaced the level of change in the three preceding decades.⁴³

Thus, despite the popular culture depictions of white women at home in domestic roles, the data regarding women working in the 1950s belies the fiction presented by such television programs as *Leave it to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*. Single and married women sought employment, and in many cases women's "pink collar" clerical roles

⁴² Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 129.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 154, 158, 161.

enabled some white families to attain middle class status. The jobs available, however, were stratified into areas conducive to traditional roles for women. By 1946, the post-war push for women to leave higher-paying positions within manufacturing to make room for returning soldiers meant that women moved to clerical roles. These “helping” jobs remained largely consistent with dominant beliefs regarding women’s gender roles as helpmate, which enabled the nation to balance its social prescription for women’s gender role with her new role of working outside the home.

This expansion into the workforce linked directly to women’s education. The greatest growth in employment was for well-educated, married women from families with moderate incomes – in other words, the largest growth into the workforce was constituted by women who were defined culturally as having a role at home as wife and mother. By 1962, over 53 percent of women college graduates worked, and 70 percent of women with over five years of higher education found their way to the workforce. However, professional positions remained largely closed to all women and wage discrimination prevailed.⁴⁴

The reality of these changes began to influence public policy. In 1951, as a part of the nation’s efforts to determine the best use of the nation’s work force to “expand our industry” and “to maintain a military force strong enough to deter aggression,” the Ford Foundation funded the establishment of the National Manpower Council (NMC). By 1958, the NMC advocated equal pay for equal work by women and specifically addressed reducing sex discrimination in hiring. The NMC also decried the lack of childcare for women in the workplace and published research that illustrated children separated from

⁴⁴ Ibid., 160-162, 188-189.

their mothers during the day would not be mal-adjusted.⁴⁵ Thus, while much of the debate surrounding women's education was couched in the social norms regarding the "women's place" in the private sphere – the reality of women's activity in public sphere left little question that the vast majority of women lived lives that did not conform to the domestic prescription. However, it would take another decade before the majority of Americans would begin to recognize these changes occurring to women's roles through women's work outside the home.

Women's Educational Philosophies

Tension between social attitudes placing women in the private sphere, and the reality of women's work which put her in the public sphere, largely defined debate regarding women's higher education.⁴⁶ Linda Eisenmann has shown that three points of view existed on the topic of women's higher education. First, some advocates for women's education, whom Eisenmann labels "economic utilitarians," believed that women needed to be prepared through education for work so that they could augment the workforce for the benefit of the nation. Reflected in the influential U.S. Dept. of Labor publication *The Effective Use of Womanpower*, this mindset suggested that limiting women's educational opportunity reduced the "pipeline" of women available for national workforce needs. Second, "equity-based planners" argued that equal access to a liberal arts education meant that women could individually attain balance in their own lives by

⁴⁵ Susan M. Hartmann, "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne J. Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 93.

⁴⁶ Chafe, *The Paradox of Change*, 167.

acquiring the education most appropriate for their situation and desires. Third, “cultural conformists” like White argued that by offering a liberal arts traditional education to women, it limited the number of co-eds who would be interested in pursuing college. Cultural conformists advocated for a domestically-oriented education to prepare women for roles as wives and mothers; advocates believed that such an education would lead women to the psychological fulfillment society suggested was incumbent in these gender roles.⁴⁷

The cultural position, supported by social norms of the day, overshadowed the “womanpower” and equity positions quickly. To contest the growing consensus that women’s education should be domestic, women’s advocates began to organize a response. AAUW took a strong stance against postwar pro-veteran restrictions on admitting women to graduate school, and Mirra Komarovsky responded to White’s book with *Women in the Modern World*, defending a liberal arts education as *the* basis for all human potential.⁴⁸ Mueller followed with her book *Educating Women for a Changing World* which argued that a woman’s education should prepare her for the world of work whether or not she was married. Accurately predicting that the future would result in more women in the workplace, Mueller argued for spouses to share household activities and stridently opposed the “cultural” position. Published in 1954, the book reflected Mueller’s thinking in the immediate post-war (and her “post-dean of women”) period as she completed the manuscript for her publisher’s consideration in 1951. Mueller argued

⁴⁷ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 65.

⁴⁸ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 170; Mirra Komarovsky, *Women in the Modern World: Their Education and Their Dilemmas* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953).

that a separate curriculum for men and women was “dangerous” and pushed for women’s active participation in every field in the public sphere. In particular, Mueller politely suggested that the issues surrounding women’s educational philosophies were questions of social norms – not questions of psychology or biology – and noted that the controversy surrounding women’s education arose because it threatened the power base of men.

In an effort to defend women’s liberal arts education NADW began to organize a response in 1952 under the leadership of the first NADW president, Kathryn Phillips, a dean of women in Nebraska. She provided \$50,000 of personal funds to the organization in order to study and publicize the plight of women working in higher education. In particular, Phillips wanted to address the dissolution of dean of women positions and to reverse the trend of treating women as “incidental students.”⁴⁹ With Phillips’ encouragement, the NADW sought a partnership with the American Council on Education (ACE) in order to garner visibility within the higher education community by borrowing on the ACE’s distinguished reputation. ACE President Arthur S. Adams supported the partnership (though he specifically stated he would not endorse a group that championed special advocacy for a portion of the population), and the NADW and ACE established the Commission on the Education of Women (CEW) with her grant.⁵⁰ While the CEW lasted less than a decade, it marked the first formal effort to determine public policy for the education of women in post-war America. Its advocacy of lifelong

⁴⁹ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 89.

⁵⁰ Hartmann, "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Meyerowitz, 88.

women's education emerged so strongly that it eventually undergirded the results of President John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women. The impact CEW achieved in defining women's educational policy arose from the fact that federal policy had not addressed women's education in any substantive manner. As such, CEW filled the void as, out of the plethora of arguments, it distilled and defined a position agreeable to advocates of most standpoints.

CEW's first major contribution to the effort was a 1955 report *How Fare American Women?* by CEW Director Althea K. Hottel. The report advanced three main points: college preparation for women did not align with the recent changes in American society; research suggested women should widen their career choices and options; and women should organize their desire to work around their primary responsibility to wifehood and motherhood. While the report straddled the major question regarding marriage and work by deferring to the primacy of domestic responsibilities, and though it took no position or direction for clarifying how to join these major points, the report did define the state of research on women's higher education. Significantly, the report stated that their evidence illustrated that there was no difference due to biology between women and men.⁵¹ The AAUW adopted the report as its program guide for local chapters and thousands of its members studied the publication.⁵² The report reached wide audiences; Taylor kept an original copy of the report from the second 1956 reprint in her papers until

⁵¹ Althea Kratz Hottel, *How Fare American Women?* (Washington, D.C.: Commission on the Education of Women, American Council on Education, 1955), 21-23.

⁵² Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 98-100.

her death. Labeled “desk copy” with her name, the book was redlined and had obviously seen significant use.⁵³

In addition to *How Fare American Women?*, CEW hosted the first major conference on women’s educational philosophy in October 1957 in Rye, New York. Mueller and 35 others presented at the conference; most presenters represented the economic utilitarian and equity-based positions. There, Mueller broached the idea of an education policy encompassing married women – rather than following the standard counseling advice that suggested women defer marriage until after completing educational goals. From Mueller’s position regarding education for married women arose the Rye Conference agreement to pursue the concept of “continuing education.” This would provide higher education for women in a manner that aligned with women’s “life phases” which were defined by motherhood and the responsibilities of rearing young children.⁵⁴ The Rye Conference provided the seedbed for the advocacy of women’s liberal arts education; mainstream educational policies, such as those by the Truman’s commission, largely left women out of the conversation. This created an open opportunity for the Rye group to define the area of thinking. In general, “[t]he liberal arts were presented as a kind of investment in family intelligence, providing women with

⁵³ It is unclear whether this report remained in Taylor’s collection from her early career, or whether it was added at a later date. It is possible Taylor may have obtained this copy during her tenure at ACE as director of the Office of Women in Higher Education during the 1970s and 1980s. However, the book was included with her original copy of Mueller’s *Educating Women for a Changing World* signed by Mueller.

⁵⁴ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 102-105.

preparation for contingencies as well as resources for her multiple roles in the family and in the community.”⁵⁵ And, as a result, the liberal arts platform as the basis for women’s education became the broad background for preparing women for multiple roles.⁵⁶ By defining liberal arts education as an appropriate preparation for women’s role in the family, the advocates repudiated calls for the domestic curriculum. Significantly, then, the Rye Conference participants developed a “socially acceptable” compromise that promoted the liberal arts for women’s education and, thus, functioned to retain a basis for women to enter professions.

Feminism and Women in Higher Education in Post War America

Given that the purpose of higher education for women has always been contested, the historian Paula Fass has noted that the entry of women into higher education was “not quite so completely an expression of feminist sentiment as we sometimes assume.” However, by the early twentieth century women’s higher education “closely associated [itself] with the ideals of equality of intellect, if not necessarily of social opportunity” and women’s colleges especially offered curriculum at an equal level as men’s.⁵⁷ The ideals of equality of intellect were held as a general principle within the NADW for many of the deans of women. Once the profession of deans of women became increasingly endangered by the trend of elevating men to the role of dean of students roles, the

⁵⁵ Fass, *Outside In*, 171.

⁵⁶ The Rye conference finding would set the stage for the continuing education programs that arose throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

⁵⁷ Fass, *Outside In*, 158-59.

organization began to turn to more collective analyses of gender discrimination in higher education settings. The approach and activity of deans of women connected on several fronts with the purposes of feminism as it was expressed during the suffrage efforts. In fact, some of the women deans across the nation personified a link between the first wave of the women's movement and the post-war efforts to advance women's educational opportunities. As noted in the Introduction, some scholars have assumed that feminism largely disappeared between suffrage and the late 1960s. New scholarship, however, has revealed the "quiet activism" of women in NADW, AAUW and other women's organizations in postwar America as they agitated for increased opportunities for women.⁵⁸ Even among scholars writing about the existence of the women's movement during the postwar years, NADW's role has been undervalued. For instance, Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor in *Survival in the Doldrums* noted that when NADW invited Betty Friedan to address a national NADW convention, the speech "made it possible for Friedan to reach an audience that might not otherwise have been exposed to new feminist ideas."⁵⁹ Such an assumption ignores the longstanding feminist activity within the group. Many of these deans of women had read Mueller's and Komarovsky's books which did not vary substantially in approach from Friedan's. The feminism inherent in the NADW mission did not lie hidden. Dorothy Truex, a former dean of women with whom Taylor frequently worked, called NADW "a feminist organization with a ladylike emphasis"

⁵⁸ Eisenmann, "A Time of Quiet Activism." For a compilation of works arguing that feminism did not disappear in the 1950s, see Meyerowitz, ed. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*.

⁵⁹ Rupp and Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums*, 192.

later in her career.⁶⁰ And, in 1957, Ruth Barry and Beverly Wolf published *Modern Issues in Guidance Personnel Work* and critiqued NADW as an association with “distinctly feministic aims;” Barry and Wolf contended that the singular focus on women students and women members of the organization had resulted in the organization wielding little influence within the student personnel field. By working solely with women, Barry and Wolf contended women administrators involved in NADW marginalized their impact within the academy.⁶¹ NADW established a committee to consider Barry and Wolf’s appraisal, and ultimately reasserted that the role of the organization rested in supporting women as a separate group. As Tuttle noted, “...while the climate for women in the 1950s and early 1960s still made it uncomfortable to be labeled a feminist organization, there is little doubt that the association and its members were just that in their strong and undeniable support of women administrators and students.”⁶²

Because deans of women have been largely ignored in the history of higher education and the history of feminism, their work continuing from the first to the second wave has been largely eclipsed. Linda Eisenmann, Jana Nidiffer and Carolyn Bashaw have illustrated this in their explorations of the NADW.⁶³ From the beginning of the

⁶⁰ Truex, "Education of Women, the Student Personnel Profession and the New Feminism," 13.

⁶¹ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 345.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 346.

⁶³ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*; Nidiffer and Bashaw, *Women Administrators in Higher Education*.

efforts to achieve woman's suffrage, educated women were central to the basis of organizations promoting women's rights activism. These women assembled and populated the associations like AAUW, LWV, and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) that formed the core of suffrage and progressive social activism – and their work across group coalitions created the backbone of their success in accomplishing social reforms.⁶⁴ Women involved in these organizations built the NADW. As former dean of women Dorothy Truex once noted, in “the early days of NADW, it is hard to overlook the legacy of feminism that had influenced the founding of the organization at about the same time millions of women were culminating the work of 72 years to achieve the final enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment.... NADW was born, then, in a period of demythologizing [womanhood] much like the times today.”⁶⁵ For instance, at the University of Chicago, AAUW founder Marion Talbot served as dean of women and provided the first model for the position as it professionalized.⁶⁶ Talbot brought into her office women who had worked at Jane Addams' Hull House. In doing so, these social reformers who had provided vocational training to the poor, brought the

⁶⁴ The AAUW is considered one of the most influential of the middle-class, mainstream groups to actively work to promote Progressive social reforms. Susan Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne J. Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 105. For comments on the links between suffrage reform and the AAUW, see Levine, *Degrees of Equality*, 14-15.

⁶⁵ Truex, "Education of Women, the Student Personnel Profession and the New Feminism," 13-14.

⁶⁶ Jana Nidiffer, "More Than 'a Wise and Pious Matron': The Professionalization of the Position of Dean of Women, 1901 - 1918," (Ed. D. Diss., Harvard University, 1994).

tactic of vocational preparation to the counseling efforts for women students. The social reform connections overlapped across the staff. For instance, Sophonisba Breckinridge, a Talbot protégé who once served as a vice president in the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and as a leader in AAUW, served as the assistant dean of women at the University of Chicago.⁶⁷ The links between Talbot and suffrage are particularly important due to her influence over the professionalization of the dean of women position within the academy. However, other examples of these intersections exist. For instance, Indiana University also housed a dean of women, Agnes Wells, who actively worked in the suffrage movement and later served as chairman of the National Woman's Party (NWP) from 1949 through 1951.⁶⁸ It would be inaccurate to suggest all deans of women promoted feminist goals, though links did connect deans of women with the progressive social reform tactics from the first wave. And, as Tuttle has shown, the NADW defined student personnel and outpaced men in the field's initial development and their social reform tactics played a role in that development.

By the 1930s, with the support of Eleanor Roosevelt, these groups of social reformist women began to formalize their efforts within the federal government under the New Deal and through the creation of the welfare state. Much scholarship has focused on this trend. It is clear that women achieved activist successes from suffrage and the New Deal by utilizing the influence of their associations and clubs. However, after 1920, because the membership of the NAWSA (later the League of Women Voters) and the NWP declined, historians initially linked the dissolution of these two organizations with a

⁶⁷ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 36-39.

⁶⁸ Rupp and Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums*, 32.

decline in feminist activity. However, Nancy Cott, in *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, has shown that women's voluntary organizations actually continued to thrive into the 1930s as a site for women's activism. She argues that scholars missed women's continuing feminist activism because the achievement of suffrage left women without a single issue around which to coalesce – and their associations began to diversify to address varying concerns which by the Second World War left no single conceptual tie between the groups – except their female membership. Thus, until Cott's 1987 book, historians saw the period between suffrage and the late 1960s as a decline in feminism.⁶⁹

During the period after 1920, public perception of “feminism” and women's rights shifted as well. The groups involved in women's voting and women's rights saw a decline in favorable public opinion as the National Woman's Party and other woman's rights leaders locked horns over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), primarily over the belief that an ERA would gut women's protective legislation. Public perception of “feminism” was increasingly associated with the NWP's inflexible opposition to protective legislation for women workers and the word feminism came to be associated with a rigid, closed, militancy.⁷⁰ Within the national mindset, feminism came to mean the advancement of the ERA and abandonment of traditional roles for women. Furthermore, within women's organizations, the question of whether or not to advance the ERA pitted women against women, and defined the conversation regarding women's equity. Even

⁶⁹ Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Meyerowitz, 105.

⁷⁰ Meyerowitz, ed. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, 7-8; Rupp and Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums*.

the 1961 Presidential Commission on the Status of Women determinedly avoided the ERA as a viable option. Nonetheless, during the four decades following the achievement of suffrage, women's groups successfully organized and influenced public policies regarding women outside of this ERA-protective legislation debate.

By the 1950s, however, the Cold War climate challenged ties between women's groups. The anti-communism of the era meant that women's groups like the AAUW and "feminism" came under scrutiny.⁷¹ As a result, AAUW – and other women's organizations – severely limited their coalition work with other associations in order to avoid entanglements which might cause further suggestions of communist leanings.⁷² This narrowing of interaction among groups interrupted the formal cooperation between women's organizations which had undergirded women's success at achieving political and social reform goals since the progressive era. Susan Levine calls the resulting disassociation between groups like AAUW and BPW the "most serious consequence of the cold-war atmosphere" and that the fear of coalition work resulted in the decline of feminism in the 1950s.⁷³ Despite this limiting of formal interaction between groups in the post-war years, Susan Lynn has argued that the coalition of women's groups ranging from the AAUW to the LWV, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,

⁷¹ The *National Republic* questioned the organization's patriotism, calling its members the "Pink Ladies of the AAUW." Levine, *Degrees of Equality*, 81.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 80-82. The partnership between ACE and NADW to form CEW is a notable exception to this trend.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 82.

and the YWCA all formed a bridge between the pre-war Progressive work of social reform and the civil rights, antiwar and feminist movements of the 1960s.⁷⁴ In particular, Lynn argues that postwar women reformers used personal relationships to build bridges across racial lines and that their early focus on improving conditions for working-class women and children shifted to a focus on social justice and racial inclusion in the era of blatant erosion of civil rights under McCarthyism.⁷⁵

Within this matrix, historians have given little attention to women's organizations within the academic academy and even less to individual women who continued to use their informal networks across organizations in order to facilitate feminist activity during the period between the first and second wave of the women's movement. Taylor, as a dean of women, exemplifies how one woman utilized her professional position to advocate feminist perspectives between the first wave and the second wave of the women's movement. Cott has argued that the professional work of women was not a form of feminist activity because women involved in a profession invested their time and labor into the industry or field in question – rather than into work on behalf of women.⁷⁶ For deans of women, I argue, the case is the opposite. Instead, their profession itself centered upon the advancement of young women. In fact, several – like Mueller and

⁷⁴ The NADW exhibited racism in many of its policies and the organization as a whole did not embrace civil rights until later in its history.

⁷⁵ Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Meyerowitz, 105.

⁷⁶ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 225.

Taylor – saw the project of educating women as a mode for creating social change.



**Figure 3: Dr. Kate Hevner Mueller, Dean of Women, Indiana University, 1939.
Photograph used with permission of Indiana University Archives.**

Mueller’s Feminist Legacy: Education as a Tool for Social Reform

Taylor spent a number of evenings at home with the Muellers discussing philosophies regarding women’s education while she worked and studied at IU. She once noted in a speech to the AAUW chapter in Lawrence, Kansas, that “everyone in the dean of women’s office at Indiana was a feminist – before the word was invented” and she

recalled that “for the first time, I felt at home.”⁷⁷ Her conversations with Mueller and her colleagues would fundamentally define Taylor’s own approach and thinking regarding educating women as she crafted a distinctly feminist approach to her role at KU. That role illustrated much of the theoretical underpinnings she held in common with Mueller. In ways, the two women sat at odds with the public presentation of the NADW’s position. Linda Eisenmann has argued that the quiet activism of the NADW and the national policy for university women in post-war America rested on a premise that women’s education should suit each individual women’s needs so each young woman could fulfill her potential either at home or at work. This strategy allowed the NADW to dovetail with mainstream values while also protecting the option for some women to pursue rigorous liberal arts education. While this may have represented the organization’s public position, women like Mueller, who edited the NADW Journal in the 1950s and throughout the 1960s, set a more radical goal – educating women for autonomy and social change.

In her vision of higher education..., she (Mueller) took on the mantle of Alice Freeman Palmer, Marion Talbot, Lucy Diggs Slowe, Ruth McCarn, and other deans who advocated for women’s rights and social change and proved to be the antithesis of the dean of women’s stereotype as disciplinarian and guardian of the norms of the day.⁷⁸

Mueller – and many of her contemporaries – shared these goals. Probably due to the discriminatory actions she experienced at IU, Mueller addressed the issue of women’s

⁷⁷ Emily Taylor, "Handwritten Speech Notes, AAUW," No date, Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers, Topeka, Kan.

⁷⁸ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 257-258.

education in a more straight-forward way despite the social norms. As Paula Fass has noted:

But Mueller was willing to do what few other participants in the discussions of the fifties were willing to do, to dismiss the issue of woman's family role as irrelevant to the direction and content of women's schooling. She did not dismiss a woman's need for family, for she hoped women would 'demonstrate to their male colleagues that women can be happy and useful in both roles, just as the best men,' but she dismissed the relevance of this role for issues of higher education. Moreover, Mueller was willing to do what others almost never did, to turn her gaze from both the average girl and the culture into which she graduated. In that sense, she, like [Eunice] Hilton [dean of the Syracuse University College of Home Economics], *proposed that college education become a force for social change, not a reinforcement of the status quo*.... The force of Mueller's argument was of another order entirely than the one that confined the lifecycle analysis to viewing schooling as a preparation for women's inevitabilities. (emphasis added)

Mueller looked to education of women as a tool for what would now be called feminist change. For instance, Mueller's thinking in the late 1940s and 1950s varied more than the "liberal feminist" moniker with which Mueller and her mid-twentieth century counterparts have been labeled. In her notes from the 1957 Rye Conference, Mueller created a list of "new issues," which revealed her more radical thinking. In those, she listed that guidance personnel had traditionally focused on the capacities of the individual as the guiding principle. Since support for education of individuals had been achieved, then the current concern "must think of both individual and societal needs." She also noted that "our wisdom" came from retrospective experiences and that the "next issue" will be how to keep up with the present and prepare for the future. In particular, she thought women's education must keep 'today's girls' abreast of the future and "what we have to say is going to be [in] conflict with the comfortable familiar past." She also asked herself a rhetorical question: "Can we move against 'the weight of the culture' in line of

least resistance, not greatest?”⁷⁹ Mueller’s notes show her thinking was pointed toward the creation of significant social change even though, in tandem with liberal feminist tactics, she looked for change avenues that would be the easiest for the society to accommodate. Her writings show that she had moved past NADW’s formal position of endorsing education for the benefit of an individual. Mueller believed, instead, that the liberal strategy of creating individual solutions for each woman fell short of creating the change necessary for women’s equitable access to the public sphere.

Mueller’s Rye notes, taken in conjunction with other comments at the time, reveal the activist ideas she held for changing society. Rather than resting with the national consensus that each woman should create an individual plan for her education as it fit for her personally as NADW formally suggested, Mueller recognized that change must occur in the fabric of the culture to create real opportunity for women in the public sphere of society. In a letter responding to the Labor Department Bulletin 257 which catalogued the 1955 Conference on *The Effective Use of Womanpower*, Mueller sent her suggestions, comments and critiques on the proceedings. In particular, she stated that the entire bulletin lacked:

“...emphasis on what men should be thinking and doing. Why not solve that mother’s problem of getting her daughter into the kitchen (p. 17) by getting the fathers and brothers into it too? Let us not talk about how to care for children so that mothers can work, but so fathers can work. Of course, we are a long way from this, but somebody should start it. Many of the younger generation are thinking this way, more than we realize. Education is falling behind actual practice; it almost always does. One next step is perhaps to start a whispering

⁷⁹ Kate Hevner Mueller, "My Notes from Rye Conference on Employment of Women," 1957, Kate Hevner Mueller Papers, in Collection 170, Folder: Speech Notes - Women Education ca. 1950s, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Ind.

campaign: Only the strongest, most virile men can afford to have their wives work, can go into the kitchen, help choose the drapes, give the baby a bath.”⁸⁰

Here, Mueller rejected the policy assumption that women held the responsibility for accommodating domestic responsibilities within her career desires. Instead, she suggested a refashioning of gender roles in the domestic arena for both men and women.

Perhaps part of the reason that some deans of women embraced feminism through their profession relates to their actual experience of counseling women students. I believe Mueller’s and Taylor’s thinking reveals more radical feminist critiques because their daily experiences working with women students regularly called into question the prevailing normative beliefs regarding women’s role and behavior. Deans of women had a unique view into the results of gender roles in America. As the person responsible for the extracurricular lives of students, deans of women oversaw the disciplinary arm of the university for the women students. In doing so, these women sat across their desk from young woman after young woman who came to the office for counseling or educational choices. After a year in a dean of women’s chair, almost all of what Betty Friedan later called the “feminine mystique” lost its glossy sheen for women who looked past individual students and began to see systemic patterns in their experiences. Deans of Women dealt with everything from the stereotypical panty raid to career planning and the reality of quotas for graduate school applications. More notably, however, through their

⁸⁰ Kate Hevner Mueller, Letter to Assistant to the Secretary of Labor for Women's Affairs Alice K. Leopold, Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington D. C., August 3, 1955, in Collection 170, Folder: Women 1949-1959, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Ind.

discipline responsibilities they also confronted the reality of suicides, rape, unplanned pregnancies in marriage, pregnancies out of wedlock, returning students who had dropped out of school for marriage, women dismissed from colleges for lesbian activity, women who chose marriage because they feared the realities of finding a career in the male-dominated job market, and a host of other experiences which illustrated that cheerful conventional wisdom did not systemically address to reality of women's lives. Taylor herself crystallized her views on the importance of higher education for women when, as a master's student at Ohio State University, she sat in on a meeting with a woman student returning to college because her successful husband had drowned, leaving her with two young children. The woman had married after her sophomore year of college, waited tables to put her husband through graduate school and a Ph.D. and with his death, "here she was, left with nothing. All the money had gone into his education. She had nothing. I don't remember the advice she [Associate Dean of Women Grace S. M. Zorbaugh] gave her, but I do remember the story. I'll never forget the story, because I thought of it so many times as I was talking to people."⁸¹ Taylor remembered that for her this experience shattered the myth that women should choose a well-positioned, successful man to secure her own future. Instead, Taylor saw that for a woman to secure her financial needs, she must educate herself in order to work if necessary. Because of their counseling role, some deans of women found it difficult to avoid having their "consciousness raised" regarding conventional beliefs.

As Tuttle has argued in her work on women deans, "deans of women were part of a significant minority that kept the flame of women's rights alive to be rekindled in the

⁸¹ Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date."

women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s."⁸² Within the NADW, Mueller's voice has been called the "new feminism" in which she showed an "anticipation of the values of the seventies and beyond."⁸³ It is my argument that Mueller, Taylor and others did not "anticipate" the values of the 1970s – they helped to foster them. In fact, Taylor – who read Mirra Komarovsky's book in manuscript form before it was published in 1953 – noted that Komarovsky's thinking made similar arguments to those of Betty Friedan in 1963. Taylor believed that Mueller and Komarovsky had identified the core of what would become the second wave of the women's movement, but that they "never made the splash" because "it wasn't lightly written...as hers [Friedan's] was."⁸⁴ At KU, Taylor put Mueller's philosophy into action: she built an infrastructure within the dean of women's office that operated as a centralized mechanism to use the education of KU women students to develop feminist awareness and produce social change. In doing so, Taylor's work calls into question the general understanding that the campus activism of women in the late 1960s arose solely from women students' activities in civil rights and in student protest and that "radicalism" occurred only outside the system. Taylor's carefully constructed infrastructure suggests a greater complexity: her pathway to feminism incorporated elements from a more radical agenda within her sanctioned, administrative office, the one located just down the hall from the university chancellor's suite. Taylor's work suggests that the easy divisions between liberal and radical feminism, as well as those between older, professional women and radical younger women miss the trajectory

⁸² Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 258.

⁸³ Fass, *Outside In*, 174.

⁸⁴ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, May 20, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.).

of the women's movement from the first to the second wave as it unfolded at KU. In Lawrence, Kansas, Taylor would enact the visions Mueller set out over her dining room table. And, while the well-respected scholar Mueller lacked the administrative savvy to implement them at IU, Taylor – who never published despite Mueller's exhortations to do so – proved a formidable executive with a keen political acumen she would use to advance her ideas within what can often be the torturously slow bureaucracy of higher education.

CHAPTER 2 - A New Dean of Women at the University of Kansas

In the spring of 1956, Taylor answered a call in her office at Miami of Ohio. On the phone was Laurence C. Woodruff, dean of students, at the University of Kansas.¹ He explained that KU would like her to visit campus to interview for the dean of women's position. The current KU dean of women, Martha Peterson, had accepted a new position at the University of Wisconsin, and Taylor's name had been mentioned when Woodruff inquired about possible replacements.² Taylor, who had taken the position of associate dean of women at Miami with the promise of the dean of women's job due to the illness of the current dean, had tired of waiting for the woman to leave the position. While Taylor's family roots were in Ohio, KU appealed to her. The position held prestige as Peterson had recently hosted the 1955 national convention of the Intercollegiate

¹ The author thanks Virgil Dean, Editor, *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, for permission to include portions of this chapter and chapter three from her article "Experimental Autonomy: Dean Emily Taylor and the Women's Movement at the University of Kansas" in Vol. 33, 1 (Spring 2010).

² KU credits Peterson with establishing a dormitory system for freshmen women at KU. Her career after leaving KU proved exceptional. Peterson was the first woman to serve on the board of directors of Exxon, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and Dry Dock Savings Bank. She was president of Barnard College in New York from 1967 to 1975 and the first woman president of Beloit College in Wisconsin from 1975 to 1981. Todd Cohen, "University Mourns KU Graduate, Former Dean of Women Martha Peterson," Press Release, 2006, *University of Kansas, University Relations*, <http://www.news.ku.edu/2006/july/19/peterson.shtml>.

Associated Women Students – the powerhouse collegiate organization for women students at co-educational public institutions. Peterson also served as the NADW national advisor to the IAWS. Franklin Murphy, a young chancellor who had assumed the KU position at 35, exhibited progressive thinking regarding student involvement and governance that Taylor liked. Plus, at KU, the women’s organizations operated solely through the dean of women’s office which Taylor knew would give her significantly more freedom to craft the programming for women students.³ She had seen the opposite at Miami where all the policy decisions regarding the female student groups required faculty senate approval. Miami’s slow process limited the dean of women’s ability to respond to female student needs. Taylor’s interest in KU matched Chancellor Murphy’s desire to hire Taylor as he called to offer her the position shortly after she returned to Ohio from her campus interview.⁴ In accepting the position, Taylor proceeded based on the lessons she learned from observing Mueller’s experiences at IU after Mueller’s demotion from the office of dean of women. When Murphy initially offered employment to Taylor, he asked her to report to Woodruff. She refused the position under those terms, requesting a direct report to the Chancellor which he granted.⁵

³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.



Figure 4: Taylor with a student. Author's collection of Emily Taylor's papers.

The University of Kansas in Post-War America

Taylor arrived in Lawrence for the fall 1956 semester to a second floor office just down the hall from the Chancellor's in Strong Hall, the imposing KU administration building. Similar to many co-educational institutions, as the dean of women, Taylor was the only ranking female in the administrative organizational chart of the university.⁶ The KU campus in the 1950s mirrored much of the national scene as the GI bill and expansion of access for returning veterans increased enrollments and changed demographics at the university. Between 1945 and 1949, a "flood of veterans threatened to drown the institution."⁷ In the 1947-1948 academic year alone, the number of students spiked with veterans comprising 6,488 of the 10,900 KU students. By the 1959-1960 school year, enrollments had increased from 6,300 in 1945-1946 to over 11,700.⁸ KU welcomed the expansion. With the GI's came the accompanying Cold War attitudes about female KU students using campus as a dating market rather than as an arena for intellectual pursuit. Chancellor Deane W. Malott noted in 1946 that he thought the presence of the veterans pleased the women students and that the men would "in turn

⁶ In fact, later in her tenure at KU, Taylor would place an organizational chart in the window of the door to the office. The organizational chart listed all of the administrative roles at KU, beginning with the governor and Board of Regents. However, instead of recording names next to titles, Taylor inserted the gender of the individual. The chart noted only one woman – Taylor.

⁷ Clifford S. Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1974), 502.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 503, 530, 617.

attract more girls [to KU]. Thus... [enrollment] expansion spirals upward.”⁹ The suggestion of college as a location for women to find marriage was as common at KU as in national attitudes. In fact, the 1955 freshmen women’s handbook written by female student leaders included more tips on social life and rules for dating than on academics.¹⁰ While taking courses at KU, students found few women in the classroom as faculty members. One of these, Dr. Marilyn Stokstad, recalled that when she arrived at KU in 1958 there was no “community” of women faculty members, nor was there any formal connections between faculty and the dean of women’s office.¹¹ Until the 1970s, KU enforced a rule that if a husband and wife both worked as faculty members, only one could advance through promotions. By convention, this often left woman married to faculty members in instructor positions.

At KU, however, the national trend of weakening the office of the dean of women had not gained ground despite the local presence of the national factors. In June 1953, Murphy did follow the national trend to streamline his student personnel staff “in a move to enlarge and coordinate personnel services for students.”¹² He did so by promoting then Dean of Men Woodruff to the newly created position of dean of students.

⁹ Ibid., 503.

¹⁰ Associated Women Students, "KU Cues: Official Handbook for Women," 1955, Dean of Women's Papers - Chronological Correspondence, in RG 53/0, Box 1, Folder: 1955-1956, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹¹ Marilyn Stokstad, "Interview by Author, July 28, 2010" (Lawrence, Kan.).

¹² KU News Bureau, June 27, 1953, Chancellor's Papers, Correspondence, Department Aids and Awards - Dormitories 1953-54, in RG 2/11/5, Box 1, Folder: Dean of Students 1953-1954, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

Although the organizational chart showed the dean of women as subordinate to Woodruff, Murphy nevertheless maintained then Dean of Women Martha Peterson's direct connection to him in the chancellor's office. As noted in the press release announcing the change: "This in no way affects the right of direct access to the chancellor's office possessed by the dean of women," Dr. Murphy said. "She retains the primary responsibility for women's activities."¹³ Peterson had escaped the fate Mueller and other deans of women met in realignment. In 1955, when Peterson announced her resignation, Woodruff used her resignation as the opportunity to argue for the model adopted at IU. He asked for the creation of an associate position reporting to him for all women's student affairs. Woodruff asserted: "Such a change of course is not at all acceptable to the militant suffragette but is the plan currently being followed by most of the institutions, which we might like to emulate."¹⁴ Despite Woodruff's preference for a system more like the one that had demoted Mueller, Murphy honored Taylor's request for a direct report to the chancellor.¹⁵ Salary data reflected Murphy's support of a strong

¹³ In this reorganization of student administrators, Murphy also promoted the assistant dean of men, Donald K. Alderson, to dean of men. Ibid.

¹⁴ Laurence C. Woodruff, Letter to Franklin Murphy, March 8, 1956, in RG 2/11/5, Box 3, Folder: Dean of Students 1955-1956, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁵ Murphy wrote to Woodruff to deny Woodruff's request to eliminate the "dean of women" title in favor of an assistant dean or an associate dean title. Murphy noted that it was "desirable to clothe the woman in the office with the additional dignity that goes with the phrase, 'dean of women,'" and also suggested that "our system has worked quite well since 1952." Franklin D. Murphy, Letter to Laurence C. Woodruff, March 16, 1956, in Box 3, RG 2/11/5, Folder: Dean of Students 1955-1956, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

woman dean. In the 1957-58 school year, he paid Taylor a salary of \$8,000 (\$1,600 more than Peterson's outgoing salary), while Dean of Men Don Alderson (the former assistant dean of men) received only \$6,700.¹⁶ These salaries illustrate the informal operation of KU's student personnel administration most clearly. Woodruff functioned as the dean of men with Alderson as an assistant responsible for discipline. The dean of women remained responsible to the chancellor and she eventually delegated discipline activities to an assistant as well. In fact, Taylor recalled later that people often thought Woodruff was the dean of men, and Alderson was the assistant dean of men.¹⁷ At KU, reorganizing student affairs did not result in the dean of women losing her influential position as she did at other institutions. By continuing the sex-segregated structure, Murphy solidified a woman's voice in the KU administration and provided Taylor a platform to implement activities for women students and to experiment with women student leadership. She chose the Associated Women Students (AWS) chapter of the IAWS as the laboratory for fostering her vision.

¹⁶ In 1957-58, Woodruff received a salary of \$10,500, Taylor \$8,000, and Alderson \$6,700. Even with tentative increases suggested for the 1958-59 school year, Woodruff was slated to earn \$11,000, Taylor \$8,500, and Alderson \$7,000. Keith Lawton, 1957-58, Chancellor's Papers, Correspondence, All Student Council - Chancellor's Office (Lawton) 1957-58, in Box 1, RG 2/11/5, Folder: Chancellor's Office, 1957-1958, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. Peterson's outgoing salary was found in: "University of Kansas Budget for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1956," 1955, in RG 44, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

KU AWS: A Microcosm of the National Partnership of the IAWS and NADW

At KU, the AWS chapter interlocked tightly with the dean of women's office. Originated in 1946, Peterson established the organization as a bicameral governing group for women students. It consisted of a House of Representatives comprised of members elected by the women's housing units, and a smaller elected Senate that met regularly with the dean of women to act on women's policies. By 1958, the community paper, the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, stated the AWS had grown to a significant stature on campus in its first 12 years.¹⁸ AWS chapters oversaw the extracurricular elements of female students' lives and included every woman living in campus-affiliated housing as its members, and operated the coordination of groups such as the Panhellenic Council (which oversaw sororities), residence hall associations, big sister groups founded to help with freshman orientation, women's academic honoraries, and women's athletics.¹⁹ For students, the AWS taught leadership skills such as parliamentary procedure, public speaking, and organizational skills. For administrators, the group provided a communication and organizational structure to manage women students and their campus life. In a brief description of the organization, Barbara Emison, the student chairman of the AWS State Meet in 1956, described the functions of the AWS at KU:

¹⁸ "AWS Grows to Its Present Stature from Small Group," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, September, 1958. This clipping is found in Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1955-1956, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁹ Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 88.

To make all rules and regulations, and other pertinent legislation pertaining to women students. It shall have the power to interpret and enforce such legislation. House of Representatives is primarily service body promoting and carrying out activities for the betterment of university women....Goals: Together the Senate and House of Representatives strive to carry out the purposes of AWS particularly to promote and coordinate activities for women and to provide more leadership opportunities for women.²⁰

The legislation organized by the student government largely consisted of setting the campus rules for women's behavioral standards. These conduct standards codified gender role expectations according to the post-war social norms. Nationally, universities assumed that deans of women would fulfill university obligations for *in loco parentis* for women students, and oversee such parietal regulations. Not surprisingly, the IAWS saw women's disciplinary concerns as a perennial AWS chapter activity.²¹

Across the nation, IAWS chapters combined women's student activities, parietals, and women's student governance on large co-educational campuses. From almost the beginning, women deans wove together the IAWS with their own organization, NADW. As the campus advisors for the student governance group, deans of women became a formal part of IAWS when it added an NADW representative as an ex-officio board member in 1939. Just as the deans of women led male student affairs professionals in developing and organizing the student personnel field, the IAWS led male students in the development of student government. In fact, a 1930s study of student government found that nationally women were more organized than men with two-thirds of the colleges

²⁰ Barbara Emison, "AWS State Meet, October 13, 1956, Report on the Event," 1956, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1956-1957, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

²¹ Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 89.

saying the men on their campuses did not have student governance in place.²² By 1955, NADW clearly connected IAWS to the national policy debates regarding women's curricula. Significantly, that year ACE invited IAWS as one of two student organizations to participate in their Commission on the Education of Women and Commission on Student Personnel. In CEW, IAWS became enlisted in Kathryn Phillips' project to focus national public policy attention on the status of women's education. IAWS became an affiliate member of ACE and ACE involved women students in meetings and projects. This CEW affiliation brought IAWS into a formal partnership to work against the efforts to limit women's education to a domestically-oriented curriculum.

Thus, the concerns of the NADW and AAUW discussed in chapter one regarding declining equitable educational and professional opportunities for women became a part of the IAWS agenda. As a result, the deans of women's focus on vocational development for women students surfaced in IAWS by 1945 when its member chapters began career education programs. Also, in 1956, IAWS published a booklet, *This is IAWS*, noting that of the organization's four basic programs, one focused on "raising awareness of the problems connected with the education of women students, particularly rising drop out rates," which referenced the increasing rate of women leaving college without degrees once married. In 1959, the organization's NADW representative became a voting member of the IAWS board under the new title "Advisor to the National Executive Board." And, a year later, the connections between IAWS and NADW were further formalized in the creation of a Liaison Committee which coordinated efforts between the two groups. That same year, the Liaison Committee conducted a survey of deans of

²² Ibid., 39, 84, 87.

women and reported that nearly all saw their AWS chapter in a positive manner, and many saw the group as a vehicle for “raising awareness of women’s changing roles” – a distinct nod to the expansion of white women into the workforce. The AAUW and AWS chapters partnered as well. IAWS officers routinely attended AAUW meetings and they built each others’ membership rosters as AAUW asked university campuses to formally establish an AWS chapter, and AWS chapters encouraged their members to join AAUW upon graduation.²³ By 1961, IAWS and the AAUW discussed housing their national office in the AAUW headquarters.²⁴ Clearly, in a national environment that relegated women students to an “incidental” status, the IAWS, like the NADW and AAUW, functioned to support women as a distinct interest group.

In doing so, IAWS would invest itself in a sex-segregated structure that would eventually become obsolete after the advances of the second wave of the women’s movement. This sex segregation, though, provided the women students of post-war America with distinct advantages. Although some women’s historians have labeled sex-segregation in co-educational institutions as limiting for women, Lynn Gordon argues that the first AWS chapter at the University of California-Berkeley actually provided a base of power and a “means of pushing for equality and education” during the Progressive Era.²⁵ In the 1950s and 1960s, the AWS chapters offered an “oasis” for women where they would learn leadership skills in the organization that governed women

²³ *Ibid.*, 38, 93, 95-97, 100.

²⁴ "Minutes of the National Executive Board Meetings," April 1-7, 1961, Dean of Women Records, in RG 53/0, Folder: IAWS Records, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

²⁵ Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, 84.

students' campus lives. The separation of women from men created women's influence as they built support for their initiatives as a group. Without men in their organizations, social norms did not relegate women to non-leadership roles. Instead, women students determined their own issues and worked to achieve desired results. Similar to the pattern Gordon illustrates for UC Berkeley, the gender-segregation at KU provided a platform of power for women as a group as it would on other campuses as well.

Thus, by 1956, IAWS nationally defined itself as an advocacy group for women's education on local, regional and national levels – and it had grown its number of chapters to over 100. The potential for far-reaching influence was strong as those 100 campuses were the largest of the public co-educational environments.²⁶ As such, in the nexus of the dean of women's offices and AWS chapters across the nation, intergenerational action occurred in the same manner that Marion Talbot originally defined as she used social reform methods to foster women's individual advancement through higher education. This resulted in older women mentoring younger women and provides a picture of how AWS, NADW and AAUW enacted feminism on college campuses during this era. The NADW-AAUW-IAWS partnership illustrated the same characteristics as the organizations which arose out of the first wave of the women's movement: the groups' efforts focused on social reform via vocational training and used women-only organizations to advance those goals. The results of such intergenerational work differed by campus. At KU, the radical potential inherent in Mueller's analyses would bloom in the dean of women's office.

²⁶ Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 91, 93-94.

Taylor's Educational Philosophy and the Dean of Women's Office

At IU, Taylor's work with Mueller culminated in a 1955 dissertation that analyzed perceptions and stereotypes of employed women in periodical short fiction. She proposed to better prepare counselors to advise women students regarding vocational options by having them understand the preconceptions that women students held from popular culture's representation of working women. As she stated in her study:

There was once a day when these matters posed few problems of significance for counseling of women students in contrast with men. Convention defined the roles of men and women much more clearly than it now does, and the role of counselor was correspondingly simpler. . . . Men and women students do, however, have differential counseling needs. For example, men students are not ordinarily faced with the necessity for making any choice between marriage and a career. The great majority are expected to assume the obligations of both. Most women still do make a choice, or at least believe that they are making one. They often find themselves, however, uncertain about their desires, forced by unforeseen circumstances to assume unanticipated roles, and faced with cultural inconsistencies which increase their difficulties. . . . boys and girls in our society are taught similar values; at the same time, girls may accept a stereotype of themselves that presents them as universally desirous of marriage, homemaking, and childcare, a concept that guides and influences their conduct.²⁷

Taylor believed a counselor should clarify the "advantages and disadvantages" of women's choices regarding a career. In fact, she labeled the consideration of a woman's options as a "duty" for those advising female students. Seen in light of Talbot's legacy, Taylor's work served to expand counselors' repertoire for providing vocational counseling to women students.

²⁷ Mary Emily Taylor, "Employed Women in Recent Periodical Short Fiction: The Fictionalized Portrait of Employed Women Projected against a Background of Factual Data," (Ed.D. Diss., Indiana University, 1955), 1-2.

From her time at IU, Taylor supported student governance and advocated involving students as active decision-makers in the policies that affected them. In her 1955 article, "Use of Students on Faculty Committees," Taylor argued that student personnel administrators should routinely provide student leaders with activities to influence and to make university policy. She envisioned governing bodies as a way for students to participate in designing campus procedures in more than name only. Although it was controversial on most campuses to allow student involvement in disciplinary matters, she advocated that general policies be set by student groups and the implementation of the policies in individual cases be handled privately by administrators in order to protect the privacy of the student.²⁸ Thus, Taylor saw women's student government as a training ground for leadership and a venue for them to define their own policies. For her, self-governance was not about discipline. It was about self-determination. Taylor set out to have her students consider why – and for what purpose – they attended university. When reflecting on her career, Taylor recalled that nationally AWS advisors "kept talking about self-governing as if that's what they were doing, governing somebody." Taylor disagreed. She believed that AWS should have been "devising ways through ... programming to help women understand more about the world and be more independent and learn more leadership skills."²⁹ Taylor wanted to provide women the opportunity to become autonomous by developing personal behavioral standards and the confidence to apply them in their own lives without an

²⁸ Emily Taylor, "Optimum Use of Students in Faculty Committees," *Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women* (March, 1953): 126-129.

²⁹ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 4, 1997."

authority dictating their personal actions. Taylor agreed that she saw the dean of women's office as a project to enhance women's autonomy:

That is exactly what I thought. I thought that our job was to help those women grow up and get rid of their adolescent ideas about the relationships of men and women. We wanted to produce leaders ... and to look at issues...thinking of what was going on rather than just accepting it. We wanted them to learn how to challenge what was wrong.³⁰

At KU, this philosophy underpinned her actions, programs and approach where she exchanged the traditional understanding of "self-governance" and "self-discipline" for what she termed personal responsibility.³¹

Growth of the KU Dean of Women's Office

In 1956, Taylor inherited a dean of women's office with a total budget of \$14,801, with \$1,225 of that for non-salary expenses. The office, which oversaw all women's student affairs outside the classroom, included an assistant dean, Mary Hardman, and a secretary. The women's housing arrangements worked well, thanks to Peterson's efforts in that area. In addition, the dean's office had strong working relationships with the Panhellenic Council and housemothers. Peterson left behind well-established AWS committees to conduct the work of the organization which, in addition to governing the parietals, included caucuses for the IAWS, student-faculty relations, sophomore counseling, hosting a high school leadership day for incoming women students, hosting an "all-women's day" for the university, and orienting freshmen to campus life.

³⁰ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, June 4, 1998" (Lawrence, Kan.).

³¹ Taylor, "Employed Women in Recent Periodical Short Fiction," 3.

Taylor kept this committee structure, though she began implementing changes that would eventually redirect the focus of AWS from social activities and administration of the behavioral rules toward vocational planning, scholarship, understanding American women's status, and leadership. These changes reveal her work toward directing women to see possibilities for themselves outside of marriage and motherhood. She added a new committee, the Commission on the Status of Women (KU CSW), to examine women's place in society. AAUW provided a model for such a group as it had sponsored a committee to trace women's footing in society since the 1930s. When Taylor implemented this committee, it was the first campus commission on the status of women established on a university campus in the nation.³² It predated President Kennedy's national commission by at least three years as it was active in 1958. Taylor changed the original name of the KU CSW to the "Roles of Women Committee" at Murphy's request because he thought "commission on the status" too controversial a phrase. Later, Taylor switched back to her original terminology.³³ Taylor invited women students to the KU CSW who had already made nontraditional choices – like studying pre-medical or pre-law curricula, or law students themselves.³⁴ The group conducted research on women's

³² Since the 1930s, AAUW had a Committee on the Economic and Legal Status of Women which changed its name to the Committee on the Status of Women in 1946, pushing for equity in law, employment and politics. Levine, *Degrees of Equality*, 27-28; Gardner, "KU 'Legend' Emily Taylor Dies."

³³ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 3, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.). For consistency and reader ease, I will refer to the "Roles of Women" committee as the KU CSW in this document.

³⁴ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

lives and invited speakers to campus to discuss women's career options, particularly in light of the continuing education "life phases" educational model proposed by Mueller at the Rye Conference.³⁵ The group worked with publications like CEW's *How Fare American Women*, and collected data regarding the status of women at KU and within society. For instance, in 1959, the KU CSW investigated all women's withdrawals from the university in the previous year, a nod toward understanding the trend of women dropping out of college once married. And, in 1960, the committee conducted a survey on campus morals, endeavoring to understand "women's attitudes toward accepted behavior."³⁶ Taylor pushed the women to consider combining marriage and career and how the reality of working women was changing U.S. society.³⁷

Along with the KU CSW, Taylor began to build a resource library to support the research on the status of women. In that period, few libraries regarding women's status existed. Before arriving at KU, Taylor collected data on women's social, legal and economic situations which formed the core of the early resource library. One of the first

³⁵ Mueller's philosophy imbued Taylor's approach and she used it to train her staff. Shavlik also recalled that Taylor required staff members to read Mueller's book *Educating Women for a Changing World*. Donna Shavlik, "Telephone Interview by Author, March 22, 2011."

³⁶ Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes, February 18," 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

³⁷ Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Retreat Minutes," April 26, 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

pieces Taylor brought with her in 1956 was a research piece entitled “Reference Data on the Status of Women in America. Part I. Legal Discrimination Against Women. Part II. Discrimination in Politics.”³⁸ Taylor recalled that the majority of the materials came from the U.S. Labor Department through the Women’s Bureau which collected labor statistics and where she personally knew many of the employees. By the end of the 1950s, the books in the collection included Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*, Morton Hunt’s *The Natural History of Love* and the Komarovsky book.³⁹ During the 1960s, the students began organizing subject notebooks with news clippings and other documents ranging from human sexuality to women in religion. By 1973, the library boasted fifty subject notebooks and KU believed it to be the second largest women’s resource center in the United States.⁴⁰

By the 1960-61 school year, the KU CSW solicited women to work on a special subcommittee “The Bright Woman” advised by Taylor. The call for members asked “Are you a Dedicated, Ambitious, Intelligent Woman?” listing qualifications for committee membership as the ability to do research and an interest in the roles of women. The

³⁸ "Reference Data on the Status of Women in America. Part I. Legal Discrimination against Women. Part II. Discrimination in Politics," Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1956-1957, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

³⁹ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.); Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (London: Cape, 1953); Morton M. Hunt, *The Natural History of Love* (New York: Knopf, 1959); Komarovsky, *Women in the Modern World*.

⁴⁰ Sarah Wohlrabe, "Emily Taylor: Committed to Equal Rights for Women " *University Daily Kansan*, October 19, 1973, 8.

research project objectives explicitly tied the committee to the women's movement by listing the following:

OBJECTIVES for research of "The Bright Woman:"

- to trace the progress of woman's rights since the inception of the United States up to the present.
- to present attitudes and prejudices regarding "The Bright Woman from:
 - a. educator's viewpoint
 - b. society's viewpoint
 - c. woman's viewpoint
- to suggest corrections, alternatives, and possible improvements toward the above attitudes and prejudices.
- to establish the definition and concept of today's modern woman.
- to present the ideal situation for today's modern woman:
 - a. complete and approved freedom to combine marriage, child-raising and cultural advancement.
- or-
- b. freedom to devote her life to marriage and children with the realization that she has 30 to 40 years after her children are gone which should be pre-planned to avoid discontentment.
- to show how a woman's life can end at 40 if she has no outside interests besides her children.
- to present living examples of "The Bright Woman".⁴¹

"The Bright Woman" group planned to submit composite reports to the leaders of the KU liberal arts and sciences college, the education school, the sociology department; and to a faculty member in Education at Michigan State. Furthermore, they planned to submit their data to Opal D. David, Director of the CEW in ACE's Washington D.C. office.⁴²

⁴¹ "Are You a Dedicated, Ambitious, Intelligent Woman?," 1961, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: July – November 1961, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴² Ibid.

Both the KU CSW and “The Bright Woman” project centered on the same questions which drove women’s educational policy at a national level: how should women balance marriage, children and the possibility of working? Throughout her career, Taylor carefully placed her initiatives so that they would stretch women students’ thinking without being so far from the cultural norms as to cause the women to reject them. Early in her career Taylor learned to tailor her work to the audience at hand. In 1945, she had received an invitation to speak to a group regarding the roles of women. Her initial response was “‘Are you sure that there’s anyone left...that doesn’t already understand all that?’ I thought everybody was already informed.”⁴³ By 1954, she was purposely matching the subject matter to the audience’s awareness of options outside of traditional roles. In a letter to Mueller regarding an upcoming speaking engagement at Miami, Taylor said:

The title and plan for your talk sounds fine to me. So far as I have been able to observe, our women students have heard little about the possible paths that they might take in the future. As I think I told you once before, we still have many in the marriage or career stage of thinking. *It seems to me that the specifics of educating women for the future are less important, in comparison to other things that you might say, than helping to convince them of the various possibilities of personal choice.* (emphasis added)⁴⁴

As such, Taylor worked to provide programming that met women undergraduates on the same terms in which they understood their future options. At KU, then, “The Bright Woman” committee illustrated Taylor’s efforts to achieve the same goal of reaching

⁴³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997."

⁴⁴ Emily Taylor, Letter to Kate Hevner Mueller, October 12, 1954, in Collection 170, Box 5, General Correspondence 1909-1979, Folder: Taylor, Emily - Dean of Women, University of Kansas, Miami U., Oxford, Ohio 1958-1965, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington, Ind.

students where they stood regarding their assumption about women's role as wives and mothers. "When I came here [to KU].... The issue was still ... whether they should be working at all if they had children, or at what point they should be in the workforce," recalled Taylor.⁴⁵

These views reflected the national perspective. Prior to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, women regularly found that many employers would not hire married women in professional positions. While Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women clearly rejected the policy of firing married women, it advocated married women's employment only under certain circumstances that did not interrupt her role within a family unit. In addition, employers regularly refused to hire young women for positions that required extensive training under the assumption that they would soon marry and leave the workforce. Common practice also included requiring women to be childless for promotion or other employment aspects.⁴⁶ At KU, as nationally, social norms continued to perpetuate the myth that women did not work, despite the reality of the labor statistics mentioned in chapter one. "We were trying to tell women that nine out of ten of them were going to be in the labor force whether they thought they were going to be or not," said Taylor.⁴⁷ Thus, in "The Bright Woman," Taylor implemented an education program based on the "life phases" approach coined by Mueller. The suggestion that the

⁴⁵ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997."

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the types of discrimination women faced in the workplace, see especially chapter six in: Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men and Quest for Economic Citizenship in the 20th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁴⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997."

committee consider a woman “has 30 to 40 years after her children are gone which should be pre-planned to avoid discontentment” presents a clear reference to Mueller’s theory. While more women entered the workforce during the 1950s, Taylor tried to insure that her programming fulfilled the goal of her dissertation – to provide women with a view of the possibilities within the job market. Building on Peterson’s structure, Taylor’s office expanded the job placement service that placed women students in part-time jobs to help with their school expenses. Over time, Taylor and her staff combined the placement service, career planning, and the library to provide comprehensive support to women considering careers and graduate school. In the office, women students could find graduate school catalogs, financial aid materials, handbooks for professional job positions, career planning materials, and letters from former KU women pursuing nontraditional careers and describing their work experiences.⁴⁸

In addition to the KU CSW and her office’s vocational counseling, Taylor hosted lecturers on such topics as “The Problem of Women in Political Action” and the “Status of Women” in the United States. The lectures tended to highlight aspects of the educational policy debates and also encouraged women to consider employment options. One example of this came in her first year, when she brought Mueller to speak at the “AWS All Women’s Day” activities. In that speech, Mueller discussed the findings of the Manpower Commission and called for women to “take their share of leadership” as the

⁴⁸ Office of the Dean of Women, "The Following Information Is on File in the Library of the Dean of Women's Office . . .," No date, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1970-1971, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

nation needed women's involvement due to the low birthrates of the depression years.⁴⁹ The Mueller example illustrates how Taylor worked to influence women students with speakers. By hosting Mueller's talk at KU, Taylor provided the students with a professional, married role model in Mueller, educated them on the policy debates surrounding women's work via the information regarding the Manpower Commission, and provided a background to consider the status of women in American society. Cutting-edge speakers became a linchpin in Taylor's programming. "[Emily] was really a genius at...finding the new information or getting the new ideas [out]...or bringing the smart people into contact with the students," said a former employee. For instance, "She heard Sheila Tobias speak some place, and brought her for Women's Honors Night to speak..."⁵⁰ Taylor understood that students needed to develop self-efficacy and to be able to envision themselves in futures outside the social norms. To do that, she brought in speaker after speaker to illustrate options for women's life choices.⁵¹

These topics contrasted starkly with the students' historic programming that included a fashion show and a "Best Dressed Girl" contest. While she did not eliminate the social aspects of AWS, she shifted the focus by expanding the program with a more

⁴⁹ Kate Hevner Mueller, Letter to Sue Frederick, October 22, 1956, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1956-1957, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁵⁰ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.). Tobias later credited Taylor with beginning her career by inviting her to speak. "Not least I owe you my first round of talks on sex-role socialization and women's studies. You were the one who recommended me during those first years of the 1970s." Sheila Tobias, Letter to Emily Taylor, July 24, 1997, in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's papers, Topeka, Kan.

⁵¹ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997."

intellectual approach. One notable change was her addition of an annual scholarship dinner to reward academic success.⁵² Taylor indicated she purposely created a structure that would reach the majority of women students, though she reserved mentoring for those who were particularly promising intellectually and as leaders:

The programs were usually for the majority. But at the same time, there were always small groups of people who were way ahead. There were people who frequented my house, who just came to call. There were people that would be in a class that I'd teach, who'd come to the office to talk about something...that's what we were trying to get them to do was look at themselves and what they wanted, not what was right for the majority of the people.⁵³

⁵² The changes to the AWS programming are found in: "1957 All Women's Day Materials," 1957, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; University Daily Kansan, September 28, 1961, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: July - November 1961, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Retreat Minutes," April 26, 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. Taylor's dissertation topic illustrated her interest in career women. Also, Taylor's correspondence with Kate Hevner Mueller illustrates her desire to change the student conversation topics to more intellectual ones. Emily Taylor, Letter to Kate Hevner Mueller, 1956-57, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1956-1957, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. In addition, in preparation for All-Women's Day, Taylor asked the AWS leadership to review documents such as "Reference Data on the Status of Women in America. Part I. Legal Discrimination against Women. Part II. Discrimination in Politics," Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1956-1957, UA, KSRL, UKL. Such a reading assignment shows Taylor actively educating women about sexism.

⁵³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997."

In particular, Taylor sought out intellectually gifted women to advise them personally. Since 1926, KU's Watkins Hall had served as a scholarship dormitory for women of superior academic achievement. Taylor spent a large amount of time with the students living in this hall. "That was a very important program to Emily and she spent a lot of time with the Watkins Scholars in building support systems and structures for them, and working with those really bright women who may or may not have had anybody else who had cared about them in quite the same way," remembered Shavlik.⁵⁴ Taylor believed in challenging women with strong intellects, and she fostered women's academic honoraries at the sophomore, junior and senior level – building the already strong Mortar Board program for seniors. She also established a Cwens chapter for sophomores and served as the advisory dean to the national Cwen's board.⁵⁵

As Taylor's programming grew, so did her budget. By the 1957-58 school year, Murphy had agreed to increase her total budget by almost \$12,000. She hired the part-time IAWS executive secretary, Donna (Younger) Shavlik, as an assistant to the dean of women, further strengthening KU's connection with the national organization.⁵⁶ This expanded her professional staff to two assistant deans and one associate dean.⁵⁷ In addition, Taylor added a second secretary and doubled her non-salary expense budget. In

⁵⁴ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997."

⁵⁵ "Dean Recounts Day," in *University Daily Kansan*.

⁵⁶ Shavlik would continue as IAWS executive secretary until 1959. She worked with Taylor twice at KU, and the two worked closely together at ACE where Shavlik succeeded Taylor as Director of the OWHE upon Taylor's retirement.

⁵⁷ Donna Shavlik, "Telephone Interview by Author, March 22, 2011."

the 1959-60 school year, she finalized the funding for a third assistant to the dean, following with a fourth assistant to the dean in the 1960-61 school year. In 1961-62, she added staff positions at two of the women's residence halls, Corbin and Gertrude Sellards Pearson halls. Again, in 1962-63, she added two more employees in two other women's dormitories, Lewis and Hashinger halls. She also created new part-time positions called "preview assistants" to help orient freshmen women. In 1964-65, she ear-marked \$3,000 for additional student help, which grew to \$5,600 by the 1965-66 school year – ten years after her arrival at KU. By that time, her budget totaled \$50,085 and had grown almost 240 percent over Peterson's last appropriation. In all, she had one assistant dean, three assistants to the dean, a part-time staff assistant, two secretaries and a significant student assistance budget along with the residence hall staff.⁵⁸

The increasing financial investment KU made in her office illustrates the growing network of women Taylor trained and placed in women's organizations, women's residence halls, sororities, and academic honoraries. Responsible for all the residence halls, Taylor divided the halls across her staff so that each hall had a person accountable for it and the residents would know with whom to talk regarding a problem. "We tried to arrange it that everybody was involved with some kind of a living group. Either a scholarship hall or as a special advisor... for the out of town or for the commuters.... That was something that ran through the whole thing."⁵⁹ Taylor often hired the staff from her network within NADW and IAWS, or from recent KU students. For instance, Taylor

⁵⁸ These statistics may be found in the University of Kansas Budget for each fiscal year. RG 44, UA, KSRL, ULK, Lawrence, Kan.

⁵⁹ Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date."

met Shavlik at an IAWS conference and offered her a job shortly after that. Shavlik began work at KU by living in Sellards Hall and planning the freshman orientation program with former AWS student leader Kala (Mays) Stroup. Shavlik then worked with the AWS as the House of Representatives advisor, and counseled independent students. In other cases, Taylor mentored undergraduate students and encouraged them to enroll in graduate school during which she employed them on a part-time basis in residence halls or in the office of the dean of women. Stroup exemplifies this “grow-your-own-staff” pattern. Stroup originally served in the AWS Senate leadership and Taylor took her to a national IAWS conference in 1956-57. Stroup also presided over the first rules convention hosted at KU discussed in chapter three.⁶⁰ After her graduation in 1959, Stroup joined Taylor’s staff and eventually became assistant dean of women.⁶¹ Shavlik and Stroup are just two examples of the networked system Taylor developed which provided professional positions to the young women she mentored.

⁶⁰ Associated Women Students, "University of Kansas Associated Women Students Regulations Convention Morning Session," 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁶¹ Stroup succeeded Taylor as Dean of Women at KU upon Taylor’s retirement.



Figure 5: Taylor (right) with staff members at the NADW conference in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 7, 1973. Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's papers.

The result was a tight group of women who reflected Taylor's outlook, and whom she trusted significantly. Through these women, Taylor's philosophy extended into the day-to-day operations of the living units, women's organizations, and scholarship honoraries. As a result, much of the individual counseling occurred at the staff level closest to the student's daily campus life. Receiving guidance did not require a student to make a trip to the dean of women's office. Women could visit their residence counselor. In addition, the staff kept Taylor abreast of the activities in the various living units providing her comprehensive knowledge of women's individual and group activities. Also, the network functioned at all hours as Taylor, Shavlik and Stroup all experienced regular visits from students at night at their homes as well.⁶² At the same time, the women Taylor hired provided for undergraduate women living examples of successfully

⁶² Kala Stroup, "Interview by Author, November 14, 2010" (Lawrence, Kan.).

blending marriage and career. In fact, Stroup recalled Taylor pointing to her two pregnancies as an example for other young women on how to blend motherhood and working.⁶³ Thus, Taylor used her staff, residence hall employees and AWS leaders to reach the larger student body.

This network overlapped with the realities of working in a state-funded institution. As Taylor once noted in a speech, the dean of women met a plethora of expectations regarding her role that were “wildly diverse and sometimes totally incompatible.”⁶⁴ In short, a dean of women dealt with reconciling the opinions of the chancellor and the board of regents, parents, both men and women students, the local and alumni public, the faculty, and her own viewpoints too. While Taylor left out the opinions of her staff, clearly the women who worked closely with her also fit into this matrix of expectations. As Taylor noted, “[T]o me the most important roles were those I chose for myself. It takes time and dexterity to deal with all the other expectations, but they cannot be dismissed out of hand.”⁶⁵ Taylor emphatically noted that no dean of women could satisfy all the constituencies all the time. The balance she achieved between her agenda and the compilation of the other viewpoints provides an important perspective for understanding her action at KU.

For instance, more than one university found its public image tarnished due to student behavior, and Taylor clearly understood that her responsibilities included keeping

⁶³ Stroup, “Interview by Author, November 14, 2010.”

⁶⁴ Emily Taylor, “Handwritten Speech Notes, AAUW,” No date, in Author’s Collection of Emily Taylor’s Papers.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

the university out of the news due to student behavior problems. At a state university, parents, taxpayers, the governor and the legislature all ranked high as important constituents to please. To do so, Taylor asked that every person who worked in her office keep her informed of anything that might become a public issue so that she would have an opportunity to resolve them before they became public relations problems. As Shavlik remembered, “She was explicit about that.... It was really important not to surprise Emily.”⁶⁶ She always alerted the chancellor to any concerns she felt might come to his attention through another venue. The types of issues that ranked as a reportable “concern” varied depending upon the period in which she worked. In the 1940s and 1950s, a woman spending the night at a hotel would rise to the level of a report to the chancellor. By the late 1960s, drug use ranked within this category. However, she often refrained from reporting things that would not cause public relations problems. As much as possible, Taylor handled discipline issues within the dean of women’s office rather than involving local police or even campus entities. “The way I felt about it was that if there was a standard list of ‘if you do this, x happens, and if you do that y happens’ you don’t need a dean of women. You need a book that tells you what to do.”⁶⁷ Taylor’s style differed radically from Alderson’s who frequently involved police and invoked campus disciplinary policies in accordance with formal procedures.⁶⁸ In fact, to find any record of

⁶⁶ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997."

⁶⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁶⁸ One incident illustrates the difference between the two administrators clearly. Taylor recounted an instance when over 70 KU students used forged documents to allow themselves to register early for “easy” classes. The chancellor requested the students be dismissed from the

instances of unplanned pregnancies at KU one must turn to the dean of men's records. No such notations exist in Taylor's files.

Taylor's discretion built her a strong reputation with students, which meant that many came to her office for assistance without fear of reprisals. In addition, she enlisted others to provide such support. For instance, Taylor sometimes sent women who had violated curfew to the home of Dr. Marilyn Stokstad, professor of art history, to sleep on her sofa so that the student could return to her residence the next day without punishment.⁶⁹ In another instance, Taylor convinced the owner of Weaver's department store to drop charges against a woman student who had shoplifted merchandise. She made the arrangement under the condition that Taylor would provide rehabilitation for the student.⁷⁰ Sororities particularly appreciated her discretion, and these groups reported problems more readily because of the relationship developed between the dean of women's office staff and the houses. As Shavlik later noted, "She was pretty well known for helping people out of problems whatever they were." This did not mean Taylor did not carry out the discipline regulations as set by the university. One student, a future radical feminist, Caroljean Brune, broke several rules and found herself nearing

university. Alderson dismissed all of the men immediately. Taylor went home for the evening having taken no action, convinced the chancellor would likely change his mind – which he did, forcing Alderson to reverse his decision. Ibid.

⁶⁹ Marilyn Stokstad, "Interview by Author, July 28, 2010."

⁷⁰ Taylor's instincts that the woman would reform proved correct as the student never had another instance of a disciplinary problem on campus. Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

expulsion under Taylor's office.⁷¹ When possible, however, Taylor tried to approach the situation so that a student might learn from infractions. However, Taylor did not tolerate repeated offenses of a similar nature as Brune's example illustrates. Overall, the trust in Taylor's style, coupled with her university-wide network of staff and students, enabled Taylor to impact areas where students most needed assistance.

Taylor's Personal Style

While her program extended across campus, Taylor had a distinct personal style by which she approached her work. By personality, Taylor demanded excellence from the students and employees with whom she worked. One remarked later in life that mentorship by Taylor was like being "a post under a pile driver."⁷² The staff women met weekly and the length of the morning meetings were "legendary" as more than one former staff member recalled. "Emily let us work it out," said Stroup, recalling that many of the women affiliated with the dean's office were in different frames of mind regarding the development of their own feminist consciousness. "When someone said, 'Oh, we can't do *that*,'" Stroup noted Taylor would facilitate the group discussion so that the

⁷¹ Brune visited a man's apartment, helped another student sneak back into a residence hall after curfew, and skipped a required meeting regarding the campus rules. Caroljean Brune, "Interview by Author, February 12, 2011" (Lawrence, Kan.).

⁷² Kathryn H. Vratil, Kansas City, Kansas, Letter to Emily Taylor, November 17, 1992, in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers, Topeka, Kan. Vratil sent Taylor her remarks from the October 30, 1992, ceremony where she was sworn in as United States District Judge. She noted, "I say with all love and respect – and I know that Judge Tacha will vouch for me on this – that a young woman who undergoes her instruction is a post under a pile driver."

women would think through the data and their reasoning.⁷³ Taylor also mentored young men to think more critically about gender roles – particularly males associated with her staff members and with the women students serving in leadership roles.⁷⁴ Sometimes, this experience was not always pleasant as Shavlik shared:

What she did was to just challenge people all the time, to reach their potential by asking them questions, by never letting them get by with not having thought something through... She was very forceful, always, then and now, I can see that people both respected that and feared that...⁷⁵

Shavlik said that many of these same students and employees continued to stay in touch with Taylor later in life – something that Taylor did not reciprocate often until her later retirement years. Taylor did not reserve her no-nonsense responses for students and staff. Faculty and administrators received similar confrontational interactions. Shavlik remembered that university Registrar James Hitt and Taylor were friends. However, they often engaged in shouting matches when she disagreed with his approach on something.⁷⁶ A colleague who knew Taylor later in her career noted the strength of Taylor's presence, recalling how she felt after first meeting her:

I wasn't sure just how I felt about Emily. She is the only person I've ever known who made me – a branded Yankee from Northern New Jersey – feel truly Southern. In contrast to her blazing style, I felt, for perhaps the first time in my life, like a shrinking violet. Or at least a pale chrysanthemum....I have seen a woman [Taylor] ... who can blister a stupid comment with a devastating

⁷³ Stroup, "Interview by Author, November 14, 2010."

⁷⁴ Donna Shavlik, "Telephone Interview by Author, March 22, 2011."

⁷⁵ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997."

⁷⁶ Ibid.

response, and five minutes later can be all gentle attention; who can tell a joke and sip a drink and dispense academic expertise all in five minutes.⁷⁷

Taylor's argumentative style, coupled with her dry wit, determined her reputation as a significant force on campus. In particular, if she thought a point was nonsensical, she quickly – and often bluntly – pointed out the person's problematic logic. Taylor once confided that if she had been born during a later era, she would have pursued a courtroom legal career. Her speaking skills and ability to craft arguments at a moment's notice were legendary. This talent paid off regularly in her negotiations on campus. Shavlik mentioned that Taylor was "twice as smart" as many administrators, politically savvy regarding working in a power structure, and took advantage of that. "She was always there first [often in front of the Dean of Men] so she would speak for them."⁷⁸ In addition, both staff members and fellow administrators understood that changing Taylor's mind took significant preparation. One needed a thorough understanding of the relevant data and must anticipate what Taylor's concerns might be in order to prepare ready answers. As former student Ann Gardner once noted:

I approached Dean Taylor with a mixture of awe and trepidation as I interacted with her in my role as president of Sellards Scholarship Hall and later KU's All Scholarship Hall Council. Some of that interaction took place during weekly meetings of KU's Administrative Housing Board, made up of Taylor, Vice Chancellor Bill Balfour, Housing Director J.J. Wilson and Dean of Men Don Alderson, along with student presidents of the Association of University Residence Halls and the scholarship hall council. It was obvious, as we discussed various living group issues, how much respect Dean Taylor garnered. She was a tough adversary, not because she was trying to be difficult but because she was so passionate about her principles. Once she had established in her mind what was

⁷⁷ Judith Gatlin, Letter to Emily Taylor, December 4, 1981, in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers, Topeka, Kan.

⁷⁸ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997."

“the right thing” to do, she was relentless, not mean or disrespectful, but relentless in trying to move others toward that goal.⁷⁹

In short, Taylor’s style provided a model of womanhood that jettisoned the quiet, complacent femininity associated with gender roles of the era.

In advising and counseling students, Taylor maintained a similar approach. In fact, Taylor told women who wanted counseling about boyfriends that she had non-traditional ideas:

I warned them that my advice would be very unconventional and that I had no sympathy for many things.... [One] young woman said she wanted to talk about ... this awful story about this fellow that she was dating [who] was treating her so badly and [she] just went on and on. And I said ... no I didn’t say anything for a while, I just listened. And then she said, “What do you think I should do?” And I said, “Well, I think you should get yourself another man.”⁸⁰

In another case, Taylor advised a woman distraught over her Protestant parents’ displeasure with her Catholic boyfriend. Taylor brusquely asked the woman her age, and upon the answer, retorted to the student that she was old enough to make up her own mind, and that she was marrying the man, and her parents were not. Taylor never spoke with the student again, but noticed her engagement announcement shortly thereafter in the newspaper.⁸¹ Shavlik summarized her blunt approach and motivations:

I think that’s really where Emily was – every woman student should have an opportunity to be the best that she could be...every action that she [Emily] took was designed to do that even though she challenged and chided people and made people cry, and she was very hard on a lot of people. But I don’t think that

⁷⁹ Ann Gardner, "Dean's Passion Lives in Those She Mentored," *Lawrence Journal-World*, May 9, 2004.

⁸⁰ Taylor, "Interview by Author, June 4, 1998."

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

anybody gained more respect from the people that she challenged and pushed and encouraged than Emily.⁸²

The result meant Taylor had strong, loyal supporters. However, others disliked both her style as well as her controversial programming. She recalled being quite aware that “there were parents who would have like to have had me drawn and quartered,” and some faculty and other administrators also protested her approach.⁸³ The censure extended to at least one member of the Kansas Board of Regents, the governing body of the State of Kansas higher education system. When Taylor retired from the ACE and returned to Lawrence in the 1980s, she met a woman who told Taylor that she was the reason the woman had not attended KU. Her father, who served on the Kansas Board of Regents, had refused to allow her to enroll at KU because he disagreed so stridently with Taylor’s approach.

Taylor’s brand of mentorship, however, resulted in many of her students and staff establishing significant careers. For example, Stroup became the president of two universities and the commissioner of the Coordinating Board for Higher Education for the State of Missouri; Shavlik the Director of OWHE at ACE; Deanelle Reece Tacha, a judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit and recently announced as Dean of the Pepperdine University Law School; Kathryn H. Vratil, Kansas United States District Court Chief Judge; Janice K. Mendenhall, former IAWS national president while a student, and a senior executive at the U.S. General Services Administration known for her advocacy for women within the federal government; Karen Keesling a White House

⁸² Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997."

⁸³ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, August 29, 1998" (Lawrence, Kan.).

staffer with a career in the U.S. Air Force who received the NASPA Women of Distinction Award; Mary Mitchelson, Deputy Inspector General at the U.S. Department of Education; and Sara Paretsky, a Ph.D. and MBA marketing executive who began a second career as an author and is credited with transforming the mystery novel with her creation of a female private eye. Many others pursued graduate school, law school and established careers.

While Taylor's style was demanding, women often wrote to thank her later in life. The letters she kept encompass both those from some women who chose traditional routes as well as those from women who chose career paths. Several recounted stories like this one from former student Susan Comer:

I came into your office as Dean of Women with a problem. I had planned to enter the school of Social Welfare for my junior year, but had not taken the steps necessary to do that the previous year. You had been my advisor for the freshman and sophomore years, and you were the person I turned to. I casually mentioned that I had considered going into medicine, but I had several reasons why that could not be possible at that time. You got on the phone and in short order wiped away these reasons. You proposed that I major in French, as I had considerable credits in French already, and would thus have more time for the premed courses. If I still wanted to be a social worker at the time of graduation, you said I could get into graduate school in Social Welfare with a French degree. Within months of starting the premedical curriculum, I knew that that was where I wanted to be. I was accepted into medical school at the University of Kansas in Kansas City, and from there underwent further training in Texas. I now am board certified in Internal Medicine and Rheumatology, and am very grateful that I am not a social worker! . . . I am extremely grateful for the interest you showed in me. You changed my life. I have thought of you many times over the years, and wanted to tell you that.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Susan S. Comer, Letter to Emily Taylor, December 24, 1996, in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers, Topeka, Kan.

While Taylor's style could sometimes be abrasive, her no-nonsense attitude and willingness to make a few telephone calls to clear women through the bureaucratic rules of the university meant that many women suddenly found themselves re-routed into a career trajectory commensurate with their abilities. Taylor's commanding presence made it difficult for students to say "no" to her recommended changes. In fact, many likely questioned the changes initially but followed due to Taylor's imperious manner. Another student, Marilyn Kay Harris, described Taylor's peremptory approach as a part of teaching Harris about her competencies:

I think of you as someone who took me seriously at an age and stage when few did. Your taking me seriously was one of the most valuable aspects of our association for me because I began to take myself much more seriously.... I found myself working hard to merit your time and attention. This effect was compounded by your expectations of, and for, me. I remember that you seldom asked me whether or not I could accomplish a particular task – but rather assumed that I could. I found myself filling roles and performing functions that surprised me. You so arranged for me to be in situations and so treated me, that I began to develop a much stronger sense of competence.... You gave meaning to some of my favorite quotes about a woman's duty – "to face the world with a go-to-hell look in your eye," and "to speak and act in defiance of convention," and showed me how such obligations can be carried-off with grace, leaving strong and positive impressions after you. I learned from you that "being tough" and "caring" can go together well, a mixture that I had been taught to regard as impossible.⁸⁵

Thus, Taylor's hard-nosed, challenging approach pushed women students to consider what they might accomplish – even when they doubted their own abilities to do so. Her mentorship would define both the way she advised the AWS, and the agenda that she set for women students at KU through that organization.

⁸⁵ Marilyn Kay Harris, Letter to Emily Taylor, December 10, 1974, in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers, Topeka, Kan.

Mentoring within the AWS

Taylor personally built relationships with the student AWS leaders in order to move her agenda forward as she closely guided the AWS. She met with the AWS senate president at her home on Sundays or in her office on Mondays in preparation for the weekly AWS senate meetings. “She fed me ideas,” said Anne Hoopingarner Ridder, former AWS president in 1960-1961. “I knew exactly what I was supposed to do when I ran the meeting.... I felt very enabled and knowledgeable. Looking back, I was her disciple.”⁸⁶ Taylor also hosted AWS receptions at her home and an annual overnight retreat for the AWS Senate. Ridder remembered Taylor describing her views and educating the leaders at these events. For instance, the 1960 retreat minutes recorded a conversation regarding “situations where men are given priority over women for no reason” and “equal chances for education opportunities, and in occupations after school.”⁸⁷ Ridder said Taylor often relied on the women to “market” her suggestions through their gossip networks. “She wasn’t radical or confrontational; she co-opted us,” reported Ridder, who added that Taylor subtly asked the women broad questions about their role in society, their reasons for attending university, and their plans for their lives after graduation. Ridder said of Taylor’s questions, “In her query was ... a more forward looking agenda than I was aware.”⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Anne Hoopingarner Ridder, "Interview by Author, February 17, 2009" (Arlington, Va.).

⁸⁷ Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Retreat Minutes," April 26, 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL.

⁸⁸ Ridder, "Interview by Author, February 17, 2009."



Figure 6: Shavlik (left) meeting with women students at Taylor’s home. Author’s Collection of Emily Taylor’s papers.

Reflecting on her time at KU and on her general efforts to change the parietals, Taylor said she worked to move the students to implement changes.⁸⁹ She also said, however, that “there was a limit to how far ahead of them (students) you could get.”⁹⁰ Taylor mentored by the Socratic method, questioning and encouraging the women to think critically about conventional attitudes about women, and to intellectually engage in the issues of sex equity. As Taylor noted:

What I tried to do was to get them to think through this whole situation for themselves, about themselves and not what they read somewhere, or what somebody told them was the appropriate thing to do. What did they personally want to do [regarding work and marriage]? . . . So, we tried to let everybody talk, and not to respond to every single thing that anybody said, but leave them at least with something to think about.”⁹¹

⁸⁹ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 5, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.).

⁹⁰ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003.”

⁹¹ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997.”

She did this over and over again, at various formal and informal junctures. In one instance, she recalled hosting a sorority pledge class at her home while the sorority actives prepared for initiation. “We got into a big discussion about women working and what their lives should be like,” said Taylor.

Some of them wanted to argue about it...They just weren't at all sure that's the way it ought to be. And then their boyfriends picked them up and they went to Kansas City to a show...and when they came back, I think I'd already gone to bed, and they [returned and] said, 'we just want you to know that we understand now what you were talking about.' They had gotten into the same discussion with these fellows and these fellows were ... espousing the idea of how important it was for the woman to be at home and to help her husband rather than to try to have this ambition for herself. And, all of a sudden, they were on the other side (of the argument).⁹²

The AWS work, KU CSW studies, resource library, vocational development, lectures and personal advising by Taylor and staff amounted to building women's awareness of the cultural nature of traditional gender roles. Later, the second wave of the women's movement would name this individual process of deconstructing normative, social expectations as “consciousness-raising.” Coined by Kathie Sarachild, member of New York Radical Women, consciousness-raising called for a small group of women to consider the systemic discrimination they experienced as a part of their personal lives through sharing personal experiences.⁹³

By sharing life stories and questioning the “natural order of things,” women could begin to see their condition through their own eyes... Invariably, consciousness-raising dredged up personal revelations. Suddenly, “one got it.” This isn't just my

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Kathie Sarachild, "Consciousness Raising and Intuition: Feminist Consciousness Raising and 'Organizing'" (Paper Presented at the Lake Villa Conference, November 27 1968).

problem; millions of other women have shared this experience. What had until that moment seemed so “normal” suddenly appeared artificial, not to say coercive. This is what consciousness-raising meant – looking at your life through your own eyes, reflecting on the choices you had made, realizing how had encouraged and discouraged your decisions, and recognizing the many obstacles and constraints that had little to do with individual temperament or talent.”⁹⁴

While the second wave has claimed the term consciousness-raising, the work Taylor did through the Office of the Dean of Women and AWS may be seen as the same method. In fact, Shavlik recalled one activity Taylor used to significantly raise women’s awareness. Taylor culled data from the Women’s Bureau, and drafted “futures” onto slips of paper for each student to enact through a role play activity. She placed the slips in an envelope and the students each drew a fictional life to “act out” for the group. The futures reflected the national statistics for women’s lives. Thus, some would be divorced, others widowed, some working and some staying at home to raise children. As a result, the women garnered a clearer picture of the reality of women’s lives after college.⁹⁵

Taylor personally challenged women to question social roles for women through both programmatic and individual activities. She built an enlightened staff which extended throughout the living units of the women students. This network of women involved with the leadership of AWS and within her staff produced the small-group environments whereby women could discuss personal experiences to see the limitations on women as systemic challenges produced by traditional norms regarding women’s role in society.

⁹⁴ Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking, 2000), 197.

⁹⁵ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010" (Estes Park, Colo.).

For the women students at KU, the promotion of women's leadership, vocational advising, and educational equity would square up against the tradition of women's behavioral "standards" and rules for conduct. Taylor, clearly a more progressive dean of women, had negotiated a clear prerogative to execute the AWS chapter according to her desire, only needing to justify her programming to the Chancellor of the university.

I wanted to encourage women students to challenge the status quo, avoid dumbing-down their ambitions and seek equality with men in every legal, social and economic arena. I wanted a program through which we could be a guide to all women students, a sponsor for many, mentor for the leaders we identified among them. I wanted to find ways to promote women on campus, encourage women to accept responsibility, inspire them to dream important dreams. I urged women students every chance I got not to downsize their goals, their intelligence, their ability to change what needed changing. I even taught a few about Irish diplomacy: The ability to tell someone to go to hell in a way that makes him look forward to the trip. I wanted to create an environment in which women would feel comfortable in establishing a vision that goes beyond the conventional. I wanted a program that would help them realize their dreams – an active program to empower women and increase their leadership skills and their desire to lead and to protest inequities wherever they were found.⁹⁶

Taylor discovered, however, that the largest impediment to her agenda would be the socially-determined attitudes of the women students themselves. At a time when the phrase "consciousness-raising" had not yet been invented, Taylor developed a system at KU in the late 1950s and early 1960s to raise the awareness of women students regarding systemic discrimination, equity, and opportunity in a way that fundamentally questioned gender roles. Before Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, Taylor was challenging women students to question the conventional wisdom regarding marriage, career and self-potential. She did so in the structure of AWS, the programs she offered, her advising style, and the breadth of her office organization. However, with the parietals

⁹⁶ Taylor, "Handwritten Speech Notes," Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers.

in place, she continued to find women students limited in their scope of vision for themselves and their society.

CHAPTER 3 - Unlocking Parietals

When Taylor arrived at KU, parietals defined student life. Today, campus living for undergraduate students bears little similarity to the arrangements in post-war America. For college students in the twenty-first century, the issuance of keys on a campus is a mere detail at the beginning of fall semesters across the country. In the 1950s, that was not the case. Instead, college women found their access to university housing constrained by a complex set of rules created through women's student government and ultimately determined by administrators. Women students did not hold keys to their campus residences – where they often were required to live if not at home – and they conducted their activities under the parameters of curfews.

In Lawrence, Taylor purposely laid the groundwork for the eventual elimination of the university rules that functioned in place of parental oversight for women students. Her efforts would eventually make KU the second campus in the country to allow senior women keys and the one of the first large campuses to allow all women the freedom to come and go as they pleased while in college.¹ Taylor's dissolution of regulations received little attention in 1958 when she began the revisions. The initiative pushed the boundaries of conventional standards of the era, and likely many women deans considered the idea too controversial. Though Taylor ranked as one of the youngest deans

¹ The first higher education institution to provide women with keys was located in Colorado. The author has not been able to determine which school implemented this policy prior to the University of Kansas. Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003"; Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, Summer, 1997" (Lawrence, Kan.).

of women at a major public higher education institution in the United States, she nevertheless broached the possibility of keys for senior women in her second year at KU.² The “senior keys” as the students called them, quietly unlocked the door for significant change in 1966, when the university eliminated curfews for most KU women. At that point, a thorny debate erupted. Many parents and taxpayers howled in protest. Letters of opposition poured into Chancellor W. Clarke Wescoe’s office. Not surprisingly, Taylor’s leadership came under scrutiny. Historical studies of KU student life have noted the 1966 furor over eliminating closing hours for women’s residences, but little attention has been paid to how the elimination of parietals began.³

Living with Parietals

Before Taylor’s arrival in the fall of 1956, the AWS chapter had planned to spend more time on the rules in order to clarify behavior expectations for women students.⁴

² Ridder, former AWS student leader, provided the information regarding Taylor as a young dean. Ridder, "Interview by Author, February 17, 2009."

³ One reason for this research gap is that the dean of women’s files are sparse for Taylor’s tenure at KU. Taylor stated that she destroyed the majority of her files because she did not want disciplinary cases to become public. In addition, her office did not keep significant file records. Although others have completed short interviews with Taylor, the author conducted interviews over a period of six years in Lawrence, Kansas. In addition, on subjects about which Taylor did not elaborate, the author’s interviews with former employees and students have been extremely helpful. For discussions of the student movements at KU, see Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*. Also see, Monhollon, *This Is America?*

⁴ In spring 1956, AWS senators recommended “that we choose the girls to work on the Rules and Regulations Committee next fall and have them work at it all year instead of just at the

Taylor took a different approach, one that she outlined in her 1953 NADW article. Almost immediately, she initiated her vision for women's leadership through student governance. She sought to shift the focus away from the perennial concern of behavior rules so that AWS might emphasize intellectual endeavors and the fulfillment of students' individual potential.

Since the university acted in place of a parent, institutions like KU developed parietal rules to maintain discipline. Most universities developed a dual system of rules for student conduct. One set governed by the dean of men applied to all students, including women. The other set, overseen by the dean of women, concerned only women. As the forces of consolidation in the student personnel field pushed men to the top of the administrative structure, the two-fold set of rules remained. These rules were peer-reviewed – or “self-governed” – by students through student organizations like AWS. This structure allowed university administrators to ascertain student opinions on various issues by crafting a “channeling procedure between it [student government] and the administration of the University.”⁵ However, administrators retained their right to “veto” student initiatives, and students – particularly women – viewed the administration as the ultimate authority.⁶

last of the year.” Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes," May 8, 1956, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1955-1956, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁵ Taylor, "Optimum Use of Students in Faculty Committees," 127.

⁶ At KU in 1943, students and administration agreed on a new student government constitution that created an All Student Council (ASC) of 30 members to set the policy for student life. The Board of Regents approved the program, with the stipulation that all ASC

Under such an arrangement in the 1950s, University of Kansas women were accustomed to curfews that mirrored the types of control that a parent commonly imposed when they lived at home.⁷ AWS implemented numerous rules for all women's living groups ranging from a code of closing hours (curfews) for the housing units, to regulations governing men's calling hours, women's calling hours at men's living quarters, "quiet hours" for study and sleeping, and "late permissions" for returning home later than curfew. The AWS also enforced the rules in a heavily codified manner with minor violations handled by one's residence, and "severe" or repeated cases by the AWS judiciary board, which consisted of AWS student officers and the dean of women.⁸ Officers of a living unit, housemothers, and dormitory counselors often referred a woman to the judiciary board for what seem to be trivial infractions by today's standards, such as being between one and five minutes late for curfew several times. Ultimately, at KU and universities across the country, responsibility for ensuring discipline among female students belonged to the dean of women. Although student safety provided the official rationale for the rules for women, the primary effect of the codes was to limit

regulations would be subject to the chancellor's veto. Griffin, *The University of Kansas*, 637.

⁷ Associated Women Students, "AWS Regulations for University Women, 1955-56," Dean of Women's Papers - Correspondence, in RG 53/0, Box 1, Folder: Chronological 1957-58 - 1958-59, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁸ Associated Women Students, "AWS Regulations for University Women," Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1955-1956, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

unsupervised time between male and female students in order to enforce social norms against pre-marital sex.⁹

In contrast, the rules for men nationally and at KU included no curfews or closing hours. Unlike women, men possessed keys to their dormitories, fraternities, and rooming houses, and came and went as they pleased.¹⁰ At KU, men's rules were few, focusing primarily on appropriate and legal consumption of intoxicating beverages and proper behavior at such social events as dances and other university extracurricular activities. At KU, officers of the All Student Council (ASC) under the direction of the dean of men set those rules which applied to every student. Similar to the AWS, the ASC punished infractions with a disciplinary board. Because the women were governed by both AWS and ASC rules, their extracurricular lives were tightly controlled. However, the ASC rules left men largely free to do as they chose with only the abbreviated regulations to govern their behavior. When comparing the two sets of rules at KU and other universities, it is clear that the *in loco parentis* structure functioned by policing women's campus life with the assumption that once the women returned to their housing, most men would as well. Thus, the women's rules existed primarily to create and maintain gender role boundaries, circumscribing women's daily activities and providing a process for the university administration to enforce propriety. This inequitable application of the concept of *in loco parentis* meant that maintaining "socially acceptable standards" occurred largely through the discipline of women rather than of men.

⁹ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 25-27; Lansley, "College Women or College Girls," ii-iii; Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 78-79.

¹⁰ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 78-80.

Parietal Changes

Taylor's interest in removing parietals stemmed from her belief that women avoided scholarly inquiry because they spent much of their time crafting and enforcing the behavioral rules. She determined that until the women dissolved this aspect of AWS, their focus on scholarship, and sex equity, would be secondary at best. Taylor began restructuring the disciplinary function of AWS by changing the "judiciary board" to the "board of standards." The change in the judiciary board's name signified Taylor's desire to eliminate the punitive tone regarding parietals. In addition, Taylor assigned the board of standards to an assistant dean, thereby delegating disciplinary policy issues and removing herself as a figurative parent.¹¹ Taylor further revised the disciplinary operations when she and an AWS committee rewrote the AWS constitution outside regular senate meetings. These constitutional changes placed more disciplinary power with the student residence organizations so that the governing bodies of women's living groups could resolve their own disciplinary infractions unless the behavioral problems were frequent or particularly significant. The revisions provided more autonomy and responsibility to the women's housing units. (Later, during a rules convention, the women would actually attempt to return these powers to the dean of women's office.) The AWS Senate, accustomed to the administration control of student disciplinary policy, adopted these revisions with almost no discussion. The minutes simply noted that the

¹¹ Associated Women Students, "1955-56 Judiciary Board Minutes," 1955-56, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1955-1956, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. Assistant Dean Patterson is listed as the advisor to the board of standards. Associated Women Students, "Board of Standards 1959-60," 1959-60, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

changes occurred.¹² As a result, each housing unit could determine its own behavioral standards for itself within the parameters of the parietals. In another important move, Taylor expanded AWS membership from women in organized housing units to include all females attending KU, including those living off campus.¹³ As a result, any restructuring of women's student life would then apply to all women students. Through all of these changes, Taylor set the stage for a shift in the AWS chapter focus from discussion of parietals to scholarly conversation and intellectual development. This transition would clear the way for vocational counseling and other options beyond the conventional confines of gender roles.

Experiment in Student Governance: A Rules Convention

Taylor began her efforts to engender a scholarship focus by planning an experiment in student governance through a convention. At the 1958 spring AWS retreat at Taylor's home, during her second year at KU, Taylor convinced the AWS Senate to reconceive the parietals governing women. Taylor proposed a one-day convention of delegations from each living unit to determine new behavioral standards. In this activity, Taylor explicitly implemented her plan for student government that she had described in the NADW article by giving the women the opportunity to set their own policies

¹² Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes," December 4, 1956, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1956-1957, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes," April 5, 1957, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1956-1957, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹³ Ridder, "Interview by Author, February 17, 2009."

regarding behavioral expectations.¹⁴ By the fall, a steering committee requested that each living unit formulate a complete set of rules covering all areas of women's activities that its members believed the AWS should regulate.¹⁵ However, the delegations – beset by women who in their own words “could not forget about the old rules” – generated few new ideas.¹⁶

Despite the prospect for independently setting their own guidelines at the convention, the women failed to accept the freedom offered by Taylor as they simply re-created existing curfews and male visiting privileges. The lack of new conceptions and approaches indicated the women could not imagine themselves outside the structure of the parietals. Even the AWS officers with whom Taylor met weekly found reconceptualizing the parietals to be difficult as the minutes frequently recorded that the senate had trouble seeing options for women's student life that were not controlled by campus. In particular, when the February 1959 AWS convention began, the women – rather than embracing the opportunity to create their own rules – actually recommended less autonomy for themselves by voting to assign approvals for any curfew exceptions

¹⁴ Taylor, "Optimum Use of Students in Faculty Committees," 126-129.

¹⁵ Associated Women Students, "AWS Convention Notes," January 15, 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Associated Women Students, "1959 AWS Regulations Convention Chairman's Report," 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁶ Associated Women Students, "Summary of New Ideas for AWS Regulations," January 15, 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

back to the dean of women. This vote reversed one of the AWS constitution revisions initiated by Taylor in which she reassigned from her office the approval authority for rule exceptions away from her office. Under Taylor's model, the housemothers or governing boards of the living units had this responsibility. Clearly, in this move, the dean of women did not want the authority of the university to reinforce behavioral standards such as curfews. She wanted the women to do it themselves through their living groups. However, by reversing the decision in the Convention, the students showed that they preferred that the university/dean of women define the curfew and the appropriate exceptions to it. Despite the convention vote, the AWS senate failed to ratify the reversal and Taylor's changes stood.

Taylor understood the women's desire for the university to set and monitor regulations to be due to women's reluctance to take responsibility for their own behavior in dating relationships. Nationally, college women tended to take the same approach as the KU co-eds. In an article in a 1964 NADW journal article, Edward Solomon reported that women college students "voted to maintain existing curfew limitations because they were useful in helping girls leave their dates after local night-spots closed."¹⁷ The women, experiencing college life amid strict gender role expectations and social norms that held a sexual double standard, saw the rules as something breakable when desired, but also as a convenient tool for politely declining dates or unwanted sexual advances.¹⁸

¹⁷ Edward C. Solomon, "A Condensation of Ideas from a Conference on Educational Needs of College Women for Marriage and Family Planning," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors* 26, 2 (January, 1964): 43-50.

¹⁸ Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes," February 24, 1959, Associated

The convention resulted in only two notable changes to existing rules – extending the curfew during finals week to midnight, and recommending senior privileges, which would permit senior women to operate outside the standard rules in limited situations.¹⁹ These two convention recommendations needed the approval of the AWS Senate for adoption, but the student leaders resisted endorsing either one. First, because the library closed at 10 p.m., the senate contended that the midnight curfew would be irresponsible by giving the women two hours of unsupervised time with no scholastic purpose. In order to convince the officers to adopt the change, Taylor negotiated with the university administration for the library to remain open during finals week until 11 p.m. When the AWS finally agreed to the finals week curfew extension, Taylor structured it as an experiment that, if successful, would lay the groundwork for more expansive changes. Knowing that any enduring parietal adjustments depended upon women behaving reasonably, Taylor often reminded the students that “the whole group is responsible for the action of any individuals.”²⁰ Even with no incidents during finals week, the senate still balked at a permanent extension of the weeknight curfew to midnight. They contended that women arriving home late at night would wake others in the residences. Taylor dismissed these arguments by suggesting that the houses increase their quiet hours penalties to prevent this potential disruption. Arguing that the early curfews limited the

Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁹ "AWS Seeks Rules Change," *University Daily Kansan*, February 16, 1959.

²⁰ Clipping, *University Daily Kansan*, No date. The clipping may be found in Associated Women Students 1948-1971 in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-59, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

women's studies, Taylor arranged for more campus buildings to remain open later. Eight months after the convention, a brief note in the AWS minutes in September 1959 indicates that the hours had become permanent at the library and other halls.²¹ This part of Taylor's "experiment" worked. The women accepted later weeknight hours, taking a small step toward autonomy and Taylor's goal for women to make their own behavior decisions without relying on the rules as an excuse.

Approval for senior privileges took longer than eight months for Taylor to achieve. Although the convention voted to consider special freedoms for senior women due to their maturity, the AWS had little consensus on how to structure a plan. Prior to the convention, Taylor initiated the concept of keys with the senate. Taylor explained, "We were at this meeting and they were talking about these piddly little things, like 15 minutes here and half an hour there, and I just said, 'Have you considered keys?' It was an electrifying moment." Taylor remembered that the women paused, "It took them a

²¹ Associated Women Student Senate, "AWS Senate Minutes," March 3, 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes," February 24, 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL. Also, an article clipping stated that the Chief of the Library Reader Services would consider longer hours permanently but that it was not easily done. *University Daily Kansan* clipping, No date, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1958-1959, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. The AWS minutes noting final approval of building hours is found in Associated Women Students, "AWS Board of Standards Minutes," September 24, 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

while [and they finally] asked ‘to the sorority house?’” as they slowly understood the dean’s meaning.²² The women found the idea of controlling their own hours foreign and continued to find it difficult to envision university life outside of *in loco parentis*. In suggesting the senior privileges concept, Taylor expanded on an area already existing at some schools. At KU, the women inducted into the senior women’s honorary, Mortarboard, enjoyed privileges due to their maturity and scholastic accomplishments.²³ In addition, in 1941, forty-eight seniors at the Florida State College for Women lived under less-regulated rules in a specific Senior Hall inside one dormitory. The college selected the women due to their moral character, and the rules allowed them to leave the dormitory without signing-out, and an expanded curfew until midnight.²⁴ Taylor’s expansion of such privileges to all senior women, however, advanced in front of the national pace.

Ridder, who was president of the senate during the year AWS adopted senior keys, recalled that she resisted the change. Ridder, like many other students, believed the women needed the rules to clarify behavioral expectations for them. Ridder said Taylor finally convinced her to consider the keys by stressing that many women already circumvented the rules. “I was naïve. I thought everyone followed the rules,” said Ridder, remembering how Taylor proved her point. “[Taylor told me] ‘you think everyone is in at

²² Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 4, 1997."

²³ The author thanks Ann Gardner, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World* editorial page editor and graduate of KU for pointing out this detail regarding Mortarboard senior privileges.

²⁴ Lynn Peril, *College Girls: Bluestockings, Sex Kittens, and Co-Eds, Then and Now* (New York: London, 2006), 150.

closing hours. Let's go visit the sororities and scholarship houses, bring treats and have a party and see.'" Ridder recalled driving Taylor around Lawrence one night after closing hours, stopping at each house and announcing that the dean of women was there with refreshments, and inviting everyone down to the lobby. "Half of everyone was gone," said Ridder, remembering that the sign-out sheets recorded them in the residence. Ridder said this finally clarified for her that a number of women avoided the rules when it suited them. Taylor contended that it would be safer for women if they did not hide their whereabouts. For instance, Taylor said that a couple died from carbon monoxide poisoning at a "lover's lane." In this case, the sorority members noticed the student missing, but no one knew where she was.²⁵ Taylor recognized that although the women ignored the rules in many cases, they preferred regulations so that they did not have to take ownership of their personal decisions. Accustomed to the rules providing a convenient way to manage dating, the women had little desire to directly confront men with their desire to go home from a date or to avoid sexual activity. The students preferred to blame the rules as the reason they wanted out of the situation. Although few women voluntarily told Taylor why they regularly broke the rules, the fact that Taylor's office oversaw discipline left little question as to how women manipulated regulations. Disciplinary case after disciplinary case regarding women breaking the rules involved sexual activity.²⁶ Ridder remembered that Taylor often said that the women hid "behind

²⁵ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

²⁶ As noted earlier, Taylor destroyed her files at KU. However, Dean of Men Don Alderson kept extensive files on disciplinary actions that involved men which illustrated such instances.

the curfew so you don't have to make safe decisions for yourself."²⁷ Former assistant Donna Shavlik recalled the issue similarly. "She [Taylor] pushed the seniors [to having keys]," said Shavlik. "They didn't want them.... I always hate this extreme language, but I guess it really is true, [there was] such oppression of women that they had bought into it. So women students who did not set their own hours used it [curfew] for excuses [to return to the dorm or sorority while] on dates and it kept them from having to make decisions themselves."²⁸ As Shavlik noted, women used the rules as an excuse to extricate themselves from situations with men which they did not want to face directly. Conversely, women who determined to forgo the normative restrictions broke the rules purposely. In either case, the rules allowed women to avoid accountability for their own behavior, preferences, and choices as adults.

By the fall of 1960, the AWS board of standards asked each residence group to recommend senior privilege options it would like considered for the seniors living in their facility. This request explicitly called for each group to consider keys as a possibility. Of the 16 living group responses, only six – 37 percent – supported some type of key program. Another three living groups preferred one key for occasional use by all senior women but indicated only limited support, with one residence noting that their senior women had very few problems with the current system. The remaining seven rejected keys and asked for an arrangement for later hours with someone maintaining "door duty" in order to let seniors in at night. In fact, the Sigma Kappa sorority responded that, "They [members] also felt the idea of keys for seniors was a little too lenient and a bit

²⁷ Ridder, "Interview by Author, February 17, 2009."

²⁸ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997."

dangerous, as well as costly if keys were lost and locks had to be changed.”²⁹ With over 60 percent of the housing groups against keys, the responses clearly illustrate that the students did not instigate this change to provide women more freedom and accountability for their behavior. Without Taylor’s initiation of the concept through the AWS, it is likely the parietals would have continued to be unquestioned and accepted by the students.

Despite the women’s reservations, AWS approved the key program as “experimental” and called for evaluation of the use of keys at the end of one semester. The plan required written parental permission to participate and did not actually provide each senior student with a key for her possession at all times. Instead, in yet another example of the women’s resistance, the AWS created a knot of rules governing key check-out. The women leaders developed very complicated rules to govern the use of the keys under the auspices of safety. Clearly, protecting the reputations of women and their living groups drove the hesitation over free use of keys. First, the women determined that seniors would lock keys in a box kept by the house director during the day and that keys would be checked out only after 5:00 p.m. and before the house closed for the night. Locking the keys made it clear that the keys were not always available. Second, the name of the senior, the person accompanying the senior, and her expected time of return continued to be recorded in a revised version of the “sign-out” sheets standard at all university women’s housing. Keeping such a record showed that seniors were still expected to go only to appropriate and disclosed locations. Third, seniors counted the keys by 8:00 a.m. daily and no one younger than a senior could enter the house with a

²⁹ Associated Women Students, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: July - November 1961, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

key. Any “irregularity” resulted in the loss of senior privileges for the woman and possibly for the entire house. If a woman lost a key, the residence members changed the locks on the same day and all seniors shared in the cost of replacing the lock and keys. Along with answering arguments about safety, these precautions also illustrated that keys would be closely supervised so that younger women could not access them.³⁰ Despite the rules, the key program resulted in senior women receiving complete freedom to return to their residences at whatever hour they preferred before 8 a.m. the next morning so long as they left the residence before closing hours began for the underclassmen. Consistently emphasizing that the program was for seniors and run by them, Taylor placed behavior standards squarely in the hands of these women whether they wanted that autonomy or not.³¹

Impact of Taylor’s Student Governance Approach

Taylor’s approach to women’s student governance called into question national norms regarding women’s student life. Between 1956 and 1960, the *Journal of the National Association of Deans of Women* published no articles dealing specifically with the subjects of closing hours, rules and regulations, or judiciary boards. Although the topic formally arose at least once at an NADW convention, parietals were not visible in the scholarly discussions of student individual responsibility, most likely because they

³⁰ "Seniors Hours in Effect Soon," *University Daily Kansan*, October 14 1960; Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes, October 4," 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: July - November 1961, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

³¹ "Keys May Be Distributed Monday," *University Daily Kansan*, September 27, 1961.

were considered a normative necessity.³² Nationally, the student personnel field began to consider general issues surrounding student freedoms on campuses in 1960-1961. That year, NASPA circulated a commission report regarding this topic which IAWS shared with all its AWS chapters.³³ However, NASPA and NADW did not formally suggest that students should have further freedoms with accompanying responsibility until 1967.³⁴ In regional and national IAWS conferences, Taylor called to limit parietals on the grounds that they interfered with women's studying opportunities. She also suggested that the focus on conduct kept the women from intellectual conversation and more substantial leadership opportunities. Ridder, who attended the 1958 and 1959 national IAWS conferences with Taylor, recalled that IAWS meeting attendees often found Taylor's suggestions to be shocking. Ridder said she realized that KU was "way ahead" of the norm at these meetings.³⁵ One KU undergraduate noted that, "There is probably fear in some schools that students would misuse any such power given them. Kansas is known as a liberal school, and one finds at any convention that many problems of other schools have long been solved at KU."³⁶ Taylor repeatedly reminded IAWS and her own AWS

³² In 1955, an NADW survey of members ranked housing problems as the top issue of concern. Conversely, it ranked student government and student leaders near the bottom of concerns, with women's education issues last. Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 135.

³³ Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 98.

³⁴ Tuttle, "What Became of the Dean of Women," 325.

³⁵ Ridder, "Interview by Author, February 17, 2009."

³⁶ Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes, November 27," 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: November 1960 - June 1961, UA, KSRL,

group that parietals – a manifestation of gender roles – stood in the way of progress for women. In the 1960 AWS retreat records, the secretary summarized Taylor’s comments by noting, “Our society is being changed by the large numbers of women who work outside the home.... We want to get women to think about important intellectual things instead of just closing hours.”³⁷ Clearly, Taylor thought parietals prohibited the more progressive approach that she wanted to pursue regarding the status of women in the United States.

Information regarding the reception of the senior key program is sparse. When asked about KU’s administrative response to her plan, Taylor replied, “I didn’t ask their opinions.... They didn’t say anything. Well, if they did, it’s nothing I remember. They [administration] certainly didn’t oppose it.”³⁸ The archival files support Taylor’s contention. There is nothing to indicate concern either in the chancellor’s files or in the dean of students and dean of men’s files. In fact, aside from a final report on the senior privilege plan in Murphy’s files, it would have been difficult to know from his records that either the convention or the issuance of keys had occurred. As for parents of seniors, AWS Senate minutes note at various points in the process that none had rejected the privilege for their own daughters.³⁹ Criticism existed, however. Taylor received one

UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

³⁷ Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Retreat Minutes," April 26, 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL.

³⁸ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 5, 1997."

³⁹ The only evidence of a negative public response was a note in the AWS Senate minutes stating that an article, “Equal Rights Set for KU’s Women,” was “erroneous and unfavorable.” In the article mentioned by the minutes, the journalist implied that senior women would have no

strongly worded letter opposing the program that remains in the archives.⁴⁰ In addition, Taylor remembered sorority advisors, usually off-campus alumnae, as particularly upset:

I remember one woman [advisor] who invited me to go out to lunch and she said that she wanted to know if I could explain to her why I thought that [a key] was progress. And I said I think this is progress because it requires people to grow up. It requires people to make their own decisions as to when it's time for them to be out and when it's time for them to be in [the sorority house], the same as anything else they do whether they are studying or eating or sleeping or what. Those decisions shouldn't be made by someone else.⁴¹

Thus, Taylor believed educated women should be “grown up” and possess the decision-making skills to act autonomously and determine their own path rather than to operate solely by convention or by the dictates of authority.

In initiating the senior privileges discussion in 1958 and implementing them in fall of 1960, Taylor preceded the national conversation on shifting gender roles for educated women. It was not until 1963 that Betty Friedan published *Feminine Mystique* suggesting that white, middle-class educated women found domesticity unfulfilling. Further, equal employment considerations did not arrive until 1964 with the Civil Rights

oversight at all. "Equal Rights Set for KU's Women," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, October 6 1960; Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes, October 25," 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: July-October 1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Associated Women Students, "AWS Senate Minutes, October 11," 1960, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: July-October 1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁰ Helen Gibson Throop, Letter to Dr. Emily Taylor, January 11, 1961, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴¹ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997."

Act. Three months before President John F. Kennedy established the President's Commission on the Status of Women in December 1961, Taylor dispersed keys to seniors. By January 1962, Taylor moved forward by suggesting elimination of closing hours for *all* women except freshmen (thereby issuing them keys as well). This was two years before the President's Commission reported its results and four and a half years before the National Organization of Women formed in 1966.

The senior key program caught national attention. At least eight colleges – or students at them – wrote to Taylor requesting information on how the senior key system operated so that they might replicate it on their own campus. At the University of Massachusetts, the student newspaper ran an editorial using the KU program as an example of what their campus should consider. In addition, by the mid 1960s, the IAWS used the KU senior key plan as a model for other campuses to consider.⁴² Taylor's

⁴² Raymond C. Kirtland, Letter to Kala Stroup, February 11, 1965, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Virginial Lackley, Letter to Dr. Emily Taylor, February 4, 1963, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Margaret Lahey, Letter to Dr. Emily Taylor, November 12, 1960, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Patti Teel, Letter to Associated Women Students Board, February 11, 1965, in, RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Anne Ward, Letter to Dr. Emily Taylor, December 3, 1960, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Bettie Weaver, Letter to Dr. Emily Taylor, March 3, 1964, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Dave Haseltine, Letter to Dr. Emily Taylor, December 16, 1960, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Mary Helen Flentge, Letter to Dr. Emily Taylor, January 8, 1964, in RG 53/0, Box 2,

leadership in this area outpaced national attitudes. Only by 1969 did the trend to eliminate closing hours begin to popularize across the nation. In 1969-1970, the IAWS, which maintained a “clearinghouse” system for sharing best practices with chapters nationally, noted that requests for information regarding modifying or eliminating women’s curfews outpaced all other informational inquiries that year. At that time, KU led the nation for large public institutions of higher education regarding the dissolution of parietals. During the 1968-1969 school year, the KU campus had authorized freshmen women to choose whether they wanted to live under closing hours or not.⁴³ Functionally, all women students had the option to attend KU without curfews governing their activities. Nationally, only two small schools listed no closing hours for any women students: Western Washington State College and Kansas State College of Pittsburg. The remainder had closing hours for freshmen, freshmen and sophomores, or freshmen, sophomore and juniors. By that time, many campuses had begun senior privileges as KU did at the beginning of the decade.⁴⁴

Folder: 1966/67-1968/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; "Dorm Keys for Senior Women," *The Massachusetts Collegian*, October 31 1960, 2; Margaret Tietze Senior Privilege Chairman of KU AWS Chapter, "The University of Kansas Senior Privilege Plan 1965-66," No date, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 4, Folder 17: Hours, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

⁴³ AWS Council, "AWS Council/Forum Minutes," April 24, 1969, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁴ Louise Douce, "IAWS National Office Report: Women's Hours," 1970, Intercollegiate

The closer Taylor moved toward keys for all women, the more disapproval she faced. The AWS senate leaders overwhelmingly rejected her 1962 call for providing keys to underclassmen except freshmen on the grounds that parents would not approve, that it was “idealistic,” and that closing hours kept “KU as a respected leader in the Big 8 and the Midwest.”⁴⁵ Taylor eventually overcame student objections against eliminating curfews for younger women, though not before Murphy left KU to become chancellor at the University of California, Los Angeles. In March 1966, the AWS Rules Convention voted to give keys to second-semester sophomores through seniors, and to eliminate the

Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 4, Folder: 18: Index of Clearinghouse Reports, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass; Suzanne Bocell, "Reports of Associated Women Students Commission on the Status of Women," 1969-1970, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 10, Folder 4: Commissions on the Status of Women, 1969-70, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. This study showed KU as having freshmen hours, and did not factor in that the freshmen women could choose to opt out of the remaining closing hours. At the same time that KU AWS provided freshmen the option to live without curfews, they also recommended that sophomore women, with parental permission, might choose to live outside of university housing. This enabled all but freshmen women to live outside a dormitory or sorority should she desire to do so.

⁴⁵ Associated Women Students, "AWS Minutes, Joint Meeting of the AWS House and Senate," January 9, 1962, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12; Folder: November 1961- June 1962, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

closing hours and sign-outs for these women altogether.⁴⁶ The result would be the autonomy Taylor had worked to accomplish for most women on campus.

This news would be reported in a national climate that had recently “discovered” the campus organizing of the New Left. In the early winter months of 1965, the popular media began covering the Free Speech Movement protest at the University of California, Berkeley. By the spring of 1965, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report* as well as the *Nation* and *Saturday Evening Post* had covered the Berkeley protest which catapulted the topic of student governance structures into the national conversation.⁴⁷ Thus, the AWS vote in favor of abolishing closing hours for younger KU women made news across Kansas. *The Wichita Eagle*, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, *The Kansas City Star* and *The Topeka Daily Capital* all carried the story. In Topeka, a front-page article detailed the entire plan, which needed approval from the new chancellor, W. Clarke Wescoe. The statewide media caught the attention of parents and Kansas citizens who wrote to Wescoe. Not one of the many letters in Wescoe’s file at the KU archives reflected a

⁴⁶ For a complete discussion of the rules revisions in 1966, see Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 86-104. Bailey examines the changes in parietals at KU, arguing that the sexual revolution had roots within student personnel counseling and its support for personal responsibility. Also, see the following which illustrates Taylor advocating for the removal of sign-outs and support of eliminating curfews despite Provost James Surface’s preference to keep such regulations: Donald Alderson, "Handwritten Notes from Meeting in Provost Surface's Office Including Woodruff, Alderson and Taylor," March 14, 1966, Office of Student Affairs (Balfour/Alderson), in RG 76/0, Box 10, Folder: 51/0 Student Personnel Council: Council on Student Affairs 1965 - 4/26/66 I, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁷ Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching*, 26-27.

positive sentiment. Instead, the correspondents condemned the proposal and encouraged Wescoe to stop it.⁴⁸ The letters revealed that many understood that Taylor directed these changes and linked it to national concerns. For instance, Mrs. Scott Ashton wrote:

. . . [I]n a more critical vein, may I go on record as being against all the changes proposed by AWS concerning closing hours. Scott [her husband] says to include him in this too. We feel that the whole trend is a terrible mistake, as has been pretty well proven wherever this idiocy has been allowed. The first mistake at K.U., in my opinion, was the senior keys. From the beginning the girls seem to have had unusually poor advice.⁴⁹

Direct critiques of Taylor's advising were not always as politely stated, and illustrated the frustration with Taylor's unconventional ideas. For instance, another mother bluntly stated in her letter to Wescoe:

Come now, Dr. Wescoe, you surely don't think that I am naïve enough to think that the little darlings thought up this whole new world all by themselves. I loved your phrasing "does not of necessity represent the views of the Dean." You see, I feel sure that little suggestions have been dropped at those sweet little fudge or dessert parties at [Taylor's] home that I have been hearing about for years. Surely, the idiotic conception of Senior Keys was hers, as no one is allowed to discuss dropping that idea. In fact, at a Panhel rush meeting last year, she informed the Pi Phi representatives that she felt it was not the Mother's club business to discuss Senior Keys. Ha! [A]nd now they [women students] are allowed to vote on having

⁴⁸ Letters to the Chancellor are primarily collected in the following: Various authors, Chancellor's Papers, in RG 2/12/5, Box 1, Folder: Student Correspondence (Change in Women's Closing Hours), 1965-1966, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁹ Mrs. Scott Ashton, Letter to W. Clarke Wescoe, April 28, 1966, in Box 11, RG 2/12/5, Folder: Student Correspondence (Change in Women's Closing Hours), 1965-1966, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

no closing hours. Did Dean Emily anticipate they would vote against? Or is she still using that juvenile homily, “Don’t you trust your daughter?”⁵⁰

Letter after letter sent to Wescoe and other administrators expressed sentiments like:

“abolition of closing hours...it’s like letting the tail wag the dog! Why not let the parents and/or taxpayers who foot the bill have a voice in this....”⁵¹ Or, in one case, a citizen complained that the dissolution of regulations for women would hurt men by distracting them from their studies:

By nature, girls are usually more aggressive than boys and are prone to monopolize the boy’s time. We have heard male students at KU speak out in disapproval of the proposed relaxation of closing hours as they will now have no legitimate excuse to return the girls to their houses and get back to their own for study and duties. Generally, the boys carry a heavier academic load. As far as their health is concerned they don’t get enough rest now to do justice to their packed schedules so we don’t see how it would be possible for them to do their best work under the circumstances proposed.⁵²

The subtext of letters like the ones above illustrated concern over unsupervised dating time and opportunity for sexual relations. Amid comments regarding “rebel’s

⁵⁰ Jackie Tietze, Letter to W. Clarke Wescoe, April 12, 1966, in RG 2/12/5, Box 11, Folder: Student Correspondence (Change in Women's Closing Hours), 1965-1966, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁵¹ Mrs. Perry Fleagle, Letter to Provost James Surface, March 15, 1966, in RG 2/12/5, Box 11, Folder: Student Correspondence (Change in Women's Closing Hours), 1965-1966, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁵² Mr. and Mrs. Melford Monsees, Letter to Mrs. John Hughes with carbon copy to Chancellor W. Clarke Wescoe, April 13, 1966, in RG 2/12/5, Box 11, Folder: Student Correspondence (Change in Women's Closing Hours), 1965-1966, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

influencing policy” more than one parent complained that this dissolution of parietals would lead to illegitimate births and the need for a campus nursery.⁵³ One letter began, “Dear Dr. Wescoe, I am enclosing two clippings from the morning paper. Thought the AWS might be interested in planning a nursery for their next project.”⁵⁴ In addition to parent and citizen protests, Taylor remembered a legislator complaining that she used state resources to encourage “insurgents.”⁵⁵ Over and over, Wescoe responded that the decision would not be “capricious” and that his action would be with “reasonableness for all.”⁵⁶ He also regularly cited the success of the senior keys and the lack of problems with those as evidence that the 1966 plan had merit.

In the late spring of 1966, Wescoe succumbed to the political pressure and called Taylor into his office after a particularly difficult call from the Pi Beta Phi sorority advisor. He told Taylor expanding the keys to more students and eliminating all closing hours/signing out procedures at the same time was too controversial and indicated he

⁵³ Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Powers, Letter to Provost James R. Surface, March 16, 1966, in RG 2/12/5, Box 11, Folder: Student Correspondence (Change in Women's Closing Hours), 1965-1966, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁵⁴ Tietze, Letter to Wescoe, April 12, 1966.

⁵⁵ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁵⁶ W. Clarke Wescoe, Letter to Mr. Roy A. Edwards, Mrs. Harold S. Warwick, Jr. Mrs. Ramon Schumacher, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goetze, Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Burgardt, Mrs. John H. Tietze, Mrs. Thomas Van Cleave, Mrs. John D. Crouch, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Powers, and Mrs. Gordon E. Atha, April 12, 1966, in RG 2/12/5, Box 11, Folder: Student Correspondence (Change in Women's Closing Hours), 1965-1966, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. Additional letters from Wescoe in response to other citizens contain very similar statements.

would not support the plan. She remembered responding, “I think you have the wrong dean of women so I’ll put in my resignation.”⁵⁷ Wescoe capitulated to Taylor’s threat of departure, and that same evening he cancelled a dinner in Kansas City to invite Taylor to dine at his home in order to work out arrangements for accepting the policy changes.⁵⁸ In the end, sophomore women remained under closing hours while junior and senior women received key privileges. As noted above, all women’s closing rules were functionally dissolved by 1969.⁵⁹ Taylor believed that Wescoe did not want her to resign because he “was afraid of a real uprising” if she left. Taylor stated that, “I had a great many friends who would have raised trouble.”⁶⁰ Primarily, she felt her base of support rested in both male and female students. “I suppose I should have been concerned [about these changes], but I wasn’t. I didn’t even ask their [dean of students and the chancellor] opinion. It seemed so reasonable to give the keys.... We ended up the only school in the country who had given keys to everyone first.”⁶¹

⁵⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁵⁸ Taylor would stay at KU until 1975 when she retired to take the post at ACE directing the OWHE.

⁵⁹ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 100, 102.

⁶⁰ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁶¹ Ibid. The author concurs that KU was among the very first of the large public schools to allow freshmen to live outside the closing hours. However, there were two other small institutions with no closing hours for any women in 1969, and the author has been unable to date the beginning of those programs. Louise Douce, "IAWS National Office Report: Women's Hours," 1970, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 4, Folder: 18: Index of Clearinghouse Reports, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for

Clearly, as Taylor incrementally challenged conventional gender roles, she faced increasing protests with each step. While she had the unconditional support of Murphy, Taylor did not find the same support in Wescoe, and had to negotiate his agreement with her agenda. Taylor commented more than once in a wry manner that she “educated” Wescoe on women’s issues – though she obviously respected him. With Taylor’s threat of resignation, a part of that “education” would rest in showing him that dissolving the authority and structure of parietals would mean reexamining conventional understandings of the dean of women role as well. Certainly, by unlocking the parietals which governed women’s lives, Taylor opened the door for college women to face the world of dating autonomously. With the rules gone, women increasingly found themselves making decisions regarding their dating relationships and sexuality. Rather than monitoring discipline through strict rules, the dean of women’s office and her staff found themselves at the forefront of defining methods for women to face decisions regarding sexuality and helping them to have information to make responsible decisions.

CHAPTER 4 - Preparing for a World without Parietals

One semester after the first AWS rules convention to rewrite parietals, Delta Tau Delta hosted its 1959 fall party at the fraternity house. Held in the “public” living areas of the house, fraternity members and their dates enjoyed a university-sanctioned evening socializing. The men’s housemother, likely in her quarters on the main floor of the house, chaperoned. In the midst of the evening, one fraternity member and his freshman date sneaked away from the others to the third floor dormitory rooms. Other students initially reported her presence upstairs to the dean of women’s office. She had violated the AWS rules stipulating women must stay in public areas of men’s residences. Shortly thereafter, the woman involved met with the AWS Board of Standards and told the group of students and Assistant Dean Pat Patterson that she had gone upstairs looking for her date and that she simply sat on his bed ‘until he was feeling better.’ The disciplinary notes, however, stated that the “board questioned the validity of her statements as they were contrary to many other reports.” The board considered expelling the student, though they ultimately decided upon social probation which placed her one step away from expulsion. They also required the woman to write a letter approved by the board to her parents confessing that she had accompanied her date to his bedroom.¹ The freshman student, though, soon found herself in the midst of a campus “scandal” which found its way into

¹ Associated Women Students, "AWS Board of Standards Minutes, October 29," 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Associated Women Students, "AWS Board of Standards Minutes, October 30," 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

the university news for several days. The administration and All Student Council refused to name the individuals involved and sanctioned the fraternity with social probation. Reporters at the *University Daily Kansan* clamored for details and demanded open disciplinary records. Some protested the punishment of the fraternity as a group, saying the individuals involved should bear the responsibility for the event. Taylor met with fraternity and sorority housemothers to discuss appropriate chaperoning of parties.² Though never explicitly stated, the “scandal” involved the potential for the couple to have sexual relations at a fraternity party. In its response, the university sent a clear message to students that KU would not countenance premarital sexual activity.³

This incident illustrates the operation of the student personnel therapeutic network at KU as it intersected with 1950s student social life. Just a few weeks before the fraternity party, Taylor’s office had suggested that the board of standards stop focusing on punishment and creating a written record of rule violations. Instead, Patterson visited with the women leaders about the role of the board to “help girls,” and “creating growth on the parts of the girls as well as of the Board members.”⁴ Taylor, like her mentor

² "Dean Cautions Housemothers," *University Daily Kansan*, 1959.

³ Ibid; "Disciplinary Action Should Be Public," *University Daily Kansan*, November 11, 1959, 1; "Disciplinary Problem," *University Daily Kansan*, November 16, 1959, 2; Ray Miller, "Probation Raises Policy Quesitons: Authority to Discipline Fraternity Not Defined," *University Daily Kansan*, November 10, 1959, 1; "The Public Interest," *University Daily Kansan*, November 13, 1959, 2; "Social Committee Wants No Publicity," *University Daily Kansan*, 1959; "Your Brother's Keeper," *University Daily Kansan*, November 13, 1959, 2.

⁴ Associated Women Students, "AWS Board of Standards Minutes, October 1," 1959, Associated Women Students 1948-1971, in RG 67/12, Folder: 1959-1960, UA, KSRL, UKL,

Mueller, believed that a dean of women's role rested in educating every individual to fulfill her potential. As Mueller once noted in a 1963 article on counseling in sex behavior, "The individual learns by rote, by practice, often by trial and error, and education tries to make the practice most efficient and *the errors least damaging*" (emphasis added).⁵ Rather than expelling the student over sexual experimentation, Taylor's office gave the woman an opportunity to continue her education at KU. In order for this to be a "least damaging error," Taylor worked to keep the woman's name private. Protecting the young woman's identity would determine whether the student might have an opportunity to learn and grow from the experience. In 1959, without anonymity, public attention to her trip to her date's bedroom meant a smeared reputation. In the Delta Tau Delta incident, no report specifically mentioned sex or sexual relations. It was everywhere implied, but never said.

Youth Navigate Social Conventions

Throughout her time at KU, Taylor's office worked to help students recover and grow from such 'mistakes,' while operating within the conventional context of the period. As a result, she and her staff facilitated, enabled and sometimes even pushed an agenda regarding sex, women's health, and sexual assault. However, silence surrounded the topics as postwar social conventions limited speech regarding sexuality.⁶ Seen simply,

Lawrence, Kan.

⁵ Kate Hevner Mueller, "The Role of the Counselor in Sex Behavior and Standards," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors* 26, 2 (January, 1963): 3-5.

⁶ The quiet surrounding this topic creates challenges in documenting a dean of women's activities within a publicly-funded institution via the written record. The author has relied

one could argue that the genesis of the role of the dean of women was rooted in the perceived need to oversee the implementation of sexual abstinence for unmarried women and to protect their sexual virtue in a co-educational environment where they frequently mixed with male students. Parietals manifested as a method to implement such controls. Thus, by removing parietals, Taylor called for KU college women to autonomously navigate the world of college dating, gender roles and sex.

Since the 1920s, American youth had developed peer-defined courtship norms that mediated dating relationships and sexuality. By the 1950s, these youth-determined mores set an elaborate code for when various levels of sexual engagement were appropriate during dating— and the intimacy of such activities directly linked to the seriousness of the couple’s relationship. This system called for a couple to progress to “going steady” to engagement and finally to marriage. According to the peer-system, couples who were “going steady” might partake in sexual activity, and those planning to be married might engage in premarital sex. Viewed through the lens of 1950s dating rituals, the AWS rules at KU integrated with the undergraduate dating norms and manifested as cultural conventions against pre-marital sex. At KU, male and female students created elaborate peer-defined codes regarding when it was acceptable to break the rules based on the norms of the dating system. Thus, the women and men sometimes broke the AWS rules if they were “going steady” or engaged. The Delta Tau Delta matter caused such a campus uproar because the two individuals involved were likely not going steady and only on a date.

significantly on interviews for portions of this chapter as the protocols of silence meant little of these activities found their way into the public records.

For young white college women, their reputations as virtuous and moral would determine their marriage prospects. Women who engaged in premarital sexual exploration outside the peer-determined dating system were labeled as promiscuous. In the post-war years, as Wini Breines has argued: “white, middle-class girls had to walk a tightrope of respectability, never going (or never appearing) to go too far sexually, but giving just enough of their bodies to keep boys interested and to receive, they hoped, affection and admiration” that would lead to marriage.”⁷ Popular advice books called for women to control the sexual nature of a dating relationship. In a representative 1959 article, “How to Handle a College Man” the author noted this assumption explicitly: “Your college man may well control the arrangements for the date, but the necking bit requires your holding the reins with a light but very firm touch. Try a velvet glove approach – with an iron hand underneath the glove. And, do try to keep everything good natured.”⁸ With little access to sex education or contraception, the experience of youth for white, middle-class women in the post-war era was also imbued with a true fear of pregnancy. “Girls’ recollections are often of real panic they might get pregnant, one of the deciding reasons they did not engage in intercourse. Middle-class white girls were whisked out of school and sight if they became pregnant, their babies put up for adoption, a disgrace to their families. Others married early.”⁹

⁷ Wini Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable: Growing up Female in the Fifties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 125.

⁸ Peril, *College Girls*, 303.

⁹ Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable*, 115.

Once seen by society in the late 1800s as victims seduced into sin, white unmarried pregnant college students in the post-war era became “problem girls” to be “treated.” The post-war era’s rising prominence of psychology in postwar America re-defined the narrative surrounding unmarried motherhood and deemed those from white, middle-class families who became pregnant as mentally unstable. While American society handled white women’s pregnancy as “treatable” at the individual level, it defined unmarried black mothers as reflective of a systemic problem due to presumed sexual promiscuity of the race. Racist attitudes characterized these separate constructions of white and black unmarried pregnancy. Ultimately these attitudes undergirded public policies for the national welfare system.¹⁰ For white women, an out-of-wedlock pregnancy indicated psychological abnormality and popular authorities like Farnham and Lundberg labeled such a mother “a complete failure as a woman.”¹¹ By determining that the problem of unmarried mothers for white, middle-class women belonged solely to an unhealthy individual, society sought to treat such young women with moral and mental health rehabilitation.

As a result, youth culture illustrated that many young men adhered to the adage that there were two types of women: the ones you had sex with and the ones you married.

¹⁰ Regina G. Kunzel, "White Neurosis, Black Pathology: Constructing Out-of-Wedlock Pregnancy in the Wartime and Postwar United States," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 305. One example of this racist ideology is Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 312.

In fact, a college survey during the 1950s found that male attitudes toward the acceptability of sexual activity were the inverse of women's.¹² As a couple fell in love, men believed it less appropriate to have sex with his partner. Conversely, women felt that the more serious the relationship the more acceptable sexual activity. These attitudes reflected the double-standard that young men could have sex with the “wrong” type of woman, but would expect to marry a respectable, virtuous one. At KU, student beliefs reflected national norms. In a 1964 KU CSW survey, 91 percent of KU freshmen and seniors labeled premarital sex between a couple not engaged to be married as wrong. In addition, 83 percent of seniors and 86 percent of freshmen labeled premarital sex for engaged couples either morally wrong or generally unacceptable.¹³

College women at KU and elsewhere found few popular culture images of college women upon which to model their behavior. In the media, the character of the college woman had two manifestations – the academic in glasses bound for spinsterhood, or the sex kitten promoted in such books and movies as *Where the Boys Are*. One brand of condoms actually played on this stereotype, naming its product “Co-ed Prophylactics” picturing a university campus and a sports pennant on the package.¹⁴ Despite contentions like Mueller's that marriage and academics might mix, college women heard an unrelenting message that serious study (or employment) and future marriage mutually excluded one another. College experiences entangled with questions of finding a husband or – as some put it – obtaining an M R S degree. College women balanced their studies

¹² Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable*, 119.

¹³ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 119.

¹⁴ Peril, *College Girls*, 278-317.

with expectations to find a husband and dating manuals explicitly told students the two did not match. One 1952 book listed studying as a “dating handicap” for girls planning to marry. Another in 1957 boasted a chapter entitled, “I Want to Get Married Some Day – How Far Shall I Go in School?”¹⁵ Clearly, young white women received the message that academics and marriage mixed like oil and vinegar and dating held the promise of marriage and personal fulfillment. When AWS women argued against parietal change at KU, their resistance reflected young women wrestling with how to manage sexuality and autonomy within society’s expectations for women and within KU’s dating culture. The women dragging their feet against changing AWS rules, often invoked the “reputation” of the institution or their living unit (and, thus, the women living in it) as a reason to keep the regulations. As Taylor pressed women students to accept autonomy, their resistance bore direct relationship to the cultural norms regarding female respectability, premarital sex and eventual marriage. Without such regulations, women would have to negotiate dating and sexuality individually – and the consequences in post-war America could be steep.

Sex Education in Institutions of Higher Learning

Few college students understood sexuality in the post-war years. Reproduction remained so far out of public discussion that the Federal Communications Commission had outlawed the word “pregnant” on public television.¹⁶ While the economic challenges of the Depression increased the popularity of sexual education before WWII, the culture

¹⁵ Ibid., 288-289.

¹⁶ Rickie Solinger, *Pregnancy and Power: A Short History of Reproductive Politics in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 163.

that produced the baby boom restricted information regarding family planning. The history of sex education began with efforts to prevent venereal disease at the turn of the century.¹⁷ On college campuses in the 1920s, professors or medical personnel began courses on marriage that included sexual hygiene and some biological aspects of sex. The first such course started at University of North Carolina in a class only for men. Most of these offerings covered the physical and psychological aspects of marriage and universities offered them to sex-segregated groups. During the post-war era, however, the baby boom and popular focus on domesticity reversed this trend. Marriage courses began to focus more on personal problems and emotions rather than sexuality and psychology – leaving many college students with less education regarding sexuality than in previous years.¹⁸

Sex education revived in the 1960s. In the summer of 1962, Planned Parenthood and the Sunnen Foundation sponsored a two-day informal conference regarding sex education for women in higher education. The meeting involved 23 deans, presidents, physicians, and faculty from nine women's colleges and eight universities. The conference topic covered the “needs and problems of college women pertaining to education for marriage and parenthood.”¹⁹ Calling for a combination of sex education with “wholesome, responsible and realistic attitudes,” the group responded to concerns

¹⁷ For a further discussion of sex education see Jeffrey P. Moran, *Teaching Sex: The Shaping of Adolescence in the 20th Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

¹⁸ Peril, *College Girls*, 281.

¹⁹ Solomon, "A Condensation of Ideas from a Conference on Educational Needs of College Women for Marriage and Family Planning," 43.

on campuses regarding student morality, consumption of alcohol, early marriage drop-outs, unmarried pregnancies, increasing divorce rates and illegitimacy. The convention recognized that university administrators poorly understood the state of students' knowledge about sex which caused difficulties in crafting programs that would meet students' needs. The group emphasized the importance of moving away from "rigid and unenforceable social restrictions, but to make the values and ideals of the institution more meaningful to the student body as a group."²⁰ Because the campus student body ranged from naïve to sophisticated knowledge about sex, the convention concluded that informal conversations regarding sexuality provided the best educational format. The group called for a coordination of efforts with the YWCA which had developed materials acceptable to churches guiding youth in mature marriage and parenthood. The convention recommendations also advocated funding for public forums coupled with informal small group session led by mature adults. In general, the group determined a university should help to define moral standards and distribute information to help women with their own private judgments – not to enable a culture of permissiveness.²¹

Some deans of women like Taylor invested in this premise. The NADW worked to encourage deans of women to understand and provide sex education. In 1963, Mueller brought the findings of the summer Planned Parenthood and Sunnen Foundation conference forward to the NADW audience in the organization's journal which she edited. By 1964, the NADW hosted its national conference on "Knowledge, Values,

²⁰ Ibid., 47.

²¹ Ibid.

Decisions” and featured sociologist Lester Kirkendall in portions of the program.²² A leading proponent of sex education who accepted premarital sex, Kirkendall received an invitation to the NADW convention after publishing his article “College Youth and Sexual Confusion” in the same 1963 issue of the NADW journal.²³ Kirkendall and former Planned Parenthood employee Mary Calderone founded the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS), one of the key sex education organizations of the 1960s and 1970s.²⁴ Of the 665 women who attended the conference, 140 attended Kirkendall’s session entitled “The Tumult Over Morals – and a Way Out” with another 275 attending his later session “The Challenges Posed for Deans by Changing Sexual Standards.”²⁵ The topic remained controversial (attendance was down from 1004 at the 1963 conference in Boston to 665 for the conference focusing on sexual values in Portland), and the NADW did not formally recommend sex education until

²² A native Kansan, Kirkendall attended Kansas State University in 1928 where he received his Bachelor of Science degree. He completed his education at Columbia University and was professor of family life at Oregon State University from 1949 through 1969.

²³ Moran, *Teaching Sex*, 157-159.

²⁴ Calderone, a Republican and a Quaker, directed the new organization under the principle that scientific information would ease cultural discomfort and individual anxiety about sex.

²⁵ National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, "1964 Convention, Knowledge, Values, Decisions," 1964, NAWC, in MS-218, Convention Files, Box 4, Bowling Green State University, Center for Archival Collections, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green, Ohio.

1971 when it finally included it as a resolution.²⁶ In fact, in 1971, a recently conducted AAUW report showed a wide variance in how campuses handled pregnancy within the student body. While 98 percent of schools reported they permitted pregnant women to attend classes, only 62 percent allowed a pregnant woman to live in a residence hall.²⁷

In 1967, IAWS planned for Calderone and SIECUS to present at their upcoming national convention.²⁸ In addition, an IAWS newsletter provided AWS chapters guidance on providing workshops on the topic. One document, entitled "Planning a Conference on Sexuality," illustrated the connections between NADW, IAWS and Kansas and Taylor's network. In the IAWS document, both SIECUS and Mueller were recommended as resources for a seminar, as were Lester Kirkendall, Indiana University's Center for Sex Research, Menninger Clinic in Topeka, Kansas; and Evelyn Gendel a Kansas doctor at the Maternal and Child Health Division of the State Department of Health.²⁹ Without

²⁶ Attendance figures from loose paper inside convention program. Ibid. Resolution VII in NAWDC Resolutions, National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, "1971 Resolutions," 1971, NAWDC, in MS-218, Committee Files, Box 12, Bowling Green State University, Center for Archival Collections, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green, Ohio.

²⁷ Truex, "Education of Women, the Student Personnel Profession and the New Feminism," 19.

²⁸ Lynn Bartlett, "IAWS Advisor's Annual Report to NAWDC," March, 1967, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 17, Folder 196: NAWDC, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

²⁹ Barbara Kridler - Region IV Coordinator and Joani Nickless - Region IV Vice

parietals to provide a sham reason to sidestep discussion and acceptance of the reality of premarital sex, KU began to deal with questions of contraception. Clearly, such conversations in the 1960s created controversy. Even in 1971 when the AAUW conducted their survey, only 43 percent of the schools provided birth control information and counseling at their university health services.³⁰

Birth Control

The topics of sex education and contraception integrally related, fused together as family planning for married couples. As with sexual education, American social mores shifted significantly between the 1930s and the post-war period regarding contraception.³¹ During the Depression, Americans pressured by economic shortages increasingly accepted birth control alternatives. At that time, a Gallup poll indicated that

President, "Planning a Conference on Sexuality," Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 7, Folder 30: Sex Symposium, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

³⁰ Truex, "Education of Women, the Student Personnel Profession and the New Feminism," 19.

³¹ The history of birth control for women of color varies dramatically from that of white women. Out of wedlock pregnancies for black and Hispanic women were not perceived as a problem of individual women with mental health issues. Instead, racial prejudice defined their pregnancies as due to racial inferiority and an assumption that women of color were hypersexual. Instead of withholding contraception from such women, physicians sometimes sterilized them without consent, often due to concerns regarding population expansion. For further reading on this topic, see Rickie Solinger, *Wake up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race before Roe V. Wade* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

almost two-thirds of Americans favored the teaching and practice of it.³² The American Medical Association endorsed contraception as “normal sexual hygiene in married life” in 1937.³³ By 1940, the Comstock law prohibitions to disseminating information regarding birth control had disappeared in all but Massachusetts and Connecticut, both states with large Catholic populations. Families could find contraceptives available through the mail, even from Sears, Roebuck.³⁴

However, those who did not accept contraception in the 1930s strongly opposed it, making it a controversial issue. When the AAUW supported birth control by qualified physicians in a 1935 convention, many members protested vehemently. AAUW reversed course on the position and did not change its stance again until the early 1970s. Organizations like AAUW that advocated for political, economic and legal rights for women would find contraception too divisive an issue to support. With the exception of Margaret Sanger’s American Birth Control League (later to become the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942), most mainstream white women’s organizations avoided the issue. Conversely, the National Association of College Women (an organization similar to AAUW organized by black women) added family planning and sex education to their human relations programs in the mid-1950s.³⁵

³² Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 7.

³³ Carole Joffe, *Doctors of Conscience: The Struggle to Provide Abortion before and after Roe V. Wade* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 35.

³⁴ Ware, *Holding Their Own*, 7.

³⁵ For a discussion of this and AAUW’s consideration of contraception, see: Levine, *Degrees of Equality*, 47-52, 167-168.

During the post-war years, only rarely did unmarried women receive access to birth control – and then usually only in cities.”³⁶ However, in spring of 1960 the federal approval of the birth control pill created lasting change. Between 1960 and 1962 one brand of the pill increased prescriptions from 191,000 to 1,981,000 as women took advantage of separating their reproductive and their sexual lives.³⁷ Family planning via contraception achieved greater acceptance during the early 1960s. President John F. Kennedy’s Commission on the Status of Women considered the topic of sex education and birth control, having been encouraged by Planned Parenthood that dissemination of family planning information to women would benefit both individuals and society. However, the Commission, worried about public relations problems if they advocated birth control, settled on the general language: “Women should have the opportunity of education about human reproduction.”³⁸ In 1965, the Supreme Court decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut* established the “right” of married couples to practice contraception. However, it would not be until 1972 that the *Eisenstadt v. Baird* decision claimed the same access for unmarried couples. As more married couples utilized the pill, attitudes regarding contraception shifted. For instance, in 1959, President Eisenhower declared contraception not fit for government policy. By 1963, President Kennedy hesitantly approved federal support for contraceptive research, and in 1965 both former presidents Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman co-chaired a Planned Parenthood effort on world population growth. The sudden preoccupation with over-population, spread by the

³⁶ Breines, *Young, White, and Miserable*, 115.

³⁷ Solinger, *Pregnancy and Power*, 171.

³⁸ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 163-168.

Zero Population Growth (ZPG) agenda, contributed greatly to the increasing popular acceptance of contraception. ZPG argued for the critical need to contain world population in order to experience long-term environmental sustainability. Both the Republican and Democratic parties supported and invested in this agenda, spending almost \$9 million on the effort by 1967.³⁹ The role that ZPG played in paving the road for popular acceptance for contraception cannot be underplayed. It significantly changed the nation's understanding of birth control and provided a method for liberalizing contraception outside the moral conversation regarding sexuality.

Sex Education and Birth Control at KU

In the 1964 NADW conference which Taylor attended, speakers suggested sex education fell to deans of women and their therapeutic counseling role:

We can say with a degree of confidence that adequate information about the physical aspects of sex is often found in courses or special programs at this level. Adequate information about the relationship within which the sex act takes place is not. We know less about how we think and feel about sex than about its anatomical aspects. We are more hesitant to discuss this because it is so intimate and not buttressed by science with a capital "S". The initiative in providing such information within courses may well fall to the dean. She will have to inspire teachers as well as push for implementation of her ideas in this field. More than this, she will have to make herself available to girls who wish to discuss these problems with her, both physically available and psychologically available. She will have to do this realizing it is not an easy task to communicate with the girls or with their parents, to say nothing of a community that may or may not be accepting.⁴⁰

³⁹ Solinger, *Pregnancy and Power*, 184.

⁴⁰ Alice R. Fehrenbach, "Knowledge -- Our Greatest Asset," March 20, 1964, in MS-218,

NAWE, Convention Files, Box 8, Bowling Green State University, Center for Archival Collections, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Judging by the uneven promotion of sex education on campuses across the nation, each dean of women and each institution handled the call differently. Taylor's own background uniquely prepared her to offer such programming. A 1930s college student, Taylor's attitudes reflected those in the Gallup poll on contraception mentioned previously. She remembered the first discussion of family planning and contraception she read to be Ben Lindsey's *Companionate Marriage*, a 1927 book. She doubted, though, that her attitudes about sexuality reflected the norm. "By the time I got to college, I was really committed to things that were way beyond what most women were thinking about. I even believed in free love."⁴¹ Never married herself, Taylor experienced the social convention separating college attendance and marriage when a close confidante married in high school due to pregnancy. The circumstances precluded the classmate from attending college. While her friend enjoyed a long, happy marriage and the two women maintained their friendship throughout their lives, the occurrence left Taylor with a very clear opinion that marriage and higher education should not be mutually exclusive.⁴²

Taylor recalled little in her early student personnel work and training at Indiana University regarding students and sexuality per se. "We talked about women having the opportunity to make as many decisions for themselves as much as possible. I spent hours at her [Mueller's] house, and many meals there, but I can't remember any discussions on

⁴¹ Although the term "free love" has been popularly associated with promiscuity, Taylor meant the historical meaning of the term that love relations should be freely entered without the regulation of the law.

⁴² Sherwin L. Davidson, "Interview by Author, July 28, 1997" (Portland, Oregon).

this.”⁴³ Mueller, however, had helped to initiate the first marriage course at IU which Alfred Kinsey taught. In 1938, Kinsey responded to a request by the AWS chapter advised by Mueller to improve sex education at IU.⁴⁴ Mueller “felt frustrated by the old ‘Hygiene’ course because it failed to meet students’ needs. “As she explained several decades later, ‘In the dean of women’s office, we had always been interested in having on the campus a good marriage course, because it was the thing that we were reading about and working on in our national conferences and discussions.’”⁴⁵ While Taylor worked at IU, Alfred Kinsey used this sex education course to research his books, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953). Taylor remembered his work as a “nuisance” at IU due to numerous parent complaints regarding Kinsey’s topics. “Most of what we talked about was the kind of problems it created for us because of parent concerns.”⁴⁶ Kinsey’s activity, however, provided Taylor an example for the sex education model of the future.

“Where many of the marriage courses stressed the homemaking aspects of marriage after an initial explanation of sexuality only slightly expanded from the old hygiene days, the course at Indiana University went into explicit detail about sexual anatomy, how to perform intercourse..., and how to prevent pregnancy.”⁴⁷

⁴³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁴⁴ James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 322, 324.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁴⁶ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003." Mueller came to dislike Kinsey because she felt he inappropriately pressured women students to participate in his surveys. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life*, 527.

⁴⁷ Peril, *College Girls*, 281.

Offering the class to men and women together, Kinsey's approach anticipated the future offerings of SIECUS and the sex education model eventually accepted nationally.⁴⁸

Since Taylor worked in the IU dormitories, studied on the IU campus, and read Kinsey's books, she clearly understood that the social conventions regarding premarital sex did not align with the sexual lives of students. Thus, Taylor's youth in the 1930s, and her involvement at IU prepared her to offer more progressive sex education and counseling during her career.

Working as a dean of women in Montana from 1946 until 1951, Taylor recalled counseling some unmarried pregnant women. "One woman came in and I went through the set of options. One, she could get married. Two, she could go to a home where she could have the baby. Three, tell her parents and have the baby." Taylor suggested she start with the boyfriend. "She came back and said the boyfriend would marry her if she could prove it was his. In other words, he wasn't going to marry her." Taylor remembered this instance ended well as the woman's parents kept the twins that she delivered. In another case in Montana, a pregnant student parked her car on the railroad tracks and committed suicide. Taylor recalled the progression of counseling unmarried pregnant women:

In the 1940s, if a woman got pregnant, she probably withdrew from school – and didn't tell anyone. In the 40s, I told them about all the legal possibilities. It wasn't until I got to Miami that I really ran into the problem, and I can't think of a specific instance then. This was in the early 50s. They often came and told me they were pregnant, but they had a plan usually. One came and asked if she could have a leave of absence. No one discussed abortion until the 60s.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Ibid., 279-281.

⁴⁹ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

When coupled with Taylor's belief that the student personnel field existed to help students fulfill their personal potential, the reality of counseling pregnant women led her to provide them with information that enabled them to make healthy and safe decisions for themselves. As Stroup noted, Taylor believed she and her staff "were there to help them [students]...not punish them." As such, Taylor worked to provide sex education and safe alternatives to unplanned pregnancies.

The popularity of sex education increased among students as the birth control pill became increasingly available. As in all states, Kansans found the pill available from private physicians willing to prescribe it upon its introduction in 1960. By 1963, the Zero Population Growth (ZPG) agenda met with some acceptance in Kansas. That year, the head of the state division of maternal and child services successfully lobbied for the legislature to pass a law to allow public agencies to distribute the drug.⁵⁰ And, by 1965, the state ear-marked federal funds for family planning through the Department of Social Welfare.⁵¹ Before the Lawrence Health Department program providing contraceptive drugs began in 1965, Taylor recalled "word got around which doctors would prescribe the pill."⁵² While nationally less than 20 percent of local health departments distributed birth control pills, in Lawrence, a ZPG advocate who headed the Lawrence Public Health Department, Dr. Dale Clinton, distributed pills liberally. Though the Kansas law stated that contraceptives should be distributed to *married* women for purposes of family planning, a physician referral allowed any woman to receive a prescription from the

⁵⁰ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 107-108.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

⁵² Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

clinic. Dr. Clinton, a licensed doctor, referred women to his own clinic and then prescribed the pills – some said he handed them out “like bubble gum” with no physical examination required.⁵³ Although the health clinic existed to provide support for poor families in Lawrence, university women formed the core of Dr. Clinton’s clientele.⁵⁴ Taylor recalled “Clinton didn’t have a very good reputation with us,” as she and her staff believed that a woman should receive a gynecological examination before taking a controlled drug.⁵⁵ By 1966, another organization, loosely affiliated with Planned Parenthood, the Douglas County Family Planning Association, provided the pill along with physical examinations and educational materials.⁵⁶ Over the course of the 1960s and early 1970s, the library in the dean of women’s office collected materials on women’s sexuality, pregnancy, birth control and abortion. Taylor recalled that “we discovered that it didn’t matter what their background, no one knew anything about human sexuality. The nurses, medical doctors, knew very little about human sexuality.”⁵⁷ Shavlik recalled that the initial requests for information regarding birth control came from students in the residence halls.⁵⁸ She began crafting informal informational pieces to share with women in the living units to meet this need.

⁵³ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 133.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 105-135.

⁵⁵ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁵⁶ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 123.

⁵⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁵⁸ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010."

While some accounts suggest that SDS members pushed for the first consideration of contraception information at KU in 1967, the topic actually formally arose in the fall of 1965 within the administration.⁵⁹ In fall of 1965, Woodruff formalized the “Student Personnel Committee” on which Taylor and Alderson served into the Council on Student Affairs (COSA) in order to address items that “greatly needed clarification.”⁶⁰ The COSA administrators set an initial agenda to deal with areas that

⁵⁹ Bailey dates the first proposals for birth control at KU as arising from the Independent Student Party (populated by a number of SDS members) in late 1967. Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, p. 124. In addition, she argues that SDS drove the discussion of removal of parietals when SDS began raising such issues in February 1966. However, as seen in chapter three, that effort to dismantle women’s regulations began substantially before the SDS agitation began. In March 1966, SDS asked the administration/COSA why it expelled pregnant women students in a memorandum which did not specifically mention contraception. However, SDS erred in their contention as no pregnant women had been dismissed from the university since Taylor’s arrival in 1956. KU Civil Rights Council and Students for a Democratic Society, "Students Want to Know . . .," March 11, 1966, Office of Student Affairs (Balfour/Alderson), in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: COSA 1965-1968, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Donald K. Alderson, "Handwritten Notes from Meeting in Provost Surface's Office Including Woodruff, Alderson and Taylor," March 14, 1966, Office of Student Affairs (Balfour/Alderson), in RG 76/0, Box 10, Folder: 51/0 Student Personnel Council: Council on Student Affairs 1965 - 4/26/66 I, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 92-94.

⁶⁰ Dean Laurence C. Woodruff, "Council on Student Affairs, Handwritten Notes," No date, Office of Student Affairs, in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: COSA 1965-1968, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

required “certification of regulations regarding student life.” To this agenda, Taylor included contraceptive information dissemination.⁶¹ In addition, in February 1966, Taylor advocated for sex education with Provost Surface, Woodruff and Alderson. While the university preferred to be guided by the convention against sex outside of wedlock, Taylor commented social dictates were not “commensurate with educational processes.”⁶²

COSA included on its membership roster key administrators regarding student life including the dean of students, Taylor, Alderson, the student union director, and the director of the student health center, Dr. Raymond Schwegler, a clinical professor of obstetrics.⁶³ Schwegler flatly refused to offer contraceptive counseling, saying in another

⁶¹ Student Personnel Committee, "Agenda 1965-1966," 1965, Office of Student Affairs (Balfour/Alderson), in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: 51/0 COSA 1965-1968, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁶² Donald K. Alderson, "Handwritten Notes from Meeting in Provost Surface's Office Including Woodruff, Alderson and Taylor," February 28, 1966, Office of Student Affairs (Balfour/Alderson), in RG 76/0/5, Box 10, Folder: 51/0 Student Personnel Council: Council on Student Affairs 1965 - 4/26/66 I, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁶³ COSA members included: the Dean of Students, University Registrar James K. Hitt, Union Director Frank Burge, director of the guidance bureau, faculty representatives from the College of Arts and Sciences and the school of engineering and two from the university senate as well as the deans of men and women, and six student leaders. Dean Laurence C. Woodruff, "Council on Student Affairs, Handwritten Notes," No date, Office of Student Affairs, in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: COSA 1965-1968, UA, KSRL, UKL. For information on Schwegler's background, see: University of Kansas, "Deaths," 1996,

venue he would not “contribute to the recreational activities of the campus.”⁶⁴ In fact, Schwegler provided free physical examinations for male and female students – but charged women to have a gynecological exam as an “extra” health service. Taylor and her staff argued vehemently that the male body should not be considered the norm for a full physical – to no avail until a new director was hired in the early 1970s.⁶⁵

The dean of women’s office pushed activities to pressure Schwegler and the university to change his stance.⁶⁶ In 1966, they organized a public forum on birth control practices as a part of the student union’s offerings.⁶⁷ The program hosted three panelists, a KU campus minister and a priest from Saint Louis University both of whom were sympathetic to the population growth agenda; and Schwegler. During the panel, students asked Schwegler whether a rogue doctor, who might not agree with his stance, would provide pills to the women. While Schwegler answered that his staff supported him completely, the doctor was unaware that one of his staff worked routinely with the dean of women’s office on reproductive issues.⁶⁸ The forum publicly pressured Schwegler to

<http://www.oread.ku.edu/Oread96/OreadAug23/page8/deaths.html>.

⁶⁴ Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History*, 634; Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 107-112.

⁶⁵ Janet Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010," (Kerrville, Texas).

⁶⁶ Not surprisingly, Taylor and Schwegler disliked each other.

⁶⁷ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010.”

⁶⁸ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 115-118; Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, January, 2007" (Kansas City, Mo.); Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010"; Kala Stroup, "Interview by Author, May 12, 2010" (Lawrence, Kan.); Stroup, "Interview by Author, November 14, 2010"; Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003.”

change his position on contraception and produced a “flood” of letters to the editor of *The University Daily Kansan* regarding morality, student maturity and student responsibility.⁶⁹ Schwegler dug in his heels over the issue and COSA again declined to rule on the issue in 1967 when it again appeared on the agenda.⁷⁰ In March 1968, Schwegler announced to COSA that a physician with more liberal views on contraception would provide an educational forum at the women’s dormitory, Gertrude Sellards Pearson Hall.⁷¹ By the 1968-1969 school year, the AWS Forum, which replaced the AWS House of Representatives and included members from all living groups, hosted a speaker to discuss and answer questions regarding birth control.⁷²

With little success in changing Schwegler’s policy through the administrative channels, in fall of 1969 the women’s dormitory Inter-Residents Council (IRC), working with AWS, began to agitate for the KU health center, Watkins Memorial Hospital, to provide birth control to single women. The IRC prepared a booklet for campus women listing where to obtain birth control information and services, and the AWS began planning formal sex education programming.⁷³ AWS also sponsored its council (formerly

⁶⁹ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 115-118.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁷¹ Donald Alderson, "Council on Student Affairs Minutes," March 5, 1968, Office of Student Affairs (Balfour/Alderson), in RG 76/0/5, Box 10, Folder: 51/0 Student Personnel Committee 1966 - 6/18/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁷² AWS Forum, "AWS Forum Minutes," January 9, 1969, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁷³ February Sisters, "Addendum II: An Historical Perspective -- the Health Concerns of

the AWS senate) members to attend a banquet which featured the Planned Parenthood film, "Less Than Human."⁷⁴ That same school year, Taylor did an interview with the *University Daily Kansan* stating that birth control provided women with "personal control over reproduction."⁷⁵ While Schwegler obviously disagreed with the effort, Taylor recalled no administrative pressure to stop the public seminars. "No one complained to me about it. No internal problems about it. Not a word," said Taylor. "I don't have any idea why – maybe they didn't want to oppose me. Maybe they didn't think it was wise to oppose something that popular. I didn't ask before I did it either."⁷⁶ As the NADW conference recommended, some of the first formal sessions involved a doctor affiliated with SIECUS who trained the residence hall staff members. In addition, KU followed the recommended format from the 1962 Sunnen Foundation/Planned Parenthood conference, by bringing in Rita Costick and Don Ward to provide a large session in Hoch Auditorium on campus followed by small group discussions facilitated by a student and a staff member as co-leaders.⁷⁷ Shavlik and the committee of women students organizing the event urged women to bring their boyfriends to the presentations

Women Students at the University of Kansas," 1972, Office of Student Affairs in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: COSA 1965-1968, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁷⁴ AWS Council, "AWS Council Minutes," February 4, 1969, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁷⁵ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 124.

⁷⁶ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁷⁷ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010."

and to focus on creating “loving relationships” which were healthy.⁷⁸ In order to facilitate information flow, the staff would pass out cards so that attendees might write down their questions anonymously. The Human Sexuality program proved incredibly popular with crowds of between 700 and 1000 students.⁷⁹ By 1970, with the AWS led by Mary Mitchelson, the dean of women’s office included a panel on human sexuality during its high school leadership day program for high school senior women. And, in 1971, Taylor personally presented a session on “Laws on Sexuality” during the Human Sexuality Series.⁸⁰ Though Schwegler continued to resist the program, Watkins Hospital finally agreed to participate in the sexuality series before 1972.⁸¹ On the topic of providing birth control to women students, COSA in 1970 promised that the next two physicians hired by Watkins Hospital would be ones who would agree to provide contraceptive options to

⁷⁸ Donna Shavlik, "Telephone Interview by Author, March 22, 2011."

⁷⁹ "Co-Eds Attack Stereotyped Status of Women," *The Wichita Eagle and Beacon*, January 31, 1971, 1.

⁸⁰ Commission on the Status of Women, "Human Sexuality Series Final Program," April 21, 1971, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1970-1971, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Commission on the Status of Women, "Beyond High School," November 7, 1970, Commission on the Status of Women, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1970-1971, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁸¹ February Sisters, "Addendum II: An Historical Perspective -- the Health Concerns of Women Students at the University of Kansas," 1972, Office of Student Affairs in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: COSA 1965-1968, UA, KSRL, UKL.

women regardless of marital status. The hiring, however, did not occur until after the February Sisters protest in 1973.⁸²

By 1970, the dean of women's office had transformed the single sexuality seminar into a seminar series covering topics such as venereal disease, female and male sexual response, alternatives in unplanned pregnancy, pornography, homosexuality, law and sexual deviancy, and birth control. The AWS also hosted a week long set of programs entitled "Partners in Humanity" to focus on courtship, sex stereotypes, birth control, careers, and existing partnerships.⁸³ By 1973, the KU CSW distributed a "Birth Control Handbook" out of Taylor's office with information ranging from the pill to abortion.⁸⁴ Thus, in the instance of sex education, Taylor used her institutional position to advocate for women's control of their bodies, and her staff established programs so that students had access to information regarding sexuality and human reproduction. Taylor's

⁸² The February Sisters protest is discussed at length in chapter six.

⁸³ The AWS chapter was re-named in 1969 to the Commission on the Status of Women. Thus, the entire organization now bore the name: Commission on the Status of Women which had been a committee within AWS since Taylor's earliest years on campus. *Comment: Commission on the Status of Women, The University of Kansas*, December 1970; Commission on the Status of Women, "Commission on the Status of Women Calendar 1971-72," 1971, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1970-71- 1973-74, in RG 53/0, Box No. 4, Folder: 1971-1972, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁸⁴ Carol Gwinn, "Facing the Abortion Option: KU Information Helps Women Find Counseling and Advice through Three Different Offices," *University Daily Kansan*, August 23, 1973, 1.

work set the stage for students to make informed decisions regarding sexuality, and, by default, helped to enable the sexual revolution on the KU campus.⁸⁵

Unplanned Pregnancies

While birth control pills gained a level of acceptance for married and eventually unmarried women, abortion stood far outside the norms of polite society in post-war America. In 1962, the media broke the taboo against the public discussion of the topic by covering the case of Sherri Finkbine, a married woman who ingested thalidomide during her fifth pregnancy and wanted an abortion due to the known teratogenic effects of the drug. Originally approved by her hospital's advisory board for the surgery, Finkbine found the hospital administrators reversed their decision. Eventually, she and her husband traveled to Sweden for the procedure where physicians confirmed a fetus with severe birth defects. The case for the first time called for popular consideration of abortion. In the same year, CBS carried an episode of *The Defenders* featuring a physician arrested for abortion work. The episode provided one of the first public considerations of abortion as a personal matter between families and their physicians.⁸⁶ Between 1962 and 1970, attitudes changed dramatically regarding abortion as the topic entered public debate. In 1967, a Gallup poll showed only 25 percent approved of abortion if a woman could not afford to support the child. Twenty-one percent approved if a woman did not plan to keep the child. By 1969, however, 40 percent approved "abortion on demand" in the first trimester of a pregnancy. Youth who particularly espoused this new position as an ACE

⁸⁵ For a nuanced discussion of the role of student personnel counseling enabling the sexual revolution, see Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*.

⁸⁶ Solinger, *Pregnancy and Power*, 179-181.

survey showed. In the 1969/70 school year, 83 percent of 180,000 incoming freshmen at 275 colleges supported complete legalization of abortion.⁸⁷

The attitude adjustment supporting abortion alternatives was not new to the U.S. society. In fact, it reflected the acceptance of abortion that existed before World War II when abortion clinics often operated publicly. At that time, licensed physicians routinely referred women to clinics as laws allowed the termination of a pregnancy due to medical danger to the life of a mother. Medically-approved contraindications for pregnancy included cardiovascular conditions, kidney problems, neurological conditions, toxemia, respiratory disease, blood diseases, diabetes, placental abruption, lupus, and psychiatric disorders among other conditions.⁸⁸ By the mid-1940s, however, part of the medical profession began to suggest that technological advances had removed physical challenges for most of the pre-existing conditions once considered dangerous to the mother during pregnancy. This divided the medical community regarding when a woman needed an abortion to protect her health. As a result, doctors preferring to recommend the procedure in a specific case became increasingly concerned about their legal liability should another physician feel technology could have managed the woman's medical condition during pregnancy. As a result, some physicians relied upon a woman's psychological condition to determine patient need for the procedure – with suicidal tendencies factoring heavily into the consideration. This reliance on psychiatry rested upon gender roles that dictated a woman's natural role was motherhood.

⁸⁷ Lawrence Lader, *Abortion II: Making the Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), 83.

⁸⁸ Rickie Solinger, "'A Complete Disaster': Abortion and the Politics of Hospital Abortion Committees, 1950-1970," *Feminist Studies* 19, 2 (1993): 241-268.

Their [psychiatrists'] explanations created a broad category of women who were, by definition, in the absence of traditional medical problems, *morally* and psychologically unsuited for childbearing and certainly for motherhood because they were unwilling to serve as pregnancy vessels. Where there was an unhappy pregnant woman, there was a defective vessel. Many medical doctors agreed that an abortion *could* be performed on such a woman, but the procedure would not help as the problem was not the pregnancy. The problem was called a "psychiatric disorder" involving the woman's denial of her destiny and "amendable to treatment" as such.⁸⁹

Thus, women considering an abortion in post-war America often received the label of psychologically disturbed because such a decision contradicted the cultural contention that all women should be mothers.

During the 1950s, the medical profession remained divided over the acceptability of psychiatry as valid medical opinion, and also regarding the question of what endangered a woman's health during pregnancy. As a result, the medical community looked for a standard of practice that would decrease physician liability in such procedures. Most non-Catholic hospitals mediated the legal liability of such surgeries by establishing a board of physicians to consider individual cases. These boards often included the heads of obstetrics and surgery along with a psychiatrist. Many boards approved abortions while also prescribing sterilization of the woman receiving the procedure. This reflected social beliefs that a woman who did not desire motherhood (or a woman perceived as sexually promiscuous) would not be a fit mother later in life. "The [physicians] were... very concerned with what they took to be their role in the postwar cultural mandate to protect and preserve the links between sexuality, femininity, marriage and maternity."⁹⁰ Not surprisingly, the board process drastically reduced the number of

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 264.

women pursuing an abortion in a hospital. Few wanted to publicly request an abortion through the committee process. The practice of sterilization at some hospitals further limited the number of women considering surgery at such an institution.⁹¹

As such, many women – especially unmarried ones – considered “underground” or “back alley” abortions without the medical safety a hospital provided. In 1960, the American Medical Association estimated over a million illegal abortions occurred annually. The AMA also stated it considered the laws prohibiting abortions difficult to enforce.⁹² Due to this concern, in the early 1960s, the American Law Institute (ALI), as a part of its effort to modernize states’ entire penal code for national conformity, issued guidelines for new abortion statutes. Article 207, Sexual Offenses and Offenses Against the Family, included a new mental health exemption for determining the medical necessity of abortion. The article’s author, Louis B. Schwartz, a University of Pennsylvania law professor, hoped that this “legislative Trojan horse” would open abortions to some of the hardship cases which had traditionally been outside the law. The model penal code included a requirement for two physicians to approve the procedure and classified all girls who were victims of statutory rape as qualifying for the surgery.⁹³ Despite most ALI members doubting that Article 207 would meet with approval by state

⁹¹ Boards rarely approved surgical procedures for non-white women whom physicians often perceived to be promiscuous. Poor women, also sometimes perceived as hyper-sexual, often could not afford hospital operations even if they could convince a board to allow one.

⁹² Rickie Solinger, "Extreme Danger: Women Abortionists and Their Clients before *Roe V. Wade*," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 335.

⁹³ Cynthia Gorney, *Articles of Faith* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 45-48.

legislatures, by the late 1960s some legislatures began to adopt it.⁹⁴ Kansas was one of them.

Before abortion for mental health became expressly legal in Kansas, some doctors provided the surgery for mental health reasons. Kansas physician William Roy contended that psychiatric referrals formed the basis for the majority of legal abortions in Kansas during the 1960s. He noted that the state experienced “a marked increase in legal abortion” with a recorded level of 25 abortions per 1000 live births.⁹⁵ By the 1969 legislative session, Kansas came very close to repealing abortion from the criminal code altogether. Repeal passed the Kansas Senate and the Kansas House Judiciary Committee. When the proposal arrived for consideration on the floor of the House, however, twenty Catholic legislators proposed an amendment that put the ALI standards in place of the repeal language.⁹⁶ Kansas adopted a version of the ALI recommended statutes in 1969, becoming effective on July 1, 1970.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Joffe, *Doctors of Conscience: The Struggle to Provide Abortion before and after Roe v. Wade*, 132. New York, Alaska, Hawaii and Washington repealed all criminal penalties for abortion provided that the procedure occurred early in the pregnancy by a licensed physician. Ruth Roemer, "Abortion Law Reform and Repeal: Legislative and Judicial Developments," *American Journal of Public Health* 61, 3 (March, 1971): 500-509.

⁹⁵ William R. Roy, "Abortion: A Physician's View," *Washburn Law Journal* 9, 1969-70: 391-411.

⁹⁶ Lader, *Abortion II*, 84.

⁹⁷ Photocopy, "Kansas Abortion Statute," 1970, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 1, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

Unplanned Pregnancies at KU

From the beginning of her tenure at KU, Taylor provided informal counseling for unmarried pregnant women— extending the therapeutic net of student personnel to women’s most personal lives. Women not only sought her out in her office, she sometimes had couples come to her home at night to discuss an unplanned pregnancy. By 1964, Taylor and one or two key staffers in her office helped women access information regarding safe abortions if a woman desired to consider such an option. Taylor began the work to counteract women students choosing to use back alley abortion operations in either Topeka or North Lawrence. When a student almost died after seeing a Topeka abortionist who gave her an abortifacient and sent her home to experience the abortion alone, Taylor later inquired how the women knew where to find the service. The student responded that she and her peers had gossiped about it. Another woman aborted a pregnancy on her own at the GSP residence hall and the hall director took her to the Lawrence Hospital. “The problem was that when it was illegal, there were women who didn’t have information about where to get an abortion – they tried to abort the fetus themselves, or go to someone who didn’t have the medical background to do it. We had an airline hostess (not a student) who had a doctor come to her home to perform the abortion, and she bled to death.”⁹⁸ While Taylor recalled that no women at KU had died, she believed that over the course of her time at KU a number went to the Topeka location. “I can think of a good many who went to the butcher in Topeka. His office, instruments, etc. were dirty. It’s a miracle they weren’t infected,” she recalled.

⁹⁸ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

As noted in chapter two, the living unit staff provided guidance to women on a host of issues, with counselors sometimes faced with a woman experiencing an unplanned pregnancy. “We knew a lot about the women students due to the single-sex residence arrangements,” said Stroup. “We didn’t sit in our offices and wait for women to come and see us. We were in the halls and we knew what was happening (in most aspects of their lives).”⁹⁹ The network of staffers produced all sorts of information for Taylor. For instance, Taylor discovered many women used the Topeka abortionist because he had hired a woman who worked at the KU Union to “bird-dog” business for him. Taylor called Union director Frank Burge and requested he fire the individual, which he did. Later, Taylor received a call from the woman’s legislator who had heard that Taylor had her dismissed without cause. Taylor recalled that once she explained the woman’s activities, the legislator dropped the matter.¹⁰⁰

Shavlik recalled counseling only four or five women during the mid 1960s who considered abortion. In those cases, the office referred women to a psychiatrist for evaluation at either KU Watkins Hospital or in Kansas City. Although Shavlik never counseled a woman and man together as a couple regarding for an unplanned pregnancy, she always recommended that as a preferred practice. After counseling sessions, if a woman wanted to consider an abortion, Shavlik would tell Taylor who, Shavlik believed, provided a psychiatrist’s name to the student. “The word got around they could come in and talk to us with confidentiality.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Stroup, "Interview by Author, November 14, 2010."

¹⁰⁰ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

When Taylor hired Janet Francis Sears in the fall of 1971, Sears recalled stepping into a well-organized effort regarding pregnancy counseling. As assistant to the dean of women in a half-time job, she oversaw sex education seminars for the office, provided the curriculum to residence halls regarding sexuality, conducted pregnancy counseling, and was the staff liaison to the women's liberation groups on campus. In particular, Sears recalled the silence surrounding the topic and that Taylor never asked her for a report on her work at a staff meeting as she did the other employees. Given the lack of written records on the topic, the structure Sears entered provides the best picture of what the early counseling entailed. By the time she arrived, secretaries were trained not to inquire the topic of concern nor for last names or phone numbers when students called and wanted counseling.¹⁰² Sometimes, Sears remembered, women would not make an appointment. Instead, they would come to the dean of women's suite and sit quietly waiting for her to arrive in the office. Sears said that students already understood where to go for counseling and the network of resident assistants in the dormitories who worked with the individual students daily often referred the women to her.¹⁰³ By the end of Taylor's tenure and once the ALI reform law went into effect, staff members routinely referred women to the psychiatrist at Watkins if needed, and they provided Taylor an update if they did so. However, Watkins Hospital's director Raymond Schwegler,

¹⁰² Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010." The anonymity practiced in the dean of women's office is also noted in Gwinn, "Facing the Abortion Option: KU Information Helps Women Find Counseling and Advice through Three Different Offices," in *University Daily Kansan*.

¹⁰³ Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010."

continued his refusal to provide contraception. "I have been counseling about one unwanted pregnancy case a day since Thanksgiving," said Sears in a 1972 *University Daily Kansan* article. "It's too much. It's counseling which Watkins should be doing."¹⁰⁴ Sears brought the issue full circle suggesting that Schwegler's refusal to provide contraception was a refusal to care for women's medical and mental health needs.

In her book, *Sex in the Heartland*, Beth Bailey catalogues the development of the sexual revolution on the KU campus. An important piece illustrating the shifting cultural mores regarding sexuality during post-war years, Bailey's work contends that women students involved in sexual activity outside the normative culture "tended to get pregnant. Most secretly found an illegal abortion or left school. They were rarely drawn into the therapeutic net."¹⁰⁵ Because so little of the dean of women's office work survived in written records, this interpretation obscures the counseling which did occur throughout Taylor's time at KU. The dean of women's office never recorded women accessing counseling for a pregnancy for several reasons. First, providing expansive discussions regarding the options for an unplanned pregnancy tested the limits of the university's sanctioned behavioral dictates. Second, the woman's reputation and options for continuing her education rested on privacy. Third, the Kansas law placed abortion which did not meet the exceptions of the law under the criminal code of the statute. The exception for the health of the mother was widely used in the 1960s in Kansas for both physical and mental conditions as Roy indicated. However before 1969, the mental health

¹⁰⁴ Judy Henry, "February Sisters' History Related, Demands Probed," *University Daily Kansan*, February 17, 1972, 1.

¹⁰⁵ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 63.

portion of this exemption was a matter for interpretation within the medical community's latitude.¹⁰⁶ By referring women to a psychologist, Taylor allowed women to access the practice of medicine from a vantage point where her mental health could be considered as a factor in accessing a safe, legal abortion. Taylor, nor her staff, made any determination regarding the women's mental condition and referred such considerations and assessments to the medical community. Silence pervaded all such activity. As Art History Professor Marilyn Stokstad noted, she was aware that the dean of women's office provided such help to women, though she and Taylor never discussed it.¹⁰⁷ As such, the early counseling in this area left almost no footprint outside the memories of those who worked in the office.

Sexual Harassment, Violence and Rape

Rape provided one of the perennial exemptions for abortion. Not widely understood as a crime of violence until Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will* in 1975, rape always factored into the counseling agenda of deans of women. Under the doctrines of *in loco parentis*, a university might be held legally responsible for the protection of a student. Taylor recalled at least one university sued by parents because their daughter was raped during her attendance. Parietals purported to act as a line of defense for women against rape. However, they never prevented assaults. Scholars have considered little regarding the role of deans of women and sexual assault education. The NADW archives hold no materials regarding the topic. The historiography regarding the rape-crisis movement largely credits women's liberation and National Organization for Women

¹⁰⁶ Roy, "Abortion: A Physician's View."

¹⁰⁷ Stokstad, "Interview by Author, July 28, 2010."

chapters as instigators of anti-rape educational programs.¹⁰⁸ In the early 1970s, the U.S. saw significant change in attitudes toward rape. Once a crime where society blamed the victim for sexually enticing her attacker, feminist groups played the primary role in fostering a new awareness of rape as a violent crime. As a result, the second wave of the women's movement produced rape crisis centers, sexual violence awareness, and eventually battered women's shelters. The first efforts date from the early 1970s with the Bay Area Women Against Rape forming in 1971, and one of the first rape crisis telephone lines opening in Washington D.C. in 1972.¹⁰⁹ NOW established a task force on rape in 1973 and many local chapters followed suit in 1974.¹¹⁰ These groups worked to provide counseling and advice to rape victims, assisted with the police and medical testing, created self-defense courses along with support groups, and promoted training for health care workers likely to encounter rape victims.¹¹¹

KU in the immediate post-war years left little record of sexual assault, rapes or even sexual harassment on campus. In fact, the term sexual harassment did not enter into the lexicon until 1977 when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission began to consider incidents where women faced a hostile work environment when pressured with

¹⁰⁸ Sara M. Evans, *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century's End* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 49.

¹⁰⁹ Susan Schechter, *Women and Male Violence: The Visions and Struggles of the Battered Women's Movement* (Boston: South End Press, 1982), 35.

¹¹⁰ Frederika E. Schmitt and Patricia Yancey Martin, "The History of the Anti-Rape and Rape Crisis Center Movements," in *Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Violence*, ed. Clarie M. Renczetti and Jeffery Edleson (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2006).

¹¹¹ Evans, *Tidal Wave*, 49.

sexual situations in the workplace.¹¹² As dean of women, Taylor tended to handle incidents of sexual harassment between students and faculty through the administrative organization. She believed that the faculty member must be sanctioned by the academic arm of the institution in order for the professor to consider seriously the directive to stop the harassing behavior. From 1962 through 1970, she worked directly with Provost James Surface who personally corrected sexual harassment problems.¹¹³ After Surface's retirement, Taylor remembered needing to coordinate meetings to address such issues. In one instance of a faculty member fondling students, she elected to call a meeting of the provost, the dean of the college, and another administrator in order to ask them to take care of the situation. When one of the men asked Taylor to talk to the faculty member about it, Taylor recalled becoming angry. "I said no. I don't hire or pay the faculty member – you do. You take care of it." Taylor often learned of sexual harassment complaints via her network of women employees in the residence halls – or through various women on campus. Sometimes, secretaries in department offices would call to report an incident as well. By the end of her tenure at KU, students clearly understood her role in this:

[I]f you know of a classroom situation where the professor discriminates against women in any way, tell Dean Taylor about it. She keeps a record of these incidents, and if more than three women have complaints about a professor, Dean Taylor will investigate the situation and do what she can to change it.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Nancy MacLean, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Work Place* (New York: R. Sage: Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 145.

¹¹³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

¹¹⁴ Women's Coalition, "Women's Stuff," 1971, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1971-1972, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence,

This student-published comment illustrates the broad recognition of Taylor's advocacy regarding harassment and discrimination. Until KU created an office of affirmative action in 1972, the dean of women's office functioned as the location for reporting such student-faculty concerns.

Throughout her time at KU, rape reports often came through the housing network. Also, if a rape victim went to Watkins Hospital, the staff routinely called the dean of women's office to report the incident. The KU administration did not take a strong stance against violence against women until the mid 1970s when Taylor's office forced attention to the matter. During the late 1960s, Stroup counseled several women – some from the same sorority – who all had been violently raped by the same student athlete.

Astoundingly, the “blame the victim” ideology was strong enough that the women in the same sorority did not tell each other not to accept a date with the man. Stroup recalled that they received no support from the athletics department in sanctioning the athlete.¹¹⁵

At the same time, in the 1968-1969 school year, Taylor began organizing an educational program regarding the prevention of sexual assaults.¹¹⁶ The AWS Issues and Answers Committee hosted the presentation in order to inform women about how to respond to a

Kan.

¹¹⁵ Stroup, "Interview by Author, November 14, 2010."

¹¹⁶Frederic Storaska, Letter to Emily Taylor, September 20, 1968, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-1969 II, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. The organization of the self-defense lecture is also noted in: AWS Council, "AWS Council Minutes," February 4, 1969, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL.

sexual attack.¹¹⁷ The library in Taylor's office contained numerous materials on sexual assault including "Freedom from Rape," addressed to Taylor from the Ann Arbor women's crisis center, and "Helping Rape Victims: Decisions." Taylor and her staff tapped into the national conversation regarding rape prevention and their office broadened its focus on the area of sexual violence as the number of rapes in Lawrence mounted between 1972 and 1974. She appointed Casey Eike, assistant to the dean of women, as director of programs for women's security.

The activities regarding sexual assault escalated in the early 1970s as the number of rapes on or near the campus increased. In 1970, Lawrence police recorded only four rapes in Lawrence. In 1972, the number shot up to 26 reports. Another 26 occurred again in 1973.¹¹⁸ One man was the source of a portion of the dramatic jump in rapes. When police finally arrested Al Byron Johnson, a student at nearby Ottawa University, he was thought to have committed between 11 and 16 rapes on the KU campus from May 1973 through February 1974.¹¹⁹ The increase in reports may also have risen due to campus educational

¹¹⁷ Associated Women Students, 1968-69, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box No. 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹¹⁸ Larry Winn Jr., "Time to Act on Rape Bill, Congressional Record," March 7, 1974, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 13, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. While rape statistics provide some outline of the scale of the issue, rape was a particularly under-reported crime due to women's reluctance to discuss publicly an attack given that society often blamed the victim for causing the assault. Thus, reality may have outpaced the reported number of assaults.

¹¹⁹ "A. B. Johnson Sentenced, to Face Mental Evaluation," *University Daily Kansan*, November 11, 1974, 1; "Johnson Pleads No Contest to One Charge," *University Daily Kansan*,

efforts to encourage women to report the crime. Whatever the combination of causes, Pat Henry, herself a victim of rape, established in the fall 1972 the Rape Victim Support Service in conjunction with the KU Information Center and the Office of the Dean of Women in order to assist rape victims. It would be one of the first such centers in the nation.¹²⁰ The campus community responded to Johnson's string of attacks with various suggestions – a law student, Ed King, asked to organize a foot patrol and Taylor's office proposed women bring their dogs with them on campus at night.¹²¹

With police not “even close to catching him yet” in early 1974, Taylor and her staff began to organize a protective response in conjunction with the community.¹²² On February 20, Taylor's office hosted a “Women's Security Meeting” in the student union inviting city officials, state legislators, university officials, leaders of area and campus women's organizations, and KU rape counselors to discuss “ways to make Lawrence the

October 22, 1974, 10; "16 Cases Rape and Attempted Rape May Be Cleared with Arrest of Al Byron Johnson," *University Daily Kansan*, June 11, 1974, 1.

¹²⁰ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 197-198. Casey Eike recalled that this was the second rape crisis center established in the nation. However, the author has been unable to date such programs independently of Eike and others' memory that this was the case. Casey Eike, "Telephone Interview by Author, February 27, 2011."

¹²¹ J. M. Thomas, Letter to William Balfour, March 13, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; D. Kackley, Letter to Emily Taylor, March 22, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Office of the Dean of Women, "Proposal for Security Dogs on Campus," Dean of Women Subject Files, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹²² "Elusive Rapist on K.U. Campus," *Kansas City Times*, March 2, 1974.

safest city in the nation.” The agenda, distributed on dean of women’s letterhead, included the proposal for “Whistlestop,” calling for all women to wear a whistle as a symbol of solidarity and for use as a distress signal if attacked.¹²³

The meeting provided Taylor with a preview of the community’s divided response to rape awareness efforts as it drew both support and criticism. For instance, a circulation librarian sent Taylor a note following the meeting suggesting an escort service for women working at the library, noting “I know you are greatly interested in this problem. I simply want to offer any support I can to a campus-wide solution.”¹²⁴ A mother of a KU sophomore daughter wrote to commend Taylor and to suggest reconsideration of the campus policy of dimming lights in parking lots due to the energy crisis of the period.¹²⁵ However, the attention to safety and rapes also meant the possibility that some would label KU’s campus as dangerous. As Bill Balfour, Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, stated to the new Chancellor, Archie Dykes, “one negative aspect of our work to make the community safer has been the impression given that it is a less safe place than other communities.”¹²⁶ By February 1974, the university

¹²³ Office of the Dean of Women, "Women's Security Meeting," February 20, 1974, Dean of Women Subject Files, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹²⁴ Nancy Bingel, Letter to Emily Taylor, March 7, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹²⁵ Joyce Wagley, Letter to Emily Taylor, March 3, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹²⁶ William Balfour, Letter to Archie Dykes, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; John J. Conard, Letter to Gil Dyck, February

received at least one parent complaint questioning KU's safety for women.¹²⁷ While Dykes disliked publicity indicating KU unsafe for women students, he also wanted action to stop the rapes.¹²⁸

Once Whistlestop advanced, the administration found that these preliminary reservations by the community reflected widespread public attitudes. Protecting the interests of women students against sexual assault meant a public relations problem. Whistlestop – and the 250 eye-popping posters the women hung across the community – captured the attention of the city and statewide media. On April 10, the program began whistle sales in the student union with Taylor, Eike and Molly Laflin leading the effort with a news release and advertisements in the *University Daily Kansan* and the *Lawrence Journal-World*. The group organized a speaker's bureau, an operational task force, and poster distribution in all residence halls, sororities, campus buildings, at nearby Haskell University, and throughout the community in apartment complexes, laundromats and grocery stores. They also distributed whistles for 75-cents each at residence halls and sororities. Also, Taylor wrote area grocery, drug and department stores asking for their assistance in selling the whistles at cost. Many agreed and Taylor personally handled

28, 1974, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Dorian A. Doherty, Letter to Mr. and Mrs. John Harvey, March 4, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Archie R. Dykes, Letter to Mr. and Mrs. John Harvey, March 31, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹²⁷ John J. Conard, Letter to Dyck, February 28, 1974, 1974.

¹²⁸ Balfour, Letter to Dykes, 1974; Archie Dykes, Letter to William Balfour, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

distribution in these off-campus locations within the community.¹²⁹ While the news releases only included Lawrence-area media, Whistlestop and the rapist loose in Lawrence quickly gained statewide attention.¹³⁰ In Kansas City, a radio broadcast by WDAF read:

The rape of a young co-ed inside a residence hall at the University of Kansas is another shocking example of just how ineffective security has become at the Lawrence campus. The rape is another of more than twenty reported attacks on young women at KU within the past year. Who knows how many more incidents have gone unreported for all of the usual reasons. Imagine the anger and disbelief of the fathers of these daughters who have become victims of criminals, doing such a simple and American thing as acquiring a higher education at KU. Campus security? I suspect it is a farce! Why else would a co-ed begin the sale of 5,000 whistles to other co-eds to ward off campus attackers? What defense is a whistle when campus security is such that allows a young girl to be raped inside a residence hall? I might suggest it is time that parents of youngsters at KU back the administration to the wall. Demand that the University come down from its Ivory Tower and stop trifling with this very serious campus problem. That is the way I see it....¹³¹

The next day, April 11, the KU Alumni Association Associate Director Vincent Bilotta wrote to Taylor (carbon copying the chancellor, the Executive Vice Chancellor Del Shankel and the director of public relations), opening with "I believe it is appropriate that I share my feeling of sheer rage with you and those responsible to you." Upset over the

¹²⁹ "Whistlestop Meeting," April 3, 1974, Dean of Women Subject Files, in RG 53/0, Box 10, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Emily Taylor, Letter to Lawrence area stores, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹³⁰ Casey Eike and Kathy Hoggard, Letter to Archie Dykes, April 17, 1974, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹³¹ Delbert M. Shankel, Letter to All KU Vice-Chancellors and Deans, April 11, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

statewide publicity drawn by the whistles, Bilotta accused Taylor of significantly damaging the university and the enrollment of freshmen women:

Every parent of every prospective student knows all they care to hear about the “Rape Campus” – that place where they would never send their daughter.... But this wholesale focus on rape at the University of Kansas has gotten completely out of hand, and I will always believe that it had to have some internal assistance to blossom into what we have on our hands now.¹³²

Blaming Taylor for the publicity, Bilotta’s complaints gained ground with the administration as he labeled Taylor responsible for making KU “The Rape Center of the World.”¹³³ To further criticism, the posed photo of a woman running from a rapist had been staged of Eike in Strong hall, implying even the administration building failed to be safe.¹³⁴

In a not-so-subtle sanction of Taylor, Shankel distributed the text of the radio editorial to all vice chancellors and deans, noting the damaging effects of the publicity on the university’s reputation and asking for suggestions in correcting the perception of the media. While Taylor recalled Dykes told her he supported her efforts and thought the criticisms overblown, the new chancellor had reason for concern. He followed two chancellors who had left KU after publicity problems during student protests, riots and race relations.¹³⁵

¹³² Vincent J. Bilotta, Letter to Emily Taylor, April 11, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹³³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997."

¹³⁴ Eike, "Telephone Interview by Author, February 27, 2011."

¹³⁵ Chapters five and six cover these topics.

Although some in the KU administration opposed Whistlestop, the KU CSW received queries regarding the program from a number of campuses wanting to replicate the program including Kansas State University, New Mexico State University, Louisiana State University, and the University of Missouri.¹³⁶ Shirley Gilham in the KU Office of Affirmative Action also supported Taylor, “I understand that there is some heated criticism of the Whistlestop program and that you are bearing the brunt of it. My feeling is that the whole controversy is missing the real point. If there’s anything I can do to help, just let me know.”¹³⁷ What Gilham recognized – and what Bilotta and others missed in their concern over public image – was that to address rape, the topic needed to be brought into the open for discussion and action. Taylor, who noted that she gave “fair warning” to everyone that they planned to distribute the whistles, believed that the threat of publicity like the Kansas City editorial kept many universities from addressing the problem of rape and rape education.¹³⁸ Traditionally, universities followed Bilotta’s logic, preferring that incidents of sexual violence be handled privately and as quietly as possible to protect the university’s reputation. While the university prerogative of protecting privacy sometimes benefited a student such as in the Delta Tau Delta incident or in unplanned pregnancy

¹³⁶ Faye Dottheim, Letter to Friends of the Commission on the Status of Women, April 25, 1974, in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: Commission on the Status of Women April 25, 1974 - November 1975, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. Other institutions that requested information were: Phoenix College, Bethune-Cookman College, Grambling College, Southern Illinois University, University of Arkansas, St. Olaf College and Stephens College.

¹³⁷ Shirley Gilham, Letter to Emily Taylor, April 20, 1974, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹³⁸ Taylor, "Interview by Author, May 20, 1997"; Archie Dykes, Letter to Balfour, 1974.

counseling, it proved detrimental for women facing sexual assault. The KU women's work to publicize and discuss rape provided a way to de-stigmatize the rape victim and educate women on how to avoid sexual assault. The social conventions regarding women's respectability, though changing with the sexual revolution in the 1960s, continued to keep many women from reporting or acknowledging a rape – especially date rape. The efforts to create an environment which brought sexual assault into public conversation without naming individual victims undergirded the recognition of rape as a violent crime. Without the string of stranger rapes committed by Johnson, the popular support might not have existed to allow Taylor and others to publicly address the problem by involving local and state officials, the police, women's organizations and the campus community.

It is not coincidence that the news editorial Shankel circulated sounded remarkably like the complaints against the removal of parietals. The rules and regulations governing women's lives provided society with a fiction that female students who followed the rules would be protected. For Taylor, and likely for other deans of women, it was clear that no set of regulations could produce security for every woman. Even Bilotta noted in his vitriolic letter that the rape of a student inside a residence hall "could not have been prevented by any campus administrator."¹³⁹ Parietals did not stop sexual assault any more than did the KU athletics department curb the student athlete's behavior in the rape incidents Stroup counseled. However, while dissolving the parietal rules, Taylor did not leave women students to negotiate sexuality alone. Instead, she tried to provide protection for the women by organizing the dean's counseling services to assist

¹³⁹ Bilotta, Letter to Taylor, April 11, 1974.

and educate women on the topics once too taboo to discuss. Where the women students once blindly followed the rules and convention, Taylor provided educational programs and personal counseling to help women make their own autonomous decisions regarding dating and sexuality.

CHAPTER 5 - Civil Rights and the New Left at KU

At KU, like at most universities, civil rights activism and the New Left overlapped in the mid-1960s through the early 1970s. Several works have considered the student protests at KU regarding race and the Vietnam War, though few have considered how the dean of women's office staff and initiatives fed into these two streams of activism. Deans of women, like most majority-white professional groups, had an inconsistent history in dealing with racial prejudice. NADW endorsed the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision desegregating public K-12 schools – the only higher education guidance organization to do so.¹ While the NADW transitioned more easily toward racial integration than many organizations, it had a legacy of discriminatory policies. In the first half of the twentieth century, NADW regularly hosted its meetings at segregated hotels which prohibited black women's participation.² And although the NADW reversed this policy after affirming the *Brown* decision in the 1950s, the continued existence of a similar organization for black women administrators indicated an incomplete partnership between white and black deans of women.³ The IAWS, by virtue of its partnership with NADW, had a similarly spotty history regarding racial prejudice.⁴

¹ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 130.

² Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women: More Than Wise and Pious Matrons. Athene Series*, 145-146. For a discussion of AAUW's exclusion of non-whites, see chapter six in Levine, *Degrees of Equality*.

³ Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America*, 130.

⁴ Donna Shavlik, "Telephone Interview by Author, March 22, 2011."

Taylor, herself, claimed that she was ““slower on the uptake”” regarding civil rights than she was with her adoption of feminist ideals.⁵ Taylor, who credited her mother with instilling in her a belief in racial acceptance, lived a largely segregated life until attending Ohio State, where she joined a group that considered civil rights concerns. After serving on a panel with a black Ohio State law student, Taylor remembered the woman inviting her to attend a movie with her. “This was not possible without being arrested in those days. I did a lot of soul-searching about the situation, and I decided against it. I’ve always felt guilty about this. I decided against it because I just could not, in the midst of the Depression, afford to be arrested for anything, and have that on my record.”⁶ When Taylor arrived at KU in the late 1950s, she also recalled spending a large amount of time preparing a speech for a black sorority that invited her to present to the organization. She proposed to the young African-American women that to be successful they needed to model mainstream cultural values – an approach that Taylor later felt simply reaffirmed racist attitudes that blacks had to assimilate to white cultural practices.⁷ Clearly, Taylor’s own understanding of racism grew throughout her career and led to changes in her own behaviors and beliefs.

⁵ Lisa Wolf-Wendel, Susan B. Twombly, Kathryn Nemeth Tuttle, Kelly Ward, Joy L. Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward: Civil Rights and Student Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, Inc., 2004), 297.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 297-298.

⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 3, 1997."

Racial Civil Rights at KU

Despite Kansas' legacy as a civil war era free state and the *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, racial discrimination underscored student life at KU. Although KU had enrolled black students since 1870, both the campus and Lawrence also discriminated against African-Americans since the university's inception.⁸ Blacks found themselves excluded from most literary societies, fraternities, sororities and mainstream social life on the campus. In addition, the School of Education regularly provided racial information regarding its graduates to local school boards for consideration in hiring new teachers in state public schools.⁹ The 1940s saw some expansion of access for blacks by allowing them into the student union cafeteria, to join in university dances, and to participate in varsity athletics. Blacks moved into university residence halls, though the university required racial identification so that blacks would room together or with whites who had consented to do so.¹⁰ However, the climate remained largely discriminatory as Chancellor Malott's comments to Governor Andrew F. Schoeppel regarding the NAACP in 1943 indicate: "I have no antipathy whatever for the negro and have great sympathy for the plight in which they find themselves... [W]e have gone as far in non-discrimination as the people of this state are willing to accept. I propose to lie low, avoid argument, avoid public statements, and trust that we can temporize with the situation for the present."¹¹ In 1947, a chapter of the Committee of Racial Equality (CORE) formed

⁸ Griffin, *The University of Kansas*, 209-210.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 628.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 210, 626-628.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 627.

with university students as they worked to desegregate local restaurants, theaters, and to receive recognition as a campus organization. At the time, Dean of Students Woodruff and Malott refused to allow CORE to meet on campus, arguing that the chapter primarily focused on community rather than campus issues.

Under Murphy's administration, which began in 1951, these practices changed. In his former role as Dean of the KU Medical School, Murphy had desegregated operating rooms and nursing dormitories and employed black technicians in the university medical laboratories. As chancellor, he worked to open to blacks local barbershops, movie theaters, and restaurants by threatening to initiate competitive businesses on the KU campus at a less-expensive cost than the local fare. The threat of losing such a significant portion of their clientele worked and many barbershops, movie theaters and restaurants stopped segregationist practices. At the same time that Murphy worked to de-segregate community businesses, the university worked to recruit nationally-prominent basketball player, Wilt Chamberlain, who refused to attend a university in a segregated community. Murphy indicated that basketball coach Phog Allen reversed his opposition to desegregation and began working with local business owners to open to blacks in order to sign Chamberlain to his team roster.¹²

Lawrence and KU made progress, but by no means completely addressed inequities between white and black students during the 1950s. By 1961, after Murphy's departure, a new group – the Civil Rights Council (CRC) – began staging non-violent protests to integrate public establishments. As at the University of Texas, the CRC at KU

¹² Kristine M. McCusker, "'The Forgotten Years' of America's Civil Rights Movement: The University of Kansas, 1939-1961," (M.A. Thesis, University of Kansas, 1994), 137-144.

grew out of the YMCA/YWCA, known as the KU-Y where Donna Shavlik would serve on the board and meet Janet Sears. The Y's Christian programming lent itself to considering racial equity, and the CRC began as a committee of the KU-Y.¹³ CRC's first action occurred in January 1961 as approximately 40 black and white university students staged a sit-in at Louise's, a Lawrence tavern which refused to serve blacks. Next, this group of black and white students distributed a petition on the KU campus asking individuals to boycott locations which rejected blacks.¹⁴

A particular complaint of black students revolved around housing. In the winter of 1961, CRC chairman Steve Baratz criticized Chancellor Wescoe for allowing housing discrimination. The dean of students, dean of men, and dean of women's offices oversaw off-campus housing for university students by maintaining lists of approved rental properties – usually locally-owned houses where a family or individual would rent one or more rooms to students. The CRC asked KU to ensure that the properties listed would be rented to whites or blacks. Wescoe rejected the request, arguing that KU “will not and cannot interfere in the rights of private citizens to choose the person to whom he wishes

¹³ For a discussion of the role of Christianity in the development of the New Left, and the role of the YMCA/YWCA at the University of Texas, see: Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*. Wescoe credits the KU-Y with birthing the CRC. W. Clarke Wescoe, "Report to the Board of Regents," March 14, 1965, Chancellor's Correspondence, Executive Secretary Case Files, 1959-1965, in RG 2/0/1, Box 9, Folder: Civil Rights Demonstration, March 8-9, 1965, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁴ James Gunn, "Timetable of a Sit In," *KU Today*, April 10 1965; Michael P. Fisher, "The Turbulent Years: The University of Kansas, 1960-1975, a History," (Ph.d. Diss., University of Kansas, 1979), 37-38.

to rent his property.”¹⁵ Within the university, however, administrators applied the housing policy differently. The separation between the male and female students meant that Taylor had control over the list for women’s off-campus housing. As such, since her arrival at KU, her office regularly removed from their approved housing list any landlord known to discriminate against blacks. ““Whenever we knew it, we told the landlady that she couldn’t discriminate and be on our list. Now, there was nothing to prevent her choosing renters some other way, and I suspect there was a lot of that,”” said Taylor.¹⁶ In the fall of 1964, Shavlik accepted employment operating Lewis Hall for Taylor’s office. There, she worked with a group of approximately six young black women to test the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The young women would request to rent at a location. If they were denied, Shavlik would take the landlord off the approved list.¹⁷ However, Taylor’s office did conform to the university requirement that black women living in university housing only room with other black women.

CRC also protested prohibitions against blacks joining campus fraternities and sororities. The issue received press beginning in 1960 when Taylor’s office responded in the *University Daily Kansan* to a criticism that university sororities excluded members based on race. In that article, Taylor noted that none of the sororities had exclusionary policies in their by-laws and that the two black sororities on campus belonged to the

¹⁵ Fisher, "University of Kansas, 1960-1975," 39.

¹⁶ Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 302.

¹⁷ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010." In addition, after 1964, Shavlik advised the black sororities from her position within the dean of women’s office.

university Panhellenic Council.¹⁸ Given that most sororities had all-white membership, the lack of a formal policy did not guarantee women of color entrance into KU sororities as socially-sanctioned prejudice influenced membership decisions. Despite secret membership selection processes, anonymous members indicated discrimination, and in one known case Chi Omega denied membership to a Jewish student from St. Louis due to a Kansas City alumna objection.¹⁹

Some fraternities specifically excluded non-whites in their constitutions and Wescoe, a fraternity man himself, responded slowly to the demands for integrated housing. As CRC protested greek life, Wescoe took modest actions. In 1962, he contacted his national fraternity office, Alpha Tau Omega, to work with the organization to remove its racial restriction. The ATO office removed the clause in 1964. And, in 1964, he and Kansas State University President James McCain appealed to Sigma Nu's national office for their local chapters to receive waivers from the fraternity's ban on non-whites.²⁰ Sigma Nu became the focus of CRC protests and in March 1964 the group picketed the fraternity.²¹ Later that fall, the CRC threatened to demonstrate during

¹⁸ "Dean Says Sororities Have No Discriminatory Clauses," *University Daily Kansan*, October 5, 1960, 6. Shavlik recalled that the black sororities were only loosely affiliated with the Panhellenic Council and did not participate in the rush process. Donna Shavlik, "Telephone Interview by Author, March 22, 2011."

¹⁹ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 71.

²⁰ W. Clarke Wescoe, "Report to the Board of Regents," March 14, 1965, Chancellor's Correspondence, Executive Secretary Case Files, 1959-1965, in RG 2/0/1, Box 9, Folder: Civil Rights Demonstration, March 8-9, 1965, UA, KSRL, UKL.

²¹ Fisher, "University of Kansas, 1960-1975," 78. Fraternities stayed segregated by race

university homecoming over the greek exclusion which prompted the All Student Council (ASC) to pass a resolution giving all university-recognized organizations one year to remove any discriminatory clauses from their organizational charters or lose university backing. By March 2, 1965 ASC passed the legislation that outlawed university-approved organizations from imposing racial restrictions on membership. However, by March 7, the bill had not arrived on the chancellor's desk yet for his signature.²² And, in Selma, Alabama, events that day would energize civil rights struggles across the nation.

When Americans watched the nightly news on Sunday, March 7, 1965, many blanched at shocking images of Selma police beating and tear gassing non-violent black civil rights marchers. Bloody Sunday catapulted many into new resolve regarding racial prejudice in the United States. At KU, blacks, tired of waiting for the administration to move forward, acted. First they removed the white officers of the CRC replacing the organization's leadership with blacks. Taylor recalled a few of the black CRC members visited her home that evening, telling her that the whites had been asked to leave. "They said to the whites who were their officers and the other whites who were there, 'Go back

until 1968 when the Alpha Kappa Lambda fraternity issued a bid for membership to a black man, Willie R. McDaniel. McDaniel was the first African-American to pledge a historically white KU fraternity. Donald K. Alderson, "Memorandum for the File of Alpha Kappa Lambda," 1968, Dean of Men Chronological Records, in RG 52, Box 19, Folder: 1967-1970, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

²² W. Clarke Wescoe, "Report to the Board of Regents," March 14, 1965, Chancellor's Correspondence, Executive Secretary Case Files, 1959-1965, in RG 2/0/1, Box 9, Folder: Civil Rights Demonstration, March 8-9, 1965, UA, KSRL, UKL.

to your own people. You can do more to help, you can be of more help to us by going back to your own people and explaining to them what the situation is. Help them to understand. The only thing you have to do is to cut your hair and shave and you are one of them again. We could cut our hair any way we want to, we can shave or not shave and we'll never be one of them."²³ Immediately upon the whites' departure, the group turned to organizing a sit-in at Strong Hall. On March 8, 1965, 150 students (mostly blacks) crowded onto the second floor and into the ante chambers of the chancellor's office to protest.²⁴ Overall, the CRC asked for ending the exclusive membership clauses for the greek system, an integrated university-approved housing list, non-discriminatory employment advertisements in the student newspaper, a university-sanctioned grievance committee including faculty, students, and administrators, and ending segregated student-teacher positions for education students. They also demanded that both the student council and the chancellor affirm civil rights action.²⁵ Wescoe, who politely listened to the students, informed the protestors that they would be arrested for trespassing if they remained after his office shut down at 5:00 pm.²⁶ With more than 100 students remaining after closing, Wescoe called the Douglas County sheriff and suspended all the students, directing the deans of men and women to notify their parents by telegram. Wescoe,

²³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date"; Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 300.

²⁴ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 72.

²⁵ Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 301; Griffin, *The University of Kansas*, 628-632; Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 71-73.

²⁶ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 71-73; James Gunn, "Timetable of a Sit In" UA, KSRL, UKL, RG 53/0, Box 6, Folder: Civil Rights March 2, 1965 - March 18, 1965.

though, personally offered bail for the students and rescinded the suspensions after a second day of non-violent protest.

As KU civil rights historian Monhollon noted, “[w]ith a rush of student government resolutions, administrative orders, and a stroke of Wescoe’s pen, racial exclusion had been banned from the campus of the University of Kansas.”²⁷ Within that “rush” of activity, however, sat the interwoven links between the dean of women’s office, women’s activism, and civil rights at KU. First, while male students found themselves immediately suspended, women protestors did not. Anticipating Wescoe might rescind the suspensions, Taylor waited to send parental notification. Student protestors saw this as supportive. Two students noted: “[T]his saved many long distance calls, explanations, visits, tension and conflict. We appreciate your taking a personal, as well as a professional interest in the matter.”²⁸ In waiting to act on the chancellor’s orders, Taylor indicated support for the civil rights protestors.

Second, Wescoe asked Taylor to lead an ad hoc group to negotiate an end to the protest consisting of eight CRC student leaders and one white faculty woman.

“Chancellor Wescoe appointed me to chair a committee, which he called a “Committee to Deal with These People,” recalled Taylor.²⁹ “The chancellor appointed a group of people to get together to form a negotiating committee, but the chancellor didn’t want to call it a

²⁷ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 73.

²⁸ Linda Cook and Carol Borg, Letter to Emily Taylor, March 11, 1965, in RG 53/0, Box 6, Folder: Civil Rights March 2, 1965 - March 18, 1965, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

²⁹ Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 301.

negotiating committee. He made a big point of it, and he did not want to go rapidly. He wanted us to take our time. It went a lot more rapidly than he wanted.”³⁰ Given that some of the CRC black students knew Taylor well enough to visit her at home, Wescoe may have asked Taylor to chair this committee due to the trust she had built with the CRC membership.

The negotiating group arranged for the creation of the University Human Relations Council (UHRC) to adjudicate the concerns regarding discriminatory practices. Woodruff chaired the UHRC, and Taylor became a member along with Alderson, and five students including CRC representatives.³¹ As the UHRC began investigating black student complaints, it became obvious that the chancellor had received incorrect information from university personnel regarding practices on campus. For instance, the school of education had denied that it enabled local school districts to discriminate by hiring only white teacher candidates. Upon investigation, it became clear that Shawnee Mission, an affluent suburb in the Kansas City metro area, had asked to review only applications from whites and that the KU school of education complied with their request. A former faculty member shared with Taylor how the application coding worked

³⁰ Ibid., 301. Chancellor Wescoe wrote a report to the board of regents a week after the sit-in which did not mention this negotiating committee. Instead, he indicated he established the University Human Relations Committee immediately. W. Clarke Wescoe, "Report to the Board of Regents," March 14, 1965, Chancellor's Correspondence, Executive Secretary Case Files, 1959-1965, in RG 2/0/1, Box 9, Folder: Civil Rights Demonstration, March 8-9, 1965, UA, KSRL, UKL.

³¹ Dean Laurence C. Woodruff, "University Human Relations Committee," No date, Office of Student Affairs, in RG 76/0, Box 4, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

to exclude blacks. “Sure enough it was perfectly plain once it was seen. It was a private arrangement. And even more disgraceful is the fact that the dean of the school denied it to the chancellor, and certainly to us. Applications were coded so that no black student ever ended up there where they were not wanted. It was obvious that something was going on. The school claimed that it just was happenstance, but it wasn’t.”³²

Third, the UHRC appointed a subcommittee – consisting of Taylor, history professor James Seaver, and sociology department chair Charles Warriner – to write what was termed an “affirmation of principles” regarding racial equity.”³³ The statement, written in Taylor’s office, articulated that the university would not discriminate on the basis of race or creed. Later, Wescoe requested the statement be titled “A Reaffirmation of Principles,” although, as Taylor later noted, “obviously it was not a reaffirmation.”³⁴ One of Taylor’s largest regrets during her tenure at KU rested in her agreement to not include the word “sex” in the reaffirmation. She suggested adding women to the mix, and the two faculty members felt strongly that the statement should focus on race. She noted the two men did not want to dilute the importance of racial equality. “They had a good point, there was no doubt about it. But, they thought it was going to be simple to get it

³² Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 302.

³³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date."

³⁴ Ibid; Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 302; "A Reaffirmation of Principles," 1965, Chancellor's Office, Executive Secretary Case Files, 1959 - 1965, in RG 2/0/1/1, Box 9, Folder: Sit In Facts UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

[the word 'sex'] added and it wasn't. The occasion never arose."³⁵ Taylor repeatedly noted that she regretted not insisting on adding sex. It took until 1971 to add gender discrimination to the formal university policy of equality. "I stupidly fell for that. And I've always regretted it and resented it...I think the reaffirmation of policy was a good statement; it just wasn't good enough because it left out gender," said Taylor.³⁶

Fourth, two days after the sit-in, several students from Lewis Hall, staffed by Shavlik, proposed an effort to revise immediately the approved off-campus housing list maintained by the dean of women's office. The group suggested that groups of three women students visit each of the approved locations to have the landlord agree in writing to offer housing based on the policies of the State of Kansas, the dean of women's office and the AWS – which required racial integration.³⁷ Clearly, the students and Shavlik worked closely on this together. Two handwritten drafts, and several typed drafts of the proposal exist in the dean of women's files.³⁸ In addition, the proposal required the students to receive training from a member of the dean of women's staff before meeting

³⁵ Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date."

³⁶ Multiple Taylor interviews; Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 302; Taylor, "Handwritten Speech Notes," in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers.

³⁷ Ad Hoc Committee of Students from Lewis Hall, "Report to the Inter-Residence Hall Council," 1965, Dean of Women Subject Files, in RG 53/0, Box 6, Folder: Civil Rights March 2, 1965 - March 18, 1965, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

³⁸ *Ibid.* The drafts of the report may be found in the same location in the archives.

with the landlords, and Taylor provided a “letter of identification” for each group of students to present to the landlord.³⁹

Aside from working on integrating housing, the dean of women’s office also established opportunities to educate whites regarding racial equity. The AWS chapter began to promote opportunities to think more critically about issues of race and equality. For instance, in 1968, the AWS Forum promoted a “White Racism” program, followed by a 1969 training entitled “Institutional Racism.”⁴⁰ In addition, the 1968-69 KU CSW research agenda included civil rights as one of its main areas of interest.⁴¹ The trainings occurred at a time when the entire Lawrence community split over issues of racial equality in the town and high school. Tension mounted as protestors pushed for blacks to access public facilities like the swimming pool. These protests turned more and more contentious in the late 1960s, when the Black Student Union (BSU) at KU became increasingly violent and tied to Black Power initiatives.⁴² A small part of these BSU efforts included demands for the university to publicly represent integration by including black women on the cheerleading team.⁴³ Taylor who, along with Alderson, had judged

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ AWS Forum, "AWS Forum Minutes," January 9, 1969, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL.

⁴¹ Lydia Tate, "The Report of the Minutes of the AWS Council Retreat " April 28, 1968, Dean of Women Chronological Files, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴² For an in-depth discussion of the racial contests in Lawrence and at KU, see: Monhollon, *This Is America?*

⁴³ The undersigned, Letter to Chancellor W. Clark Wescoe, in Dean of Men

cheerleading try-outs from the beginning of her service at KU, saw no discrimination in the selection process. However, one night, Taylor attended a dinner with incoming KU freshman, and found herself educated on the real cheerleader selection process:

I was sitting with a group of high school seniors who had come from Shawnee Mission, and they were telling me what they were going to do when they got here. And one of them said, "I'm going to be a cheerleader." And so I said, "You know, that's a competitive thing; you have to compete for those jobs." And she said, "Oh, that's not the way it's done. The cheerleaders choose the people that they want, and then they teach them the routines, and so of course, when we go before the committee, we're better than the others." So I learned at an orientation dinner from a high school senior how cheerleaders were chosen and how we'd been taken in through all those years.⁴⁴

In order to integrate the squad, Taylor's office found a former KU cheerleader who supported with civil rights, and they recruited a black honors student who had dance training to learn the routines in advance of the team competition. "She didn't have to be chosen, she competed with the best and she was the best," said Taylor.⁴⁵ However, many (especially the alumni association) complained that the original process for selection had been fair, and that the addition of a black woman illustrated university favoritism. An alumni association staff member, whom Taylor would later face over her support of Whistlestop, particularly criticized Taylor's work to integrate the cheerleading squad, arguing that the selection process had been "fair."⁴⁶

Chronological Records, RG 52, Box 19, Folder: 1967-1970, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁴ Wolf-Wendel, Twombly, Tuttle, Ward, Gaston-Gayles, *Reflecting Back, Looking Forward*, 303.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 303.

⁴⁶ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 4, 1997"; Head Pom Pon Girl Shirley Gossett, Letter to William Balfour, in Office of Student Affairs (Balfour/Alderson), RG 76/0/5, Box 10,

Student Unrest

By the start of the school year in 1965, the civil rights activism at KU yielded a new Board of Regents policy prohibiting race discrimination.⁴⁷ At the same time, student protest over the Vietnam War gained support as KU became one of the known locations for supporting the youth activism. Located on I-70 in the middle of the nation, Lawrence functioned as a stopping point for New Left activists traveling between the east and west coasts, infusing some of the most radical student ideas from Columbia and Berkeley into the KU community. The Student Peace Union (SPU) organized the first anti-war protest at KU as a small picket during a Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) review in October 1963. The ROTC reviews would become a regular protest event as student activists associated university support of the military with sanctioning the Vietnam War. After the May 1964 review someone set fire to an ROTC jeep. By the fall of 1965, the Student Union Activities group, the SDS, the SPU and the KU-Y hosted a teach-in on the war. And, in 1966, New Left students began weekly silent peace vigils on campus.⁴⁸ In 1967, the Lawrence community erupted when the local paper carried a photograph of a young woman wrapped in a United States flag during a “be-in.”⁴⁹ Despite the community disapproval of the hippie culture and student protests, the Tet Offensive in January 1968 escalated student activism and later that spring semester 1500 students gathered outside

Folder: 51/0 Student Protests 10/26/67 - 10/3/69, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. Gossett carbon copied her letter to Vince Bilotta in the Alumni Association and called the addition of black women to the cheerleading squad a “farce.”

⁴⁷ Fisher, "University of Kansas, 1960-1975," 79.

⁴⁸ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 119.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

Strong Hall to insist on a stronger student voice in university governance.⁵⁰ In the Opening Convocation of the 1968-1969 school year, Wescoe announced his intent to resign at the end of the academic year, June 1969.⁵¹ His announcement foreshadowed a coming year of turmoil unlike anything KU had yet experienced. Isolated instances of violence increased in the Oread area next to campus where many student activists chose to live. In February, protestors hurled a Molotov cocktail into the ROTC building causing damage. An April ROTC review resulted in protestors walking among the cadets and taunting them. After Wescoe rejected Student Body President David Aubrey's request to end the ROTC's annual parade in the stadium, it was clear that student activists including the SDS planned to disrupt the formal Chancellor's Review of the ROTC that traditionally closed out the school year in May.⁵² Before the event, Wescoe arranged for the Kansas National Guard to take over the university should violence break out, and the university put up a fence around the stadium.⁵³ Kansas guardsmen waited just outside Lawrence on Highway 40 and U.S. Highway 59 in "full battle gear" as over 100 administratively-selected faculty and students lined up as a "buffer" between demonstrators and the cadets, with instructions not to impede protestors. Student activists took over a large section of the stadium, chanting and singing "We Shall Overcome" until

⁵⁰ Fisher, "University of Kansas, 1960-1975," 118. This would yield new student governance structures, and the AWS Senate and House became the AWS Council and Forum.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵² Robbie Lieberman, *Prairie Power: Voices of 1960s Midwestern Student Protest* (University of Missouri Press, 2004), 218-219.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 219; Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 79-80.

the ROTC parade began. Someone began handing out sticks for the students to use as pretend rifles, and the protestors rushed the field and charged at the cadets.⁵⁴ Wescoe called off the event with an announcement over the stadium sound system, fearing violence.⁵⁵

Into this milieu came KU's new chancellor, E. Laurence Chalmers, a psychologist by training. In an effort to gain solidarity with the students, he publicly endorsed anti-war attitudes during a speech in Kansas City just one week after he arrived on campus. In it he noted that he agreed with students that the Vietnam was "unjustifiable" and "morally indefensible."⁵⁶ The public comments would endear him to some students, but brand him as a weak chancellor among many legislators, Regents, alumni and parents across the conservative state.⁵⁷ What Wescoe faced as chancellor paled in comparison to Chalmers' first year as leader of KU. In September 1969, the United States began the first military draft lottery since WWII. For some time, male students on campus had known that military service would face them if they were not students. In addition, that year many received their draft lottery numbers. That fall, over 5000 participated in a peaceful October Moratorium organized in conjunction with national efforts by Arthur Katz, dean of the School of Social Work. The group walked down the main campus street, past Strong Hall to the Kansas Union. That same month, a faculty committee invalidated ROTC courses for earning university credits. Legislators protested the move, resulting in

⁵⁴ Lieberman, *Prairie Power*, 219.

⁵⁵ Fisher, "University of Kansas, 1960-1975," 128-129.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 164-165.

Chalmers rejecting the faculty decision in December. By January 1970 the legislature began considering laws to punish student protestors which aggravated activists.⁵⁸ To make matters more difficult, racial tension within Lawrence bled into the university as the BSU on campus worked with younger black activists at Lawrence High School. In February, KU employees refused to print the Black Student Union (BSU) newspaper calling its content, which advocated violence, obscene. The BSU subsequently stole thousands of *University Daily Kansan* issues and dumped them into Potter Lake, and the BSU newspaper *Harambee* began referring to Chalmers as “Super Pig.”⁵⁹

Also in February, communications professor John Wright and law professor Lawrence Velvel spoke to a rally regarding the Chicago Seven, catching the attention and disapproval of the Board of Regents. The next month, the Regents denied Velvel and another activist faculty member tenure. Students rallied behind Velvel and other faculty activists. On April 5, the university discovered a bomb outside Strong Hall, and university protests on April 8 caused the Regents to reverse the two tenure decisions.⁶⁰ Eleven days later, on April 20, arsonists set fire to the KU Union destroying the building, causing \$2 million of damage.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 155-157.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁶⁰ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 146.

⁶¹ Gary Murrell, "Curfew Again at Lawrence: Kansas Governor Acts after Rash of Night Fires," *Kansas City Star*, April 23, 1970.

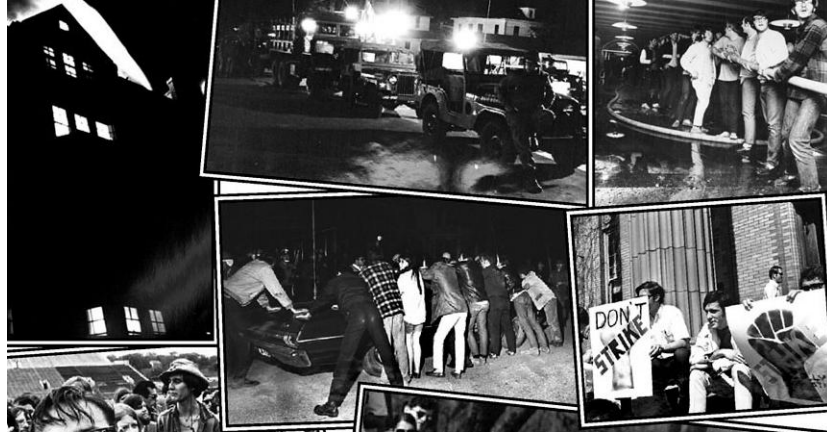


Figure 7: Collage depicting (clockwise from top left) KU Union burning, national guard troops, and student protests from *Lawrence Journal World* retrospective on 1970 as a year of turmoil for the community. Photograph used with permission of the *Lawrence Journal World*.

Although most thought the fire due to the racial conflict in the city of Lawrence, campus reverberated with tension. State police sat on the outskirts of campus and gun fire from unknown snipers could be heard throughout the night. Shavlik's husband, Frank, who worked for Alderson, volunteered to go on campus to close the fire hydrants that students had opened. Frank's hair was longer, and like Donna, he worked in conjunction with many of the New Left activist students. With both firefighters and police officers as clear targets for the violence, Frank hid a fire plug wrench inside one leg of his pants to call less attention to his efforts to calm the situation. On April 21, Governor Robert Docking initiated a curfew for the entire community of Lawrence during darkness, though arson and sniper fire continued during the lock-down. Parents overloaded telephone circuits calling to confirm their children's safety, and rumors flew across campus. Lawrence police arrested curfew offenders and armed individuals alike, even arresting David Aubrey, student body president, for violating the curfew. With the

community splitting apart over racial protest, and the student protestors joining with the Black Student Union in “solidarity,” Lawrence and KU fairly crackled with unease.⁶²

When President Nixon announced the U.S. invasion of Cambodia on April 30th, demonstrations spread nationally and the subsequent killings of unarmed student activists at Kent State University by the Ohio National Guard sent tremors across the nation. Campuses erupted, and over 200 colleges and universities closed their doors for the remainder of the semester.⁶³ In Kansas, the Governor and the Board of Regents announced that no Kansas public university would close – forcing Chalmers into a difficult situation. Also on May 4, a group of students, the KU Committee for Alternatives (KUCA), called for Chalmers to cancel classes on May 8 in order to hold “teach-in” type discussions regarding the ROTC program and its links with the Vietnam War. The KUCA chose the date because the Chancellor’s ROTC Review, now renamed the Tri-Service ROTC review after the previous year’s eruption, fell on that same day. KUCA organizers, Milton “Butch” Gillespie, and Dan Jahn demanded Chalmers cancel the review, and threatened to organize a student strike to close the university if the chancellor did not comply.⁶⁴ Heightening the tension, on May 5, KUCA organized 500

⁶² Ray Morgan, "Days Are Quiet on K.U. Campus: University Officials Say Class Attendance Normal since Fire, Parents Are Worried, Telephone Circuits Often Overloaded with Calls to Students," *Kansas City Times*, April 24, 1970; Harry Jones, "Students Discuss K.U. Curfew," *Kansas City Star*, April 24, 1970.

⁶³ Associated Press, "227 Colleges Closed in Wake of Protests," *University Daily Kansan*, May 8, 1970.

⁶⁴ Curt Chaudoin, "Committee Seeks Day of Alternatives," *University Daily Kansan*, May 4, 1970; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World* Clipping, "Alternative Day Planned at KU," 1970,

student demonstrators to carry coffins through campus in opposition to the Kent State killings. The protestors lowered campus flags to half-staff in honor of the dead in Ohio. At the Military Science building, demonstrators scuffled with ROTC cadets who refused to allow the flag to be lowered. Student leader Gus Di Zerega urged the May 8 strike that KUCA had threatened the day before.⁶⁵ On May 6, another 800 students gathered outside Strong Hall during the day, and that night between 200 and 300 students descended upon the Military Science building, rocks in hand.⁶⁶

Chalmers faced an impasse. The governor insisted KU stay open, KUCA demanded canceling the ROTC review and canceling a day of classes on May 8, and SDS and the BSU called for a complete strike to close the university. Shavlik recalled that the administration seemed to freeze as the Kent State killings occurred. "No one stepped up."⁶⁷ The situation scared students uninvolved in the protests and intimidated much of the faculty. On May 6, the chancellor cancelled the ROTC Review, garnering the governor's displeasure.⁶⁸ From Shavlik's viewpoint, the Provost and Taylor entered the void, listening to the student protestors and trying to work with them. When Ph.D. student Rae Sedgwick approached Taylor with the idea of starting an information hotline

Student Activities (Judy Browder), in RG 71/18, Box 5, Women's Movement, Anti-Nuke 1970-1985 Judy Browder, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁶⁵ Ralph Gage, "Protests Center on MS Area," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 5, 1970, 1; Associated Press, "To Plant Trees at K.U.," *Kansas City Times*, May 6, 1970, 1A.

⁶⁶ "Two Wanted in Vandalism on Campus," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 7, 1970; "Decision Time," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 7, 1970.

⁶⁷ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010."

⁶⁸ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 158.

to help calm the situation, Taylor agreed to the idea, and allowed her office phone number to be used. Conceived as a means for “rumor control,” the hotline would operate 24-hours a day to allow students and faculty to report incidents and to check the veracity of rumors. Taylor approached Alderson and Balfour regarding the idea, and encouraged the two to help fund it. The dean of women’s staff and counseling services from the school of education took the calls for almost three weeks. Once the hotline began in Taylor’s office, the dean of women’s staff and others worked around the clock mimeographing information leaflets to help with information control and to mitigate over-reactions and help calm students.

Taylor’s staff also involved themselves in defusing the violent protests. When the students arrived at the Military Science building on the night of May 6 armed with rocks, Sedgwick, both Frank and Donna Shavlik, Stroup, and others from Taylor’s office went to the building and acted on Sedgwick’s suggestion that they calmly ask students to give them their rocks. In and out of the crowd the women walked, quietly asking protestors if they could please have his or her rock. They stacked the rocks at Frank’s feet. “We ended up with enough for a small dog house,” said Donna Shavlik.⁶⁹ Sedgwick later publicly spoke to the protestors, encouraging calm.⁷⁰

On Friday, May 8, the day originally scheduled for the ROTC review, Chalmers and new student body president Bill Ebert rose to the microphone in the KU football stadium where 12,000 to 13,000 students assembled for a university convocation. Chalmers put forth his own version of “alternatives,” borrowing the phrase from

⁶⁹ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, January, 2007."

⁷⁰ Eike, "Telephone Interview by Author, February 27, 2011."

KUCA.⁷¹ Rather than canceling classes specifically for teach-ins as the KUCA requested, Chalmers and Ebert suggested that the students could choose “alternatives” for ending the semester.⁷² Ebert offered the proposal to the crowd, with options for students to close out their courses in one of four ways: credit / no credit for work completed; current grade for work completed; staying to take a final exam for a grade; or taking an incomplete.

Chalmers and Ebert submitted the plan to a voice vote, declared the motion passed and closed the meeting. The BSU and KUAC were furious as Chalmers allowed neither to put forth their platforms. Angry KUAC representatives John Sanford and “Butch” Gillespie followed Chalmers up the hill and cornered him as he walked back to Strong Hall.

Sanford and Gillespie argued with Chalmers, calling the “alternatives” he proposed unfair since the students had no clear process to exercise their options with individual faculty members which Chalmers’ proposal required. For male students facing the draft, staying in school and in good standing meant the difference between their current lives and military service – making Sanford and Gillespie very sensitive to the “workability” of the proposal. Chalmers told the two men if they wanted to fix the problem, they should take action. When they expressed how difficult that would be, Chalmers told them that they might receive support for their efforts from Taylor. The two sought out Taylor, and with her support a new group formed, the KU Coordinating Committee, which worked out of Taylor’s office to help students work with faculty to file their paperwork to complete their semesters. Sanford recalled both Balfour and Taylor intervening with faculty who

⁷¹ Lieberman, *Prairie Power*, 149-150.

⁷² While the students and faculty did not “strike” per se, during finals week protestors did hold a number of workshops, teach-ins and protests. Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 159.

balked at completing paperwork for a student wanting to exercise one of the options Chalmers made available.⁷³

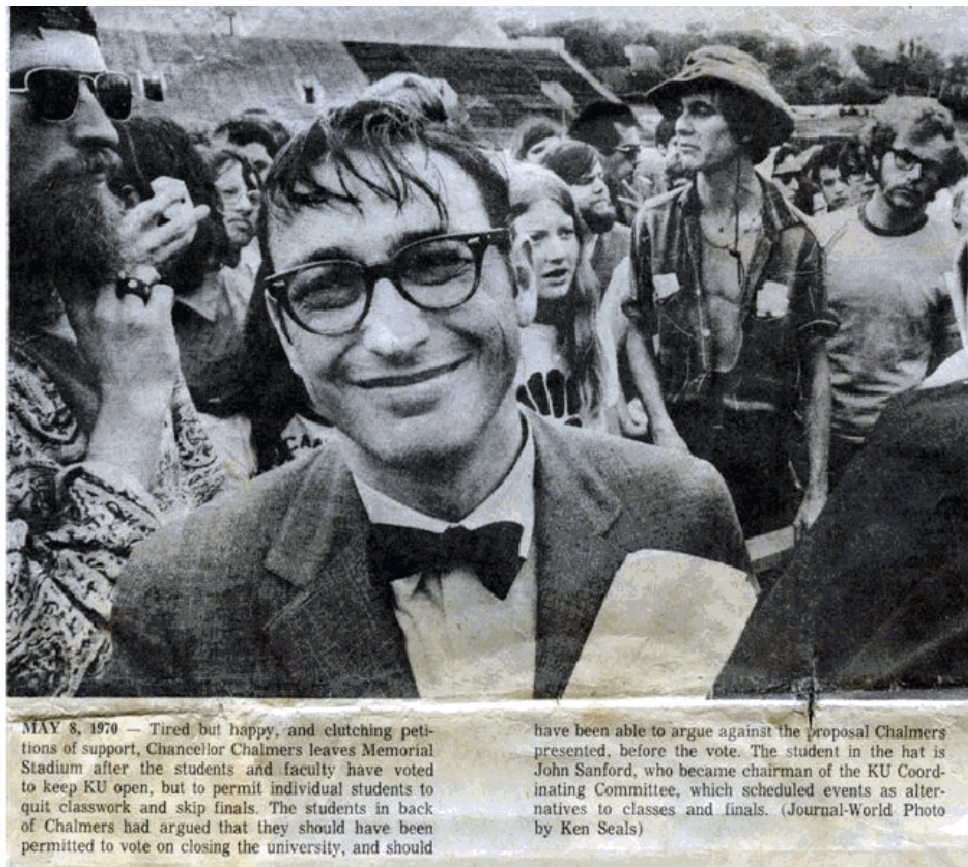


Figure 8: Chancellor Chalmers moments after he closed the vote on the “Day of Alternatives.” John Sanford, upset by the decision, stands behind Chalmers to the right in the hat. “Butch” Gillespie stands next to Sanford in T-shirt and glasses. The pair would follow Chalmers up the Hill to confront him regarding the lack of process to make the alternatives functional for students. Used with permission of *The Lawrence Journal World*.

While Taylor and her staff saw the activity with the KU Coordinating Committee as a means to defuse the situation, Sanford said he and those involved saw their work as a part of the efforts to organize a “revolution.” In fact, the staff helped Sanford to organize

⁷³ John Sanford, "Telephone Interview by Author, January 17."

regular off-campus telephone calls so that he and the other students might be in contact with student protestors at Berkeley and Columbia. Sanford later recalled that the most radical students saw his work in Taylor's office as a "sell-out" and he found himself somewhat ostracized in the Oread area once the semester came to an end.⁷⁴

Overall, Taylor and her staff's work to lessen tension on campus has been unrecognized in any accounts of the student protests. Two factors have produced this result. First, scholars have not thought to look at an office organized for women's affairs as a venue to consider coordination with New Left activities. Second, the intergenerational organizing within the office meant that such activities were low-profile because they were coordinated through and with students. As a result, protestors not individually involved in her office saw Taylor as simply one of many administrative obstacles. Taylor recalled participating in a panel in the last few years of her life regarding the "Days of Rage" at KU:

And this hippy said, "Do you know, you were the enemy. You were one of the enemy." And I said, "Well, I don't think so. I think that it may have seemed that way to you, it certainly didn't seem that way to a lot of people." "Oh, yes, you were." ... Well, I wasn't the enemy. My God, I turned my office over to become an information service you know.⁷⁵

The examples of Taylor's involvement in civil rights and the student protests illustrate that the dean of women and her staff played a role in facilitating racial equality and New Left ideals from within the organizational structure of the institution. Taylor's actions supporting student protestors arose from her desire to reduce the likelihood of violence on the campus. The network Taylor developed through women's residences and

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date."

women's organizations enabled her and her staff to tap into the communities of black students and into the New Left – working with both men and women from their vantage point within the KU structure.

On the civil rights front, these connections yielded specific opportunities to affect the university's culture by opening it to provide more expansive opportunities for blacks to participate in student life. Taylor did not lead such efforts, but did sometimes apply her administrative acumen, political savvy, and personal network to create change for black women. Examples include her revision of the women's approved housing list, Shavlik's testing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and Taylor's purposeful delay regarding expelling the women students involved in the 1965 Strong Hall sit-in. Clearly, Taylor had cultivated personal relationships with the black CRC members since they visited her home the night before the sit-in, and her network yielded the former KU cheerleader willing to teach the pom-pon routines to the first black KU cheerleader so that she might compete fairly at the try-outs with the white women who received pre-try-out coaching. In desegregating the cheerleading squad, Taylor helped to change a primary public symbol of the university's racial acceptance. Because gender remained Taylor's primary priority, there were ways that she failed to address civil rights. However, she certainly facilitated efforts to advance racial integration in significant ways from within the university administration.

In the student protests, the network of staffing and organizations again benefited Taylor by creating an information flow which allowed her and her staff to understand the pulse of student desires during the tumultuous time so that they could respond accordingly. As such, Taylor's staff actively lessened the potential for violence on the

campus in 1970 through such efforts as the hotline and their direct involvement at protests. Taylor also enabled some of the New Left agenda by allowing the KUCC to operate out of her office.

The involvement of Taylor and her younger staff illustrates the intergenerational nature of such activism. At times, Taylor opened the door for her staff as when Shavlik and students tested the 1964 Civil Rights Act for housing and worked to end some institutional expressions of racism. Other times, the staff pushed Taylor to consider student points of view as Sedgwick did when she proposed the informational hotline. These intergenerational connections among students, staff and Taylor not only undergirded her work in civil rights and New Left, they would anchor the advancement of the women's movement on the campus.

CHAPTER 6 - Feminisms and the Women's Movement

Historians of the American women's movement have categorized this social phenomenon as occurring in two distinct "waves." The energy of the first wave, which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and culminated in the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment diluted after women achieved the vote, leaving no single, unifying platform around which to coalesce. Typically, histories of the second wave noted that the re-emergence of the women's movement during the 1960s stemmed from two distinct approaches – liberal and radical – distinguished by different philosophies and tactics.¹ According to this interpretation, liberal feminists, predominantly older women, pursued a path for women's equity through legal reforms and governmental policies. Many of these women had achieved career status by creating coalitions with men, and they customarily involved men in their efforts to create social change. Typically, in recounting this history, historians begin with a nod to President John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 as the innocuous beginning of the movement which found popular support after Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* uncorked the simmering displeasure of women across the nation who felt trapped in the gender role expectations of mainstream culture. In these accounts, the formation of the National Organization for

¹ Educated white women of financial means developed both the philosophies of radical and liberal feminism. As such, the premises of both theories privilege the concerns of white, middle and upper-class women. Women of color, though involved in the women's movement, have criticized these theories for lacking consideration of social justice issues for race, the working class, and those of ethnic backgrounds.

Women (NOW) in 1966 marks the beginning of liberal feminist activism. Alternatively, radical feminists tended to be a younger cohort of women who developed a feminist consciousness while working in the civil rights and New Left movements. Their critiques of women's inequity often relied on the Marxist philosophies that undergirded the New Left. Their focus on the patriarchal structure of society led them to an analysis that advocated a wholesale rejection of mainstream American culture as fundamentally flawed. Typically, they rejected men's involvement in their activities. These women popularized the phrase "the personal is political" and through "consciousness-raising" called for women to cull through their personal experiences to identify (and then reject) sexism's role in defining women as men's "helpmates." Radicals often saw liberal feminists as "bourgeois," co-opted by the masculinist society and lessening a potential revolution by focusing on incremental change.

Many histories, by focusing on the chaos of the late 1960s and the events immediately preceding it, have adopted this twin narrative as the story of the unfolding of the second wave of feminism, and by doing so, have ignored the period between suffrage and the next popular wave of support. This interpretation of the history of the women's movement is beginning to change. As one historian has noted:

Unquestionably, the feminism that emerged later in the decade [of the 1960s] marked a sea change in women's politics, generating a scrutiny of relations between the sexes that was more thoroughgoing than anything that came before. But the origins of the renaissance lay earlier; rather than amazing alchemy, the reappearance of women's rights can better be seen as dialectic between Washington politics and popular politics, Democratic Party elites and working women, and women with some access to power and those with none.²

² Stansell, *The Feminist Promise*, 212.

In this micro-history, Taylor's work as dean of women provides a window into such earlier origins. Taylor once mentioned, "[m]any times I've read these histories and they've just omitted... they start with NOW and then they go on to the Women's Liberation Movement and they forget that anything happened there before that."³

In order to understand how Taylor's activities at KU fit into this more nuanced interpretation of the emergence of the second wave, it is important to have a clear understanding of the philosophies of liberal and radical feminism – and to understand how these were used in practice. This chapter reviews the philosophy of each of the branches of the second wave, and then considers how each manifested on the KU campus. At KU, the two functioned together with an intergenerational exchange between Taylor and her staff and the women's students. Rather than two separate groups at KU these two generalized agendas coalesced, overlapped, and drew from each other.

Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism forms the basis for many of the gains improving women's lives in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The theory takes two distinct shapes – classical liberal feminism and welfare liberal feminism – the first of which is tied to its seventeenth century roots in the Enlightenment, and the second which reflects the use of the central theories of 1930s public policy. Like any theory, it is a paradigm or approach through which one views a society. As such, liberal feminism has both strengths and limitations which grow out of its specific historical context and which defines its parameters.⁴

³ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 14, 1998" (Lawrence, Kan.).

⁴ For a thorough review of feminist philosophy see: Alison M. Jaggar, *Feminist Politics*

At its root, liberal feminism holds Enlightenment assumptions. Based on John Locke's (1632-1704) philosophy of liberalism, this feminism shares Locke's conceptualization of human nature as characterized by a rational, thinking self. Locke posited that a reasoned citizen possessed natural rights like liberty, and that the human mind was a blank slate to be educated by developing a healthy body, forming a virtuous character, and studying an appropriate academic curriculum. In a statement of liberal feminism, Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), claimed for women the same liberal self Locke posited for men. She suggested that women were not naturally inferior to men and only appeared to be so when they lacked education. As such, she argued that women should possess the same civil rights and opportunities for education and economic independence as men. From these roots, liberal feminism has emerged as an effort to provide women with access to the public sphere of society.⁵ Seeking the elimination of subordination of women, particularly as expressed through the law, this branch of feminist thought focuses on achieving equality with men by asserting for women the same rights of citizenship as men. As such, liberal feminism undergirds such civil liberties as suffrage, property rights, and freedom of speech.

In the early twentieth century, however, liberal feminism developed a second form – what Rosemarie Tong has termed “welfare liberal feminism” – which primarily

and Human Nature (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983).

⁵ Nancy Cott defines the public and private spheres in Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

sought economic justice for women.⁶ As women social reformers brought their progressive agenda into the federal government as a part of the New Deal order, they crafted a version of liberal feminism that advocated that the federal government to use its power to provide legislative protections for working-class women based upon women's differences from men. Some of the most contentious arguments in the American women's movement occurred over disagreements between the tenets of these two types of liberal feminist thought. For instance, when Alice Paul's National Woman's Party proposed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1921, it specifically rejected the argument that women were different from men and needed special protections. However, proponents of "welfare liberal feminism" had worked for decades to develop protective labor laws for women so that working class women would be able to provide for their children both economically and domestically. While both groups looked to the federal government to provide solutions to women for equitable treatment, they disagreed over whether women should be treated exactly like men as in the ERA, or if women's difference from men warranted specialized legal treatment.

Liberal feminism has undergirded many of women's public sphere advancements. It has provided a strong basis for advocating the education of girls and women and has also sought to eliminate prejudice and discrimination on the basis that it is irrational. Its proponents believed that reasoned thought would correct sexism. As such, a common liberal strategy is to educate opponents who, presumably, will reform irrational beliefs. Liberal feminism and its accompanying activism seek to provide women with access to

⁶ Rosemarie Tong, *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Boulder and San Francisco: Westview Press, 1989), 12.

the avenues of power within all aspects of the public sphere through voting rights, election to office, ability to own property, and employment opportunities. Liberal feminism, however, also had its limitations. First, its construction of citizenship is based on a model of a male operating in the public sphere. Nowhere in liberal thought is there a discussion of men becoming adapted to the private sphere of domestic concerns. Instead, liberal feminism has conceptualized women as leaving the private sphere to participate as equals in the public realm. Inasmuch as this male model of citizenship does not accommodate the biological reality of motherhood into the construction of the self, it gave rise to the arguments between feminists who use “classical” or “welfare liberalism” as a model. Since there is a difference between men and women based at least on the biological function of childbearing, welfare liberals argue that the gender neutrality that classic liberal feminism desires can not provide equity if it is based on a male-defined norm that ignores the reality of women’s lives. Another limitation of the concept of liberal feminism is that it is premised on the assumptions of white racial and socio-economic class privileges. The proponents of liberal feminist thought were largely women of significant means, which meant that many of its policy results reflected the experiences of educated, white women rather than the needs of women from less privileged backgrounds. For instance, African-American women who historically have not had the economic advantage of staying at home to care for their children did not necessarily agree with the focus on entering the public sphere.

In its post-war form, liberal feminism was regularly linked to NOW, the national and state committees on the status of women, and the Women’s Equity Action League (WEAL). Women involved in these groups argued for incremental, pragmatic changes

within mainstream social institutions and purposely involved men in their organizations. They achieved *Roe v. Wade*, advocated the ERA and pushed implementation of Title VII to be applied to women's discrimination in the workplace.

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism, an amalgam of philosophies from radical New Left factions across the nation, generally rejected the individualistic priorities of liberal feminism and focused on a collectivist mindset. Also a product of white, college-educated women, radical feminism critiqued U.S. society and capitalism as a masculinist construct fundamentally flawed by patriarchy. Radical feminists saw separatism from men as a strategy for revolution and rejected men's involvement in their groups. Largely, historians link the rise of radical feminism to the rise of civil rights nonviolent protest and the New Left. This history usually begins with the memorandum that Mary King and Casey Hayden wrote in 1964 during the Freedom Summer work in Mississippi with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The memo complained that men's treatment of women in SNCC was similar to whites' treatment of blacks.⁷ Women involved in the New Left flagship organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), began questioning the role women played in that organization as well. They noted that their work tended to be steered into support work (including sexual favors) for the men who delivered speeches and drafted the position papers. King and Hayden, a year later,

⁷ This complaint, which mirrored the 1830s accusation by white women that their position with respect to men bore similarity to blacks' treatment by whites during slavery, seems ridiculous by today's standards as, clearly, the violent treatment of blacks by whites in Mississippi brooked no comparison to the assignment of women to secretarial duties.

rewrote their memo, this time directed at the SDS with similar complaints, and called for change. For women involved in “the movement” men’s unwillingness to see their own behavior as sexist seemed to them not so different from the American President’s unwillingness to admit the faults with the Vietnam War. Early radical feminist proclamations in the New Left contained condemnations of mass media depictions of women and called for revamping marriage, divorce and property arrangements, complete control by women of their bodies, birth control information for all women no matter the age or marital status, and total legalization of abortion.⁸ With a penchant for drama, these younger women were overwhelmingly white and brought to women’s liberation the tactics of nonviolent protest ranging from sit-ins to marches to street theater.

It is difficult to summarize radical feminism as a single strand of thought as the women involved frequently disagreed and broke into various sects over their interpretations of patriarchy. Shulamith Firestone, a founding member of the New York Radical Women, the Redstockings and the New York Radical Feminists, produced some of the earliest works of radical feminist thought that reflected the philosophy of the movement. Starting her book, *The Dialectic of Sex*, with the premise that “Sex class is so deep as to be invisible,” Firestone set out the notion that sex roles imbued all social constructs of society – public and private.⁹ In the identification of sex roles (now generally called gender roles since they are widely seen to be socially-constructed rather than biologically based), radical feminists believed marriage, childrearing, housework,

⁸ Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 45-49.

⁹ Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 1970), 1.

and even sexual intercourse were fundamentally flawed as sexist constructs. Generally, radical feminism eschewed such gender roles and advocated androgyny. This philosophy found the root of sexism in women's biology as the bearers of children. Firestone argued that pregnancy biologically determined women's position in society and she advocated contraception, abortion and technological medical advancements to release women from childbearing.¹⁰ Marx's influence on the New Left tinted much of radical feminist thinking. Thus, while liberal feminism wrangled with how to include a woman's biological role for reproduction into a male-defined citizenship, radical feminism as a philosophy sometimes side-stepped issues like child-care and maternity and called for a complete rejection of motherhood in traditional terms.¹¹

With female biology at the center of the critique, the philosophy blamed sexism on men's authority over women's bodies. A part of their vision for radical change rested in women's control of their own bodies as expressed in later works like *Our Bodies/Our Selves* published by the Boston Women's Health Collective, and Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*.¹² This control ranged from access to contraception and abortion to freedom from rape and sexual assault. The radical feminist critique of the institution of marriage and men's expectations for women to handle housework and childrearing pointed out that liberal feminists worked to assume male citizenship rights while such

¹⁰ Ibid., 270.

¹¹ Stansell, *The Feminist Promise*, 263.

¹² Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975); Boston Women's Health Collective, *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

women often brought the full load of responsibility for the domestic sphere with them into the public realm. Works like Patricia Mainardi's "The Politics of Housework," Carol Hanisch's "The Personal is Political," and "Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon" by Kathie Sarachild set out these premises.¹³ Radical feminists argued consistently that liberal feminists' work in the public sphere ignored the flaws of the private sphere where gender roles could not be overcome through access to public rights. As such, they argued for fundamental, revolutionary change in domestic roles as well.

Liberal Feminism and Deans of Women

Taylor, by all accounts, adopted a liberal feminist approach. Quoted in 1972, she identified herself as "a conventional feminist" separate from radical feminists.¹⁴ Unlike the proponents of radical feminist ideology, she believed in institutions – and in their ability to change. Her tactics, like the ones she employed with the changes to parietals, were gradual. "Incremental change is the only kind of change which was even possible as

¹³ Radical feminists published many of their thoughts with underground presses and in pamphlets before they became published in more recognized ways. Thus, dates of publication do not necessarily indicate the time of publication as they are sometimes after the piece had circulated widely. Patricia Mainardi, *The Politics of Housework* (Somerville, Mass.: Boston Female Liberation, 1966); Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt, *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation, Major Writings of the Radical Feminists* (New York, N.Y.: Radical Feminism, 1970); Kathie Sarachild, *Feminist Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978).

¹⁴ Wohlraabe, "Emily Taylor: Committed to Equal Rights for Women " in *University Daily Kansan*.

far as I can see,” said Taylor.¹⁵ Like liberal feminists across the country, she worked for change using legal and policy initiatives to influence opinions. Taylor set up programs to educate women, and gathered data to establish credible, persuasive arguments on women’s equality relying on the commission model before President Kennedy’s work popularized it.¹⁶ She strategically chose compelling presentations to reach her audience of young women who were accustomed to convention. In fact, Taylor recalled an incident in the early 1960s that crystallized her commitment to such liberal strategies. During an AWS panel presentation, one of the women speaking on the topic of women’s equity whom Taylor had not met presented a very negative viewpoint. “She was an angry woman and that anger showed in everything that she had to say so that you were listening to her anger rather than to her words.”¹⁷ A student later told Taylor that several young women had rejected the concept of women’s equality because of the speaker’s vitriol:

On the way home that night [after the presentation] a whole group of women that came from one house walked home in silence. Then one of them said, “Well, if that’s what equality is all about, I don’t think I want any of it.” And I thought we’ve just got to kind of cool it. This is not the right approach. This is not going to win any converts. We didn’t have any laws, we didn’t have any Executive Orders, we didn’t have anything actually, except one or two civil rights or civil service regulations that were protective in any way. And I didn’t want to see anyone driven off. And that’s the only time I ever remember thinking that we’re

¹⁵ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 14, 1998."

¹⁶ Marion Talbot used the tactic of providing data on the status of women on a campus at the University of Chicago during her time as a pioneering dean of women. In addition, AAUW, which she founded, also maintained a Commission on the Status of Women. Nidiffer and Bashaw, *Women Administrators in Higher Education*, 140-141; Levine, *Degrees of Equality*, 27-28.

¹⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997."

not going about this right... This is not in trying to explain things to men, this is to young women... After that, we were a lot more careful, I never, never allowed my name to be associated with any program where I was on the program committee and I hadn't either personally heard the woman speak or knew somebody whom I had trusted who had heard him or her speak and could say exactly how their approach would be.¹⁸

In addition to strategically avoiding what would become radical feminism's brand – public presentation of anger – Taylor worked with the AWS chapter regularly on typically liberal feminist projects that provided information to educate individuals to new non-discriminatory viewpoints. In addition to the group's educational and career programs, AWS ran a speaker's bureau sending women out into the community to discuss women's equity, and the KU CSW produced reports on their research studies. These reports recording data regarding the status of women on the KU campus formally circulated throughout the university as an effort to raise awareness of gender bias. In addition, her library, full of Women's Bureau labor reports, linked college women with the work of Washington D.C. liberal feminist political action.¹⁹

In addition, Taylor's work included the liberal strategy of involving men. Over and over, Taylor reiterated that she always worked with and involved male students throughout her time at KU. One indicator of this was the KU CSW newsletter audience. Of the KU CSW's mailing list of 500, men comprised approximately one-third of the recipients.²⁰ Her efforts to establish significant working relationships with Murphy and

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Unknown Author, Dean of Women Subject Files, in RG 53/0, Box 7, Folder: 53/0 "Feminism" October 29, 1969 - 1971, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

²⁰ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 194.

Wescoe provide two other examples of her working with men to advance women's stature. In addition, she even hired Walter Smith as associate dean of women in 1972 as a part of that effort to include and educate men.

As with Taylor, the activism that existed in NADW sat squarely in the liberal feminist quarters. By 1964, NADW President Helen Schleman, dean of women at Purdue University, recommended that deans of women become politically active, using their professional networks to influence change in the public sphere. She suggested they testify in government hearings, pursue change through their cross-organizational ties, and cultivate relationships with lawmakers. This 1964 suggestion of direct advocacy shifted the organization's long-time tradition of "downplaying or disavowing the explicit feminist implications of their activities and interests."²¹ Taylor's activities aligned with Schleman's call to advocate for women's equity. She testified at the state capitol often, increasing such involvements after she became a member of the Kansas State Commission on the Status of Women in 1969. "I can't tell you how many times in those years I went to the Legislature. It seemed like it was everyday. It wasn't, but it just seemed that way. Some bill would come up which would just be inimical to the interest of women."²² As Title VII called into question the legality of state protective labor laws, the Kansas legislature – like most states – considered numerous aspects of employment law. Taylor's imperious manner manifested in what must have been unforgettable ways in Capitol committee rooms. For instance, when a Topeka woman testified to a legislative

²¹ Eisenmann, "A Time of Quiet Activism," 138.

²² Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 14, 1998."

committee that her position was to work only on the blatantly discriminatory employment laws as opposed to those with less obvious prejudices, Taylor recalled responding:

“Excuse me, but I don’t know who ‘we’ is, but I’m not included in it. I don’t agree.” And I opened a book and my eye hit upon the perfect example. I don’t know how in the world this happened. It was about the Governor’s office and it talked about the Governor’s secretary and the Governor’s assistant and when it referred to the secretary it said ‘she’ and when it referred to the assistant it said ‘he.’ And I read them this and I said, “Does that seem non-discriminatory to you? Obviously someone has decided that secretaries are women and Governor’s assistants are men.” And there was absolute silence for a few minutes.²³



Figure 9: Taylor with Congressman Larry Winn, Jr. on the steps of the United States capitol. Taylor’s nametag indicates she visited the capitol on AAUW business. Author’s Collection of Emily Taylor’s papers.

²³ Ibid.

Another time, Taylor recalled becoming angry when a committee made fun of a woman during her testimony. Although the woman represented the opposing view to Taylor's, she opened her remarks with what she recalled to be:

“It was my understanding that the citizenry had a right to importune their legislators on any subject that was under discussion without being made fun of.” Boy, I’ll tell you that quieted the group down in a hurry. Nobody said anything. So then one guy somewhat timidly said after I started [testifying], “Do you have any proof of what you are saying?” And I said, “Yes I do.” And I handed him this notebook and I handed it so hard that it went right past him and onto the floor. He had to bend down and pick it up.²⁴

Taylor readily admitted that some disliked her manner. However, she always worked to cultivate relationships with powerful individuals like the chancellor and the state senator from Lawrence, among others, which created the opportunities Schleman advocated.

*Taylor's Feminist Action in National Arenas*²⁵

Taylor also followed Schleman's advice to work across the various organizations which might collaborate in the interests of women. By the end of her career at KU, Taylor belonged to a number of organizations practicing a liberal feminist approach including NOW, WEAL, the National Women's Political Caucus, the Kansas State Commission on the Status of Women, and the National Federation of Republican Women along with NADW, IAWS and AAUW. As her involvement with some of these groups occurred at the national level, she – and her students – linked into the women's

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The majority of Taylor's work that had national significance occurred after she left KU and directed the Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education.

movement as it unfolded nationally. Eventually the third president of the Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women, Taylor attended the annual convention of these state commissions regularly – cementing her relationships with individuals like Katherine Clarenbach, Marguerite Rawalt, Catherine East and Bernice Sandler as well as individuals across the Women’s Bureau in the Department of Labor.²⁶ Taylor had a front seat at much of the liberal feminist organizing from the beginning. She attended the third annual Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women in June 1966 in Washington D.C. This conference generated the NOW organization when Betty Friedan, Kay Clarenbach, and 26 others met in Friedan’s hotel room to discuss their discontent over the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission’s (EEOC) refusal to enforce sex discrimination as a part of Title VII. The group determined to ask the conference to consider a resolution on the topic, and Clarenbach volunteered to discuss the idea with conference organizers Esther Peterson and Mary Keyserling, the head of the Women’s Bureau. When Keyserling declined to consider the resolution, the women met the next day to organize a plan for a new organization, NOW.²⁷ While Taylor – friends with Clarenbach – missed the meeting in the hotel room, she connected with the group and joined immediately. Taylor recalled the attitude of the women: “The (State) Commissions are great. But, they are political and there are stands they can’t take because it’s impolitic for them to take (them). What we need is an organization ... with the same goal in mind of improving the status of women, but not be handicapped in any

²⁶ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 19, 1998."

²⁷ Cynthia Ellen Harrison, *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945-1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 192-196.

way by political appointments.”²⁸ At one of NOW’s first national conventions, Taylor brought twelve students with her – including the presidents of Watkins Scholarship Hall, AWS, residence halls, and the sorority Panhellenic Council.²⁹

She also involved students in her other national connections. Taylor brought student Casey Eike and staff member Karen Keesling to national WEAL conferences while working to initiate a WEAL chapter in Kansas.³⁰ She also took three students to the National Women’s Political Caucus inaugural meeting – further imbuing the topics of accessible and affordable childcare, reproductive freedom and the ERA into the KU conversation.³¹ As IAWS national advisor, she and Eike, as IAWS national president, were two of eight women selected to attend a Labor Department event celebrating an anniversary of the Women’s Bureau and discussing how the government agency might serve local women’s groups.³² Such exposure integrated KU students into the national

²⁸ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 14, 1998.”

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ "KU Women to Attend Convention," No date, Newspaper clipping, Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers. WEAL particularly focused on women’s equity within higher education.

³¹ "Comment: Commisison on the Status of Women, the University of Kansas," November, 1971, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1971-1972, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

³² "2 Women to Meet Labor Dept. Officials," No date, Newspaper clipping, Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers; Eike, "Telephone Interview by Author, February 27, 2011.”

conversations bringing to campus a broader perspective and vice versa. For instance, Eike



Figure 10: Taylor in her office holding a poster students made for her entitled “Emily Taylor School of Feminism.” Taylor stands in front of some of the bookshelves in her office’s library which hold college and career guides for women students to consult. Author’s Collection of Emily Taylor’s papers.

and Keesling received invitations from President Richard Nixon to attend the White House Conference on Youth in Estes Park in 1971. While there, the two originated a caucus of women participants to discuss women's issues which were absent from the agenda.³³

Moving Women's Organizations toward Feminist Positions

Just as NOW began over the consideration of an organizational resolution, Taylor believed that the resolutions committees of women's organizations formed the backbone bringing these groups into a more vocal position regarding women's equality. Taylor saw the work to add resolutions to an organization's charter as a critical part of the work to move organizations toward action for feminist causes. "The resolutions represent what the organization stands for, and there were some of us who wanted to make sure that it

³³ Cathy Stumpff, "KU Women Leaders Vocal at Conference," *University Daily Kansan*, April 26, 1971; Eike, "Telephone Interview by Author, February 27, 2011." Eike indicated a long list of national and state opportunities that came to fruition from Taylor's national connections: Outstanding Young Woman of Kansas, inclusion as a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisors Chairman Herbert Stein's Economic Role of Women group, designation as a delegate to the United Nations for the Intercontinental Conference on Women, speaking to the Platform Committee of the Republican Party at a national convention, member of the First International Women's Year Commission, and having her comments published in the Congressional Record.

stood for the right things – namely for economic and political and social justice.”³⁴

Taylor recalled such work:

Except for WEAL and NOW... there were always people who got up and said, “If we pass that, we’d be out of business. If we pass that we wouldn’t be funded to come to the next meeting. If we pass that, if we voted for that...” Some of them would say, “I’d like to.” This is especially true in the [State] Commissions and in IAWS, the student group, because the students were doing the voting.³⁵

In the IAWS, Taylor played a significant role in shifting the group’s focus to a vocally feminist perspective through the eventual adoption of a number of women’s rights resolutions. By the mid-1960s, IAWS reached an all-time high for campus involvement with over 300 chapters.³⁶ Within the national organization, chapters exhibited an array of stances and options regarding the role of their group and its relationship to women’s equity. Taylor recalled that by watching the arrangement of the chapters during the voting meetings of the IAWS, the variety became obvious:

. . . in the business meetings of IAWS, people were seated by delegations, and there were great big signs, just like in a political convention, saying “University of Kansas” and so forth. You can look around the room and you could see who there was in the room, what schools are represented there, whether the advisor (who was the dean of women in practically in all cases) had a close working relationship with the students because those people sat with the students. And then there were some others who sat on the sidelines or in the back... It gave all of us a clue as to who was on what side, these [on the floor with the students] were always the people who were pushing the boundaries out further.³⁷

³⁴ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 19, 1998."

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 82.

³⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 19, 1998."

With the varying support of deans of women, the IAWS converted unevenly toward support for a specifically feminist organizational charter.

Nationally, the transition began as New Left students loudly questioned parietals in the late 1960s. As a result, some local chapters began to dispute the need for an AWS organization due to its long-term role in setting and administering rules and regulations on campuses. Instead of dissolving the organization, IAWS worked to position its chapters to connect with the emerging women's movement, a strategy Shavlik credited to Taylor:

AWS was really designed around self-governance. And when self-governance was no longer an issue, because there weren't differential rules for men and women, I think that was really the genius that Emily had was to construct a Commission on the Status of Women so that there was someone still focusing on women's issues. But, it wasn't about self-governance (anymore). (It was about) self-esteem and self-realization and self-reflection, but not self-governance.³⁸

The 1969 IAWS Convention consciously “geared our programs to the more progressive and advanced school.... All of this based on the theory that AWS should be more than a judicial body (might be a big shock to some delegations)” and worked toward replacing the parietal focus of the organization with that of women's issues.³⁹ Thus, the convention,

³⁸ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, September 20, 1997." Shavlik was involved with IAWS from 1957 when she served as Executive Secretary until 1982 when she served as National Advisor just before the organization shut its doors in 1983.

³⁹ Margaret Ingram, Letter to National Executive Board of IAWS, in Memorandum Re: IAWS Convention, 77-M126-82-M100, Box 17, Folder 153: National Conventions, 1969, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

entitled "Confrontation, Contemplation and Commitment" hosted workshops on racism, drug use, student unrest, access to graduate education, and male chauvinism.⁴⁰ The 1969 conference program greeted a number of AWS chapters which had not yet seriously considered such ideas. This was evident in the broad array of chapter displays that boasted photographs of fashion shows and bridal showers.⁴¹ However, that year the organization called for every AWS chapter in the nation to establish a Commission on the Status of Women, a resolution recommended by the KU AWS chapter.⁴² At KU, in 1968, the AWS chapter began considering divesting itself of all remaining curfew and closing hour functions, and shifting its overall goal toward women's leadership. In the fall of 1970, Taylor brought the KU AWS chapter under the umbrella of the KU CSW which had been a committee since 1958.⁴³ The efforts to establish commissions for women in

⁴⁰ Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 100.

⁴¹ Debbie Vollmer, "Campus NOW News, Clark University," April 24, 1969, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 7, Folder 16: National Organization for Women, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

⁴² AWS Council, "AWS Council Minutes," February 4, 1969, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL.

⁴³ AWS, "Elections," 1968-1969, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; AWS, "Minutes of the AWS Council," 1968, Dean of Women Chronological Files, 1966-67 - 1968-69, in RG 53/0, Box 2, Folder: 1968-69 IV, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; "Comment: Commission on the Status of Women, the University of Kansas," October, 1970, Dean of Women Chronological

place of AWS chapters followed the University of Florida and the University of Washington's withdrawal from IAWS in the spring of 1969. Both of these schools replaced their AWS chapter with a "Women's Commission" focused on women's liberation with both schools offering programming similar to that at KU.⁴⁴ These actions sounded a warning to IAWS that it would need to find a means to include women's liberation should it want to remain a viable organization after parietal dissolution.

After the 1969 convention, IAWS began work to disseminate a model program for making the change to Commissions on the Status of Women based on the KU example specifically.⁴⁵ Led by Janice Mendenhall, a KU student, the effort involved national president Evie Kenny, Laurine (Betty) Fitzgerald (IAWS National Advisor assigned through the NADW), Taylor (incoming IAWS National Advisor), IAWS Executive Director Karen Keesling (whom Taylor hired as assistant dean of women in 1971 and who lived in Lawrence by 1970) and Louise Douce, incoming IAWS president.⁴⁶ Like the efforts in practice at KU, the IAWS recommended that campus

Files, 1970-71 - 1973-74, in RG 53/0, Box 4, Folder: 1970-1971V, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; Kansas University Commission on the Status of Women, "Kansas University Commission on the Status of Women," 1970, Dean of Women Artificial Files, 1969-1970, in RG 53/0, Box 1, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁴ Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 108-109.

⁴⁵ Vollmer, "Campus NOW News, Clark University," April 24, 1969, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 7, Folder 16: National Organization for Women, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University.

⁴⁶ Janice Mendenhall, "Memorandum Re: 'How to Establish a Commission on the Status of Women'," 1969, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 4,

commissions work with NOW, the Women's Liberation Front, social sororities, YWCA, and women's honorary societies. The model program blended all women's organizations, and provided the KU research agenda from their 1969-70 KU CSW report as the recommended approach for all campus commissions. The model also recommended the sexuality seminar and high school leadership training offered at KU.⁴⁷

Adding the radical feminist viewpoint to the mix challenged some AWS chapters. IAWS students' willingness to accept such advocacy positions varied by chapter – and the organization accustomed to a formal voting structure wrestled with the informal tactics of women's liberation and the New Left. For instance, at the 1969 convention in Alabama, IAWS allowed the pre-registered YWCA to set up an information table at the proceedings, but when representatives from NOW, the National Student Association and SDS unexpectedly arrived to distribute literature, the organization refused the guests' desire to set up a booth.⁴⁸ However, at other times the organization found favor with

Folder 45: Status of Women Commissions, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass; Suzanne Bocell and Suzanne Kelly, Letter to Kansas Board of Regents, 1970, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1970-1971, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁷ Mendenhall, "Memorandum Re: 'How to Establish a Commission on the Status of Women'," 1969, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 4, Folder 45: Status of Women Commissions, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University; "How to Establish a Collegiate Commission on the Status of Women," Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1970-71, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁴⁸ Vollmer, "Campus NOW News, Clark University," April 24, 1969, Intercollegiate

more radical groups. When IAWS voted to support an open military draft for men and women in conjunction with the ERA debate in 1971, Keesling, at this time working in Taylor's office, received a letter from the George Washington University Women's Liberation group offering support, appreciative that the IAWS had requested to offer testimony to congress on the topic.⁴⁹

Along with Taylor's concept of a commission on the status of women, her preference for resolutions to define organizational purpose arose in the IAWS in 1971 when IAWS considered a number of resolutions while she served as National Advisor.⁵⁰ That year, the organization passed resolutions supporting the following positions: the equal rights amendment, education of women on the basis of equality between the sexes, repeal of abortion laws, open military draft for men and women under the ERA, birth control and venereal disease information dissemination, research on birth control health risks, in-depth sex education, preventative health education, adoption by single parents, discontinuation of discriminatory indications of marital status (suggesting Ms. in place of

Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 7, Folder 16: National Organization for Women, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University.

⁴⁹ Carol L. Vance, Letter to Karen Keesling, April 14, 1971, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 6, Folder 19: Karen Keesling, Executive Director, 1971-72, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. In her letter, Vance notes that Catherine East cautioned Vance that IAWS might prefer not to be associated with women's liberation activities.

⁵⁰ Taylor served her first term from 1970-71 to 1971-72. Janet Douglas served for less than a year in the 1972-73 school year, with Taylor serving out the remainder of the two year term until mid 1974. Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 223.

Mrs. and Miss), racial and cultural diversity understanding and representation in its groups, state voting rights at age 18, and environmental awareness programs.⁵¹ The organization proclaimed the ERA its “highest priority” and sent the chapters back to their home campuses to organize pressure on their congressmen.⁵² Schleman’s vision of cross-organization cooperation and advocacy among Deans of Women had come full circle among students with IAWS’ new resolutions and commissions reaching out to the variety of women’s student groups.

NADW and IAWS cross-pollinated, continuing the intergenerational exchange characteristic of the two organizations. The 1969 NADW Convention in Atlanta Georgia entitled “Behold! We are doing a New Thing!” presented many “new things.” Topics covering the types of projects implemented at KU – some in the 1950s – were now centering into the mainstream national agenda. Beginning with “Student Activists” (moderated by former KU Dean of Women Martha Peterson, now president of Barnard College), the programs included “Life Span Planning – For the Middle of Now,” “Student Participation in University Governance – Sense or Nonsense?” “The Black

⁵¹ The abortion resolution produced some debate and the convention changed the resolution from supporting repeal of all laws to “most” laws and also added a statement that birth control was preferable to abortion. IAWS National Convention, "Minutes of Third, Fourth, and Fifth Business Meetings," March 19-20, 1971, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 13, Folder 156: 1971, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

⁵²Dorothy Oliver, "Women Students Set Humanist Goals: Convention Held at Arlington Towers," April 6, 1972, *The Herald*, Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers, Arlington Heights, Illinois; Hanson, "Organizational Transformation," 115.

Student Movement,” “A New Morality” and “New Challenges for Intercollegiate Association of Women Students.” This last panel saw KU student Mendenhall bring forth to the national group of deans of women the idea of creating collegiate Commissions on the Status of Women.⁵³ By the next year, Barbara Cook, NADW University Section Convention Chairman, noted in a letter to Keesling as IAWS secretary:

The Dean’s Organization has long supported attitudes, programs and legislation favorable to women. There are many members of the Association who are actively engaged in some phase of the women’s movement, and all of us are searching for ways to be more effective in this area.⁵⁴

As a part of that effort, Cook organized a panel for the 1970 NADW convention entitled “Student Involvement in the Women’s Movement – Three Approaches” and invited the IAWS, NOW and the Women’s Liberation Front to present on the topic.⁵⁵ By this time, the intergenerational work so long in place between the NADW and IAWS began to be

⁵³ National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, "Convention Program: "Behold! We Are Doing a New Thing", " 1969, National Association for Women in Education, in Convention Files, Box 4, Bowling Green State University, Center for Archival Collections, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green.

⁵⁴ Barbara Cook, Letter to Executive Secretary Karen Keesling, IAWS, March 25, 1970, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 6, Folder 19: Karen Keesling, Executive Director, 1971-72, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

⁵⁵ National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, "Convnetion Program: The Educator in an Era of Social Change: Evolutionist or Revolutionist?," 1970, National Association for Women in Education, in Convention Files, Box 4, Bowling Green State University, Center for Archival Collections, National Student Affairs Archives, Bowling Green.

formally recognized as a part of the women's movement. As Taylor and Keesling noted in a letter to NADW members:

It may truly be said that women deans and women student associations have long been allies, and that this mutually supportive relationship has been and continues to be of utmost importance to both groups. On the divided campuses of today, cross-generational cooperative endeavors have a special significance, as both youth and mature women have much to learn from one another.⁵⁶

Clearly, the opportunity for exchange between young and old included the students sometimes teaching their advisors. While IAWS and NADW organization activism remained anchored in liberal feminism, radical feminist perspectives cross-pollinated with liberal approaches because of the organizations locations on college campuses.

As the national IAWS advisor, Taylor specifically sought to blend IAWS' efforts with the varied feminist standpoints of women college students in an effort to keep AWS chapters relevant for the future. Other chapters shared this belief that AWS could become a voice for the women's movement. Joan Allison, an Oklahoma chapter member, referred to her campus' work as specifically women's liberation. "I don't think there would have been any changes on our campus without our organization," she said. "We are kind of the ground level for woman's lib in that we are giving women the training and the education."⁵⁷ The intergenerational work within IAWS provides one example of the cross-pollination between younger and older women and between liberal and radical

⁵⁶ Emily Taylor and Karen Keesling, Letter to NAWDC Members, February 15, 1971, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 17, Folder 196: NAWDC, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

⁵⁷ Dorothy Oliver, "Women Students Set Humanist Goals: Convention Held at Arlington Towers," April 6, 1972, *The Herald*, in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers.

philosophies. Although the AWS chapters largely adopted liberal feminist strategies, they specifically worked to include radical feminist groups under the umbrella of the new commission model IAWS recommended to its chapters.

Feminisms and the KU Campus

Liberal and radical feminism – women’s rights and women’s liberation – mixed at the University of Kansas – just as it did in IAWS. The intergenerational connections between Taylor, NADW, and her national liberal network intermingled with students, a young staff and KU student protests for civil rights and by the New Left. The two generations influenced each other and together created the breakthrough at KU that accomplished childcare, women’s access to full health care and birth control at Watkins Memorial Hospital, the university’s adoption of an affirmative action officer, and the eventual creation of a women’s studies program on campus.

Accounts of women’s protest at KU have noted that both radical and liberal feminists existed on the campus – labeling the KU CSW as a liberal effort (sometimes linked with Taylor, and sometimes associated with the AWS without the distinct connection to the dean of women) and labeling the Women’s Coalition (WC) as the radical arm of the women’s movement.⁵⁸ While true in ways, this interpretation eclipses the cross-pollination between the groups. As staffer Janet Sears recalled, she experienced the various feminisms of the time as all connected within the dean of women’s office.

⁵⁸ Monhollon notes that: “From the beginning, women who publicly identified with the women’s liberation movement in Lawrence were divided between “liberal” and “radical” feminists. These two groups worked together cautiously to achieve common goals but always seemed to eye one another warily.” Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 188.

Taylor's early structure of providing a liaison to each women's organization paved the way for these connections in the late 1960s as the women's liberation groups worked directly with an employee of Taylor's office. Shavlik, who served on the board of the campus YWCA, worked directly with the women's liberation groups, as did Sears who worked with the WC when she followed Shavlik in the position. Both Shavlik and Sears recalled women's liberation group meetings held *in* the dean of women's office suite during which the two women acted as the staff liaison for the groups as a part of their work for Taylor.⁵⁹ By the late 1960s, it was not uncommon to find in the campus mail such publications as *The BITCH Manifesto*, and *Vocations for Social Change (Gay Folk)* addressed directly to the dean of women's office in the KU administration building, Strong Hall.⁶⁰ In addition, the bookshelves in her office included early radical feminist like Pat Mainardi's 1969 "The Politics of Housework" and what circulated as the 1968 "Florida Paper" by Beverly Jones and Judith Brown, "Toward a Female Liberation Movement."⁶¹

The WC and KU CSW overlapped inside and outside the dean of women's office suite as well. The 1971 booklet, "Women's Stuff," prepared by the WC as an informational "help guide" for women students provided a radical spin on what used to

⁵⁹ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010"; Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010."

⁶⁰ "'Feminism' October 29, 1966 - 1971," Dean of Women Papers, Emily Taylor, Subjects: Female Studies - Kansas Union, in RG 53/0, Box No. 7, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁶¹ Unknown Author, Dean of Women Subject Files, in RG 53/0, Box 7, Folder: 53/0 "Feminism" October 29, 1969 - 1971, UA, KSRL, UKL.

be the *KU Cues* from the 1950s. The booklet illustrated the intermingled tangle of connections between student activists and Taylor's branch of the administration which New Left students sometimes accepted and sometimes rejected. Throughout the guide's discussion of sexuality, and discrimination, it referenced the dean of women's office as a resource for information on abortion, birth control and job discrimination. In addition, the WC used three pages of the sixteen-page document to discuss discrimination against women within higher education, relying on the findings by the KU CSW. At the same time, "Women's Stuff" showed that women's liberation activists had an inconsistent acceptance of Taylor's role due to her location within the university administration. In the section entitled, "Women and Institutions" the guide included an entry entitled, "Dean of Women's Office" noting the office was "available to women students in or out of the dorms. They have a library of women's materials, a roster of jobs open to women, and counselling [sic] on women's problems. They can also help you if you feel you've been discriminated against because of your sex."⁶² However, just above that entry, the WC had written an overview of living in the dorms, noting that: "There are no set penalties for infractions of the rules, so "punishments" for open or discovered rule-breaking can vary from a "talk" with your resident assistant to a request that you kindly get the hell out. The Dean of Women's office tells us that every woman has a right to see and sign any disciplinary report that may be prepared on her."⁶³

⁶² Women's Coalition, "Women's Stuff," 1971, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1971-1972, UA, KSRL, UKL.

⁶³ Ibid.

Taylor's staff also overlapped with the New Left. For instance, Sears, as a member of Clergy and Laymen Against the War, decided not to pay federal taxes as a part of their national protest. As a result, an FBI officer arrived at Taylor's office looking for Sears, who was not in the office at the time.

I walked in and Emily is just steamed. Just furious that I brought the FBI into her office. She said, 'Janet, do you not remember ... that you took an oath of office to the State of Kansas?' ... She said 'You will make a decision by noon today or you will resign.' ... Of course I was a single mom getting no child support so I was going to pay him. And so just as I get up to leave, she looked up over her glasses and said, 'Do you have the money?' . . . And I knew that she would have loaned me the money . . . and that I was home free (and out of trouble).⁶⁴

Sears' recount of Taylor's reaction to her New Left protest illustrated the line Taylor walked as she negotiated between working within a publicly-funded institution and supporting an agenda for social change.

The fact that Taylor's office formed a part of the KU administration always mitigated the connections between the two feminist approaches. Taylor and her staff understood that the dean of women's office sat just down the hall from the chancellor's office and that it had to respond to the realities of existing within a publicly-funded institution of higher learning.⁶⁵ Thus, some students who advocated for wholesale radical change critiqued Taylor's approach as not strong enough.⁶⁶ Across the nation, young women involved in the liberation movement criticized liberal feminist approaches as narrow and limiting. At the same time, the collective radical groups they organized often had difficulty achieving results and often split over ideological differences. At KU, this

⁶⁴ Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010."

⁶⁵ "Co-Eds Attack Stereotyped Status of Women," in *The Wichita Eagle and Beacon*.

⁶⁶ Brune, "Interview by Author, February 12, 2011."

trend was manifested. Barb Krasne, a WC member, called the KU CSW too “structured,” but also complained that working in the WC was a “waste” by “spinning their wheels” without action.⁶⁷ Patti Spencer, a WC founder, also commented on the tension between the two types of approaches. Spencer once belonged to the sophomore women’s honorary Cwens which Taylor’s office sponsored, and which traditionally had provided women students one of the points of entry into the mentoring relationships within the dean of women’s office. Later, Spencer remarked, “I remember when we were CWENS – it was one of the few women’s organizations on campus, and you had to be a hot shot to get in it. It was just so polite, and repressed. It was just totally tight. Like being somebody’s grandmother.”⁶⁸ However, at the same time, Spencer acknowledged the WC’s difficulty in achieving goals, saying, “I think a lot of people have created alternatives, like the Coalition [WC], and had those alternatives fall apart or seem to fall apart.”⁶⁹ Both women eventually left the WC as the group experienced a split between 1972 and 1973.⁷⁰

Ironically, some in the women’s liberation groups considered the dean of women’s office the enemy and attacked the dean of women’s office despite the fact that much of the parietal structure had been dismantled. Clearly, the emerging New Left women resented the remaining parietals that Taylor quietly worked to eliminate. For example, Caroljean Brune, a freshman in 1964, who became significantly involved with

⁶⁷ Peggy Scott, “Participants Traced Women's Groups Past,” *University Daily Kansan*, October 19, 1973.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

New Left activism and women's liberation on campus, tested the narrow constraints of the parietals in her freshmen dormitory. After skipping a required AWS meeting, visiting a man's apartment for dinner, and then helping a friend sneak into the residence hall after curfew, Brune's parents had received the report of three sanctions of their daughter from Taylor's office along with a suggestion that another infraction would mean expulsion from the university. With no alternative living arrangements allowed for undergraduate women outside of university housing in 1964, Brune still maintains that she married in order to "get away from Emily Taylor" and the structure of the university's student life.⁷¹ The Women's Liberation Front (WLF) at KU also considered Taylor's office as "the enemy" due to parietals. AWS and Taylor determined in 1968-1969 that all freshmen dorms could independently decide if freshmen had curfews. However, in 1969-70 the WLF called for abolition of all freshman women's closing hours, and for sophomore women to be allowed to live off-campus without parental approval – the requirement in place at the university. WLF leader Suzanne Atkins held Taylor responsible for what were seen as unfair freshmen rules, saying "Professors treat freshmen women as adults, and so does everyone else except those people in the dean of women's office."⁷² Thus, some radical women found the constraints of organized campus living unpleasant and associated Taylor with "the system."

⁷¹ Brune, "Interview by Author, February 12, 2011."

⁷² Gary Murrell, "New K.U. Student Group Seeks End of 'Bias' against Women, in *the Kansas City Star*," No date, Dean of Women Artificial Files, 1969-1970, in RG 53/0, Box 1, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

Taylor and the KU CSW kept the organization publicly separate from women's liberation between 1969 and 1971 due to a series of events. First, the campus unrest of the period meant the chancellor and the board of regents held a heightened regard for public opinion. In fact, though not widely known, in July 1970 the regents voted to request Chalmers' resignation in a private meeting – though someone changed his or her vote leaving the chancellor precariously in his office.⁷³ Just as Chalmers faced the regents' non-confidence stance, Taylor, AWS and the WC advocated to COSA the full-fledged sexual education and women's health agenda discussed in chapter four. Both the KU CSW and the WC requested that the Student Senate allocate funds to finance sex education, and pregnancy counseling efforts in the process making the news.⁷⁴ At the same time, a young male student from a scholarship hall visited Shavlik's husband, Frank, who worked as an Assistant to the Dean of Men in Alderson's office across the hall from Taylor's suite. The student and a group of young men and women told Frank they would like to establish a gay and lesbian student group, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), with Frank and Donna as their advisors. Frank agreed, suggesting that the students next talk with staff in the dean of women's office. Frank handled the GLF request in the same manner as for any new student organization on campus, though formally recognizing alternative sexual lifestyles had never occurred at KU. As a result, within a half-an-hour of notifying Alderson of the new group, he was summoned to a

⁷³ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 179; Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

⁷⁴ "Women's Center Asks Student Fee Support," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 16, 1970; "Women's Unit Requests Funds," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 18, 1970.

meeting with Dean of Students Balfour.⁷⁵ The GLF would be controversial and eventually ended in court.⁷⁶ As news of the GLF and student sexuality fund requests traveled into the community, the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World* published a scathing editorial of the university:

[These] are just the kinds of things that parents want to hear about when they help their youngsters select a school. Because of the unrest and violence of recent months, parents and students are apprehensive about enrolling at KU, or coming back. Now we have two more excellent examples of why there is understandable concern.... [the university] is going to need all the greatness it can muster to weather the current storm without irreparable damage.⁷⁷

Between the GLF request and the funding for sex education and women's health, Taylor found herself facing university pressure again. Donna Shavlik recalled, "it didn't make her life pleasant" that she and Frank had supported the GLF student request.⁷⁸ With Chalmers flatly refusing to recognize the GLF, the sex education program also must have come under criticism, though Taylor never mentioned it.⁷⁹ She did, however, say that she

⁷⁵ Frank Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - August 22, 2010" (Estes Park, Colo.). The GLF published a document ranking various campus and community resources for gays and lesbians, calling Balfour "excellent," Taylor "most generally helpful" and the dean of men as "forget it." Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 246.

⁷⁶ See chapter seven, "Sex and Liberation," in Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*.

⁷⁷ "Two More Extremes," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, July 24, 1970.

⁷⁸ Donna Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - 22, 2010"; Frank Shavlik, "Interview by Author, August 21 - August 22, 2010."

⁷⁹ For a discussion of the GLF's efforts and Chalmers' refusal to recognize the group, see Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 178-190.

expected Chalmers would have been happy if “a whole bunch of us had dropped dead.”⁸⁰ In 1973, Eike noted the disapproval the dean of women faced over the sexuality series. She commented in the *University Daily Kansan*: ““There are still people out there who are very much against us thinking that people have sexual lives at all,’ she said. ‘And we hear from them.’”⁸¹ Another indication that the sex education work of the dean of women’s office met with controversy was a 1970 letter that the president and vice president of the KU CSW wrote to the Board of Regents to “explain the difference” between their university-sanctioned organization and women’s liberation.⁸² Noting the long history of AWS, the letter contextualized the “adult sex education program” as a part of their overall agenda, enclosing a copy of the KU CSW’s 1970-71 program. While this letter has been used to illustrate the difference in the KU CSW and the WC as the differing “brands” of feminism, it was most likely a response to the political challenges Chalmers faced with the board of regents. The overlapping work between the liberal and radical groups continued well after 1970. By the 1971-72 school year, the Women’s Liberation Collective – also called the WC – again requested student funding for abortion counseling and noted that their planned activities included holding “classes in the fall on women’s liberation and to assist the Dean of Women’s office with their seminars on sexuality.”⁸³ The WC’s informational brochure continued to list the dean of women’s

⁸⁰ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 3, 1997."

⁸¹ Scott, "Participants Traced Women's Groups Past," in *University Daily Kansan*.

⁸² Bocell and Kelly, Letter to Regents, 1970.

⁸³ Women's Liberation Collective, "Proposal for Women's Center," No date, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1971-1972, UA,

office as one of several locations for both birth control and abortion information.⁸⁴

Perhaps most tellingly, the KU CSW's November 1971 newsletter, *Comment*, opened with an editorial that blended the KU CSW's work with the purposes of the women's liberation movement.⁸⁵ The 1970 political pressure had not squashed the connections among the groups.

Liberal Tactics Give Way to Radical Action

While students involved in women's liberation paid less attention to employment equity, the KU CSW advocated a similar agenda to the national liberal feminist organizations which pressured the EEOC to enforce sex as a part of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The history of the EEOC and the federal government's slowness to enforce sex discrimination is well documented. The Justice Department pursued 45 claims of racial bias to court under the provisions of Title VII and its equivalents, but did not prosecute a single discrimination case regarding women until 1970.⁸⁶ In fact, when the EEOC first came to the KU campus in the mid-1960s, Taylor made an appointment with the investigators. They informed her that they could only work on racial

KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁸⁴ Women's Coalition, "Women's Stuff," 1971, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1971-1972, UA, KSRL, UKL.

⁸⁵ "Comment: Commisison on the Status of Women, the University of Kansas," November, 1971, Commission on the Status of Women Chronological Records, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: 1971-1972, UA, KSRL, UKL.

⁸⁶ Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 277.

discrimination complaints.⁸⁷ The work of groups in Washington D.C. to ban employment inequity occurred across the span of Taylor's service at KU. The KU CSW replicated national efforts to pressure the EEOC to change its rulings.⁸⁸ For instance, the President of AWS regularly wrote companies who advertised in the local newspaper to fill jobs exclusively for males, summarizing Title VII, and asking such companies to advertise employment opportunities without specification of sex.⁸⁹ In addition, the KU CSW also advocated for the passage of the ERA. In August 1971 during enrollment in university classes, the KU CSW handed out postcards for students to send to Kansas congressmen asking for their support of the legislation.⁹⁰

Nationally, the efforts to promote employment equity began to call into question historic pay disparities for women employed on university campuses. In 1962, President Kennedy banned sex discrimination in the civil service and in the executive branch of the government. President Johnson followed with a 1965 Executive Order 11246 which prohibited racial discrimination among federal government contractors, calling for preferential action to rectify discrimination. With the first order omitting sex discrimination, Johnson found himself under intense pressure from women's organizations – especially NOW – to add women. In 1967, Johnson complied, issuing a second directive, Executive Order 11375, which included sex and mandated preferential

⁸⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 7, 1997."

⁸⁸ Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 259-267.

⁸⁹ Mary Mitchelson, Letter to Jim Rens at Clarkson Construction Company, June 30, 1972, in RG 67/48, Box 1, Folder: July - October 1972, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁹⁰ "Women Promote Rights Amendment," *University Daily Kansan*, August 31, 1971.

action to be taken on behalf of women and minorities. The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), founded in 1968 as a more conservative NOW, and WEAL President Bernice (Bunny) Sandler used Johnson's Order to begin an onslaught against colleges and universities for employment discrimination. Sandler defined higher education institutions as subject to the Order since federal contracts funded the majority of the research efforts conducted by institutions of higher learning. By the end of 1970, WEAL had targeted 250 schools with specific charges of sex discrimination and women brought suits at more than 360 institutions.⁹¹ At the same time, feminists across the country pushed for the establishment of affirmative action offices in universities, using the threat of litigation as a lever to promote changes to salary inequities and hiring practices that excluded women.

At KU, women faculty began to organize under the new arrangements promoted by WEAL and Taylor and Keesling worked to establish a WEAL chapter in Kansas.⁹² In May 1971, Dr. Marilyn Stokstad, noted art historian, finalized a review of KU's faculty salary structure as a part of her work with the American Association of University Professors. Her research showed that at KU women faculty – as in most universities nationwide – advanced more slowly with lower pay.⁹³ In addition, the university rarely included women and minorities during the employment search process. Stokstad and four

⁹¹ Evans, *Tidal Wave*, 83.

⁹² "KU Women to Attend Convention," No date, Newspaper clipping, in Author's Collection of Emily Taylor's Papers.

⁹³ Judy Henry, "February Sisters' History Related, Demands Probed," in *University Daily Kansan*; Stokstad, "Interview by Author, July 28, 2010."

others submitted the work to Chancellor Chalmers, calling for two recommended actions.⁹⁴ First, they asked for an affirmative action plan for women to include specific goals and timetables for rectifying the inequities. Second, they requested a committee to be established in the University Senate to include a member of their AAUP committee and a student from the KU CSW to investigate employment practices on the campus.⁹⁵

Nationally, university administrations “stonewalled” as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) called for such affirmative action programs on campuses. Harvard, Columbia, the University of Michigan, and Cornell began to cooperate only when threatened with the loss of federal funding. Other schools, though, like the City University of New York, stalled for twenty months.⁹⁶ The KU administration took a wait and see attitude as well. “I can’t tell you how many times I informed Chalmers about where we were on setting up an affirmative action office...but Chalmers wouldn’t set up the search committee (for the director),” said Taylor.⁹⁷ After the AAUP recommendations to Chancellor Chalmers, the women heard little about any progress, though the administration later indicated that work was being done. In fact, at KU an all-male group of administrators worked with the office of Urban Affairs regarding an affirmative action

⁹⁴ The group submitting the report consisted of Christine Asch (French), Paul Gilles (Chemistry), Frances Ingemann (Linguistics), Delbert Shankel (Microbiology), and Stokstad. Marilyn Stokstad, "AAUP - University of Kansas Chapter Report of the Chapter's Committee (W) on the Status of Women in the Profession," May, 1971, Marilyn Stokstad Collection, in PP 470, Box 15, Folder 21: Salary Studies, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ MacLean, *Freedom Is Not Enough*, 190-191.

⁹⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

program focused on minorities.⁹⁸ The AAUP women continued their efforts. By July 1971, Chalmers wrote to the director for urban affairs, noting the “AAUP pressure” for affirmative action.⁹⁹ In November, the University Senate Executive Committee (SenEx) sent to the chancellor a list of individuals recommended to serve on an affirmative action effort.¹⁰⁰ However, Chalmers took no action to form a committee. Stokstad said at the time, “I was very disappointed in the slowness of the administration in developing an affirmative action program. If women were in the ground-work for the program, I was unaware of it. Because of my work in the AAUP and my concern for the university I offered my services to help in any way I could but was never contacted.”¹⁰¹ Others involved with AAUP confirmed Stokstad’s opinion.¹⁰² Several complained that if the administration had indeed been working on the initiative, they left Taylor out of the

⁹⁸ Philip Gary, Letter to "Gentlemen," May 28, 1971, in Affirmative Action Artificial Records, RG 8, Folder: 1971/1972 II, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

⁹⁹ E. Laurence Chalmers, Letter to Phil Gary, July 9, 1971, in Affirmative Action Artificial Records, RG 8, Folder: 1971/1972 II, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁰⁰ Robert E. Duncan, "KU Required to Submit Program Showing Equal Opportunity Plans," *University Daily Kansan*, February 9, 1972, 1.

¹⁰¹ February Sisters, "Statements of Women Faculty Released to February Sisters," February 6, 1972, Student Activities (Judy Browder), in RG 71/18, Box 5, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁰² Several faculty members agreed with Stokstad. In particular, Joan Handley, chairwoman of the Committee W of the AAUP, Juliet Schaffer and Margaret Arnold, both members of Committee W, stated they saw no evidence of administrative work to create an affirmative action program. *Ibid.*

planning. Only when HEW formally announced the affirmative action policy requirements for universities in August 1971 did the administration involve Taylor.¹⁰³ At that time, Taylor and Stokstad counseled Chalmers that he might avoid embarrassment regarding women's agitation for employment equity if he would take two actions: make a statement "asserting your good faith intentions as the leader of an Equal Opportunity Employer institution," and revise the civil rights UHRC "affirmation of principle" to include sex.¹⁰⁴ In January 1972, Chalmers had selected Associate Professor Juliette Shaffer to lead the university Affirmative Action Board on which Taylor also served. However, progress remained slow since as late as December 1971 Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs Francis Heller told AAUP Committee W that the procedures for affirmative action which they provided did not constitute an affirmative action plan to be implemented.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ February Sisters, "Position Paper of the February Sisters," February 4, 1972 (handwritten onto document), 1972, Student Activities (Judy Browder), in RG 71/18, Box 5, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.; February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁰⁴ Emily Taylor and Marilyn Stokstad, Letter to E. Laurence Chalmers, September 20, 1971, in Office of Academic Affairs, James Rosser, RG 10/1/1, Box 1, Folder: Affirmative Action until 1973 Part 3, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹⁰⁵ Francis H. Heller, Letter to Joan Handley AAUP Committee W Chairwoman, December 6, 1971, in Office of Academic Affairs, James Rosser, RG 10/1/1, Box 1, Folder: Affirmative Action until 1973 Part 3, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

At the same time, other women's issues remained unresolved on campus. For instance, the university had not answered requests from various women's groups for child care or the women's health needs discussed in chapter four. Women faculty, graduate students and undergraduates alike were ready for change. When the Union lecture series, the Minority Opinion Forum, hosted Robin Morgan on campus on February 2, 1972, the union ballroom could not contain the crowd of over 300.¹⁰⁶ Morgan, a member of the New York Radical Women who handled much of the coordination of the famous Miss America Pageant protest of 1968 that popularized the term "bra-burner," espoused a strident view of radical feminism. In a meeting with Morgan after her speech, 100 women decided it was time to try radical tactics to force administrative change.¹⁰⁷

Meeting again the next day, on February 3, this group drafted a set of demands and determined that twenty women and four children would occupy the East Asian Studies building on the evening of Friday, February 4.¹⁰⁸ Calling themselves the "February Sisters, their "Statement of Action" included "non-negotiable demands" of an affirmative action program, a free university-sponsored day care center, the hiring of a woman for the open position of vice chancellor of academic affairs, and the appointment of women into the offices of financial aid and admissions to insure equitable scholarship awards and enrollment efforts. They also called for an end to wage disparity between

¹⁰⁶ Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 127.

¹⁰⁷ Henry, "February Sisters' History Related, Demands Probed," in *University Daily Kansan*.

¹⁰⁸ "The February Sisters," Personal Papers of Marilyn Stokstad, in PP 470, Box 15, Folder 21: Salary Studies UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

male and female university employees, and a women's health program providing free pelvic examinations and access to birth control and an active counseling service on reproductive issues that Watkins Hospital had refused to offer. Finally, they called for an autonomous women's studies department.

Also on Thursday, February 3, a group of faculty women met to discuss the stalling tactics of the administration regarding the affirmative action planning. These women belonged to the "committee W" of the AAUP, which had been instrumental in the faculty salary study. They drafted a "strong letter" to Chalmers expressing their concerns, and delivered it on Friday.¹⁰⁹ Rumors of student protest also circulated Friday.¹¹⁰ Amidst these events, the KU News Bureau released a statement from Chalmers dated Friday, February 4, announcing steps to advance equal opportunity for women and minorities. Immediately, the university changed the Office of Urban Affairs to the Office of Minority Affairs, and established a position for a woman member of the faculty to report directly to the chancellor on hiring equity. Chalmers also created an Advisory Committee on Affirmative Action, which he indicated had begun with vice chancellors several weeks before.¹¹¹ That same day, Chalmers called Elizabeth Banks, Associate Professor of

¹⁰⁹ February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹¹⁰ February Sisters, "Press Release, 9:00, February 5, 1972," 1972, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹¹¹ KU News Bureau, February 4, 1972, Office of Student Affairs, in RG 76/0, Box 4,

Classics, and offered her the faculty position mentioned in the press release. Banks reportedly expressed surprise at the offer as she “was unaware that she was being considered” and declined the role the next week.¹¹²

Also on Friday afternoon, Sears received a call from one of the women’s liberation students with whom she worked regularly who had joined with the February Sisters.¹¹³ She asked Sears to take the list of demands to the university administration. After the FBI incident, Sears did not want to surprise Taylor again, so she called Taylor to tell her she was planning to take the document to the administration. Sears recalled that she was one of several who had shared the news with Taylor. Ironically, Sears had to secure child care for her daughter before she went to deliver the “statement of action.” That evening, the women took over the building.¹¹⁴

The identities of the February Sisters largely remained private at the request of the women who feared reprisals. At least four of the group had previous protest experience.

Folder: February Sisters 51/0 2/4/1972 - 2/17/1972, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹¹² Banks declined the position offered by Chalmers. "Women's Affairs Post Declined, Remains Open," *University Daily Kansan*, February 10, 1972; February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹¹³ Robinson recalled that some of the women involved in the February Sisters had traveled with her to a YMCA/YWCA conference at the University of Wisconsin before she worked for Taylor. Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010."

¹¹⁴ "The February Sisters," Personal Papers of Marilyn Stokstad, in PP 470, Box 15, Folder 21: Salary Studies UA, KSRL, UKL.

Mary (Maher) Coral, married to a professor, chaired the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Sarah Scott, a student, participated in the KU-Y activities and traveled with Sears to the University of Wisconsin for a conference when the campus was bombed in 1970. Christine Leonard, a single mother, actively involved herself in Vietnam War and civil rights protests. Also, Taylor's critic, Caroljean Brune, participated. A mother of two, SDS member and member of the WILPF, Brune had significant protest experience and experienced her first arrest in 1964 during the Strong Hall civil rights sit-in.¹¹⁵ Out of fear of a police informant, only three women knew which building had been chosen for occupation, and the coordinated efforts to secure the building and arrange for food and provisions illustrated the women's organizing skills.¹¹⁶ Eike provided the February Sisters with food stores for a week, taking the majority of it from Taylor's kitchen in her home, knowing that Taylor would not sanction her for the action.¹¹⁷

Chalmers, originally at a bridge party at his home, reportedly ignored the anonymous telephone call he received informing him of the takeover, thinking it a

¹¹⁵ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 202; Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003"; Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010"; Brune, "Interview by Author, February 12, 2011."

¹¹⁶ Brune, "Interview by Author, February 12, 2011"; February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹¹⁷ Eike, "Telephone Interview by Author, February 27, 2011."

prank.¹¹⁸ By 9:15 that night, he summoned Taylor to his office at Strong Hall. Taylor asked five women to join her as a “negotiating team.”¹¹⁹ Included in that group were Stokstad and Banks.¹²⁰ They took no one with them whom they felt the administration could later punish, involving women who had already received tenure.¹²¹ Shortly after 10:00 pm, the AAUP chapter at KU announced their support of the February Sisters effort.¹²² Once in the chancellor’s office, Chalmers and the university administrative

¹¹⁸ February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL; Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 128; Bob Womack, "Chalmers Concerned over Women's Lib Assertions," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 16, 1972. Lieberman published that Brune remembered Taylor attending the bridge party at the chancellor’s home. However, Brune told me that she did not believe Taylor had attended the bridge party. Taylor did not indicate attending the Chancellor’s home either. Lieberman, *Prairie Power*, 253.

¹¹⁹ "The February Sisters," Personal Papers of Marilyn Stokstad, in PP 470, Box 15, Folder 21: Salary Studies UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹²⁰ February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹²¹ Stokstad, "Interview by Author, July 28, 2010"; February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹²² "The February Sisters," Personal Papers of Marilyn Stokstad, in PP 470, Box 15,

executive board, SenEx, requested that Taylor and the negotiating team convince the February Sisters to leave the building. The women refused. Taylor recalled Chalmers repeatedly coming out from meeting with SenEx and threatening to drag the sisters out of the building. Each time, Taylor told Chalmers that the TV cameras would capture the images for the state – and the board of regents – to see. Chalmers would return to talk with the SenEx. “Then he would come out again and say ‘I’ll give them 10 more minutes.’” Taylor would remind him of the TV cameras and the publicity each time.¹²³ Eventually, the women were split up into different offices, and Chalmers “brow beat” Stokstad to make a call to the East Asian building. Stokstad recalled sitting in a secretary’s office where she had been “plopped,” stoically ignoring the chancellor’s raised voice and him pounding on the desk to emphasize his points.¹²⁴ Finally, Chalmers asked the women to tell the Sisters that the university already had instigated activities that would fulfill their demands.¹²⁵ They declined, but offered to coordinate a negotiation if the SenEx and Chalmers would agree to talk with representatives of the Sisters without reporters or reprisals. After midnight, Banks delivered the message and suggested the Sisters accept the offer to negotiate directly with the chancellor and his advisors. The Sisters elected a committee and an advisor, Banks, and arrived in Strong Hall. One of the negotiators was Leonard, who remembered “the look on the faces of the male

Folder 21: Salary Studies UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹²³ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

¹²⁴ Stokstad, "Interview by Author, July 28, 2010."

¹²⁵ Ibid; Bonnie Dunham, "Dinner to Commemorate 'February Sisters'," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 1, 1987, 1.

administrators when she declared the Sisters were “not just students. We’re employees, and we’re faculty wives.’ This ripple of energy went out. You could see every man there deciding whether he knew where his wife was.”¹²⁶ In the first round of discussions, the SenEx indicated possible police action and provided no assurances of changes to university policy. The women returned to the East Asian Studies building with Banks and discussed the negotiations with the other February Sisters. The group decided that they would remain in the building unless the SenEx agreed to a daycare center and the women’s health initiatives. The negotiating group returned to Strong Hall where the SenEx eventually agreed to sign resolutions regarding these two demands.¹²⁷

By 9:00 a.m. the next morning the Sisters left the East Asian building – their peers coming to the building with balloons to surround it so that it was difficult to tell who had been inside the building for the occupation.¹²⁸ With very little drama, the group achieved progress. Looking back from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, the February Sisters achieved the majority of their goals. However, projects moved at various paces. For instance, action on daycare skidded to a halt when the student senate turned down the February Sisters’ request for child care funding. Soon, however, the group

¹²⁶ Quoted from Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 202.

¹²⁷ February Sisters, "A History of the Seizure and Occupation of the East Asian Studies Building by the February Sisters, or, What It Takes to Make Men Move," No date, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL; "The February Sisters," Personal Papers of Marilyn Stokstad, in PP 470, Box 15, Folder 21: Salary Studies UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹²⁸ "The February Sisters," Personal Papers of Marilyn Stokstad, in PP 470, Box 15, Folder 21: Salary Studies UA, KSRL, UKL.

produced a petition for childcare with over 1700 signatures. And, by the fall of 1972, the Hilltop Child Development Center began daycare for approximately 50 children on campus.¹²⁹ The protest also prompted creation of a women's studies curriculum, rather than a formal department. Taylor and some other faculty members opposed the creation of a separate department because it would isolate women faculty.¹³⁰ Also, the Sisters brought attention to promotion of women faculty, and within a year, the chancellor had promoted Stokstad to be the first woman Associate Dean of the college of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Also, a woman served as the head of the Affirmative Action Board and another served as a member of the search committee for the new chancellor.¹³¹

Also in February, meetings began in earnest regarding women's health services and sex education counseling. Taylor appointed Sears to the committee, and the group worked to insure that Watkins Hospital no longer defined full physical examinations as

¹²⁹ Monhollon, *This Is America?*, 206; February Sisters, "The February Sisters' Demands: A Progress Report," 1973, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹³⁰ The committee meetings regarding the women's studies program met in Taylor's office suite. Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

¹³¹ February Sisters, "The February Sisters' Demands: A Progress Report," 1973, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL. Stokstad does not associate her appointment to Associate Dean as resulting from the February Sisters incident, and the "Progress Report" cited above also notes that these changes were not "a direct result of the demands" made by the February Sisters. Marilyn Stokstad, Electronic Mail to Author, February 23, 2011, Regarding Appointment as Associate Dean in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

based on a male normative body with gynecological exams considered an “extra” service.¹³² Schwegler continued to suggest that funding prevented the hospital from complying and that it would be impossible to hire an obstetrics and gynecologist in order to meet the demands.¹³³ However, the hospital soon began a process for handling all student requests for contraception and discontinued the morality lectures about which the women had so often complained. Schwegler also offered his staff to write a weekly health column for the university paper, and continued to cite lack of financing as the reason for the women’s health deficits.¹³⁴ Despite these concessions, Schwegler continued to question the changes as he asked all doctors to report any complaints regarding the new procedures so that he could report them to Balfour and Taylor.¹³⁵ A year after the Sisters’ action, the dean of women’s office and the Women’s Coalition continued to provide the counseling services regarding birth control, sex education and

¹³² Sears Robinson, "Interview by Author, August 20, 2010."

¹³³ Raymond A. Schwegler, Letter to William Balfour, February 9, 1972, in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: February Sisters 51/0 2/4/1972 - 2/17/1972, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence.

¹³⁴ Elaine Zimmerman, "Schwegler Views Sisters Demands," 1972, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan.

¹³⁵ Raymond Schwegler, "Memorandum to All Watkins Hospital Doctors," 1972, Office of Student Affairs, in RG 76/0, Box 4, Folder: February Sisters 51/0 2/4/1972 - 2/17/1972, UA, KSRL, UKL, Lawrence, Kan. Eighteen years later, Schwegler stated that he felt the February Sisters did not need to protest to achieve their outcome, noting that he thought the change would have happened without their activism. "Six Demands That Never Left Campus," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, March 2, 1990.

problem pregnancies as the university health center had not yet adopted these practices. However, a year after the protest, Schwegler had resigned as director.¹³⁶

Chalmers continued to maintain that his administration had already begun significant work on Affirmative Action before the Sisters' February 4 protest. In addition, he noted that KU joined many universities in waiting to act on HEW guidelines saying in one *Lawrence Daily Journal-World* article "[P]erhaps 12 of the 2,500 or so American colleges and universities have developed affirmative action programs – our 'neglect' is the rule rather than the exception." Despite these contentions, the university had acted slowly until the combined actions of the AAUP and the February Sisters pushed Chalmers to finally institute changes. Aside from the decisions he made on February 4 before the building take over, the Monday morning following the Sister's action Chalmers called Taylor to ask her to chair a group to advertise for an Affirmative Action Officer. He also asked Taylor to suggest people for the committee. She held a meeting that afternoon and they quickly hired a local woman, Shirley Gilham, who was the group's top choice for the position.¹³⁷ Eike recalled researching affirmative action policies for Taylor and that the two of them together wrote the university affirmative action policy that was eventually adopted for use in Gilham's office.¹³⁸ Finally, on

¹³⁶ February Sisters, "The February Sisters' Demands: A Progress Report," 1973, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL; University of Kansas, "Deaths."

¹³⁷ Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 1, 1997"; February Sisters, "The February Sisters' Demands: A Progress Report," 1973, Emily Taylor Women's Resource Center, in RG 76/3, Box 9, Folder: History of Women February Sisters, UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹³⁸ Eike, "Telephone Interview by Author, February 27, 2011."

February 16, Chalmers announced an Affirmative Action Board, chaired by a woman, to craft the university's response to the HEW requirements. The board included Taylor and February Sister Sarah Scott.¹³⁹ When one committee member, African-American Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs James Rosser, suggested expanding the effort to include race, Taylor recalled Scott indicating the February Sisters preferred the focus remain on women. Taylor backed her, cognizant that in 1964 she had agreed that sex be excluded from the civil rights arrangements. "I said, 'No. We're not going to broaden it. This is a women's thing. We didn't broaden by sex when it was a racial matter in 1964, and we're not going to do this now.'"¹⁴⁰ The response angered Rosser who left the committee room.¹⁴¹ Taylor later acknowledged that she supported the sole focus on sex because in 1964 "[T]hey talked me into [leaving out the word 'sex'], and I've always resented it and been annoyed at myself for letting them do it." However, at the same time, she noted, "[O]f all the arguments that people get themselves into, I can't think of one that is more unprepossessing than to fight among disadvantaged people as to who's the most disadvantaged."¹⁴² Obviously, in this case, the women involved did not proceed as such.

The February Sisters' radical tactics, combined with the efforts of faculty women to create change for women's status at KU. The efforts between the Sisters, the AAUP

¹³⁹ "KU Appoints Affirmative Action Board," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 16, 1972.

¹⁴⁰ Taylor, "Interview by Author, No date."

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

and Taylor and her staff were cross-generational and integrated women holding diverse opinions regarding sexism and equity. While some radical women like Brune felt Taylor never advocated enough, Taylor clearly lent her influence and that of her office to push for change. In fact, in a February Sisters newspaper advertisement a few days after the takeover, the women listed Taylor's office telephone number as one of the three places to call for information.¹⁴³ Despite disagreements over tactics, coalitions between the various women's groups functioned before and after the February Sisters – especially through the Whistlestop efforts discussed in chapter four.

Taylor, however, stayed wedded to her liberal tactics working for change from within the university. In one of the February Sisters' position papers, the women expressed outrage that Chalmers planned to speak at an American Association of Higher Education conference in Chicago regarding "achieving equity for women." Chalmers asked several women faculty for their comments on the text of the address he intended to present.¹⁴⁴ Two of the women stopped in to see Taylor about it, saying that it was terrible speech and returned the manuscripts to Chalmers marked with critical comments. Taylor recalled going to a meeting before she had read her copy and Balfour pulling her aside:

¹⁴³ February Sisters, "Do You Need Child Care?," *University Daily Kansan*, February 17, 1972, 8. The advertisement lists 864-3552 as a contact number. This is the same phone number of the Dean of Women's letterhead as seen in: Office of the Dean of Women, "Women's Security Meeting," February 20, 1974, Dean of Women Subject Files, in RG 53/0, Box 10, Folder: Whistlestop, UA, KSRL, UKL.

¹⁴⁴ February Sisters, "Position Paper of the February Sisters," February 4, 1972 (handwritten onto document), 1972, Student Activities (Judy Browder), in RG 71/18, Box 5, UA, KSRL, UKL; Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 5, 1997."

Bill Balfour said to me, “Well, I just came from the chancellor’s office. You know, we’ve had our differences, but I couldn’t help feeling sorry for him.... He had these papers [from the women faculty] out in front of him. I suppose you’re going to do the same thing.” And I said, “Well, I haven’t had a chance to read it yet, but what I’ve just glanced at, so far, it certainly needs a lot of work.” And he said, “Would you help him? Would you just do that? Would you do it for me, regardless of how you feel about him? I just feel sorry for him.” ... And I went home and I remember eating something [so] it was about six o’clock and I sat down with that paper. I finished it at seven o’clock in the morning. ... But, you see, it would have been easy to rewrite, that would not have been a problem. The problem was I was trying to save his face so I said things like, “As a psychologist you may want to say, instead of such and such, you may want to put it this way” and then I’d write out something like this. So in essence I rewrote it... in the form of suggestions to him. And I also explained to him why that, this would be largely an audience of women undoubtedly who would come to this, and why they would resent or how they would react to certain things that he had in there, because he just couldn’t keep out his flippancy. And so I took it up to the office, it was 18 pages long, and I had two or three secretaries take parts of it and type it up. And then I took it down and gave it to his secretary. I didn’t hear a word from him all day long. And then about four o’clock that afternoon, I got a note from him...saying “I think you will see how your wisdom has not been wasted.” I wish I’d kept that note. That’s one of the few notes I wish I had...Afterwards [after Chalmers spoke at the conference], I got a telephone call from a woman at the University of Minnesota saying, “I think I heard your words.” There’s a real temptation to lash out a people who do dumb things that are inimical to the interests of women, but sometimes you get farther if you don’t do it that way and really try to help them understand.¹⁴⁵

Despite the women faculty members’ outrage at the chancellor speaking nationally on sex equity when KU had not adopted affirmative action policies, Taylor took an educational approach, rewriting the speech in a way that Chalmers might learn from her comments.

A liberal feminist to the core, Taylor appreciated the radical tactics that made her forceful, but incremental, approach more acceptable to KU administrators. Always loyal to the institution for which she worked, Taylor recounted that she felt equivocal that she did not try to stop the February Sisters’ takeover. “I was always very loyal to the institution that I worked for – in a way it was a black eye on the institution. And, I don’t

¹⁴⁵ Emily Taylor, "Interview by Author, July 5, 1997."

know if I could have stopped it as I didn't know which building it was. That's one thing I didn't want to know – which building it was.”¹⁴⁶ She did not know the women's list of demands either, nor did she discourage the women from taking the action. She, like many of the faculty women who worked on the employment equity studies, felt that “we'd tried every other way of getting it done.”¹⁴⁷ In the end, at KU, the combination of older and younger women activists employing liberal and radical strategies achieved lasting change at the university.

¹⁴⁶ Taylor, "Interview by Author, December 13-14, 2003."

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

Conclusion: KU, A “Longer, Quieter Road” for Feminist Action

When the February Sisters vacated the East Asian Studies building on the morning of February 5, 1972, the women had little idea they would become symbols of radical feminist action in the American heartland.¹ However, the February Sisters also represent the “longer, quieter road” of feminism in the United States. A combination of radical and liberal feminist action brought the KU chancellor to initiate changes the Sisters demanded for women on the campus. The AAUP Committee W, Taylor, the AWS (and later the KU CSW), Taylor’s staff, and the radical protestors who barricaded the doors of the East Asian building all contributed to the changes that resulted in institutional recognition of women’s equity, women’s sexuality, and policies that enabled women to pursue roles in both the public and private spheres. The radical tactics of taking over a university hall pushed KU administrators to consider more readily the requests that liberal feminists also called for within the structure of the university. Clearly, the achievement of the Sisters’ demands after the takeover occurred due to the influence and organization Taylor and her staff had built within the KU administration as they shepherded the February Sisters’ requests through the bureaucracy of the university.

Like the histories of the New Left, historians tracing radical feminists tend to see the activism as developing on the nation’s coasts and later moving toward the center of the country. In addition, the narrative often suggests that on college campuses, young women came to feminist consciousness in civil rights and the New Left. While this provided one path to adopting an activist approach to women’s equity, it was not the only

¹ Both Monhollon and Bailey covered the February Sisters action as such.

route. The events at KU illustrate that the early intergenerational influence of liberal feminism as expressed by Taylor and NADW, combined with young women involved in civil rights and the New Left, to create radical expressions of activism in the final removal of parietals, the February Sisters, Whistlestop, creation of one of the first rape crisis centers in the country, sex education and early unplanned pregnancy counseling. From 1956 through 1965, Taylor and her employees worked behind the scenes to support some civil rights initiatives. And her staff, branching out across living units, also reached into student organizations – most significantly the KU-Y – linking the work of the dean of women’s office with the early Christian civil rights and New Left efforts which have been shown as a key element of Midwestern student protest.²

For Taylor, Kate Hevner Mueller played an instrumental role in defining her thinking on women’s education – and placing her among a small group of women committed to using women’s education to produce social change. When she arrived at KU in 1956, she already questioned women’s socially-defined role in the private sphere, and its suggestion women belonged out of the public realm. She strongly resisted society’s definition of women as biologically determined for home life, and recognized parietals and women’s gender roles as fictions that purported to protect women –but often did not do so. The examples she saw in her education and career clearly showed her that women’s husbands died, marriages ended in divorce, women experienced unplanned pregnancies both in and out of wedlock, and that parietals did not prevent rape or sexual harassment. Taylor implemented Mueller’s philosophy for women’s higher education at KU as an instrument of social change to eliminate parietals, and to provide women with

² Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*.

the information and decision-making skills to consider their own paths without relying on convention and social custom. As such, she steered a number of women into significant careers and motivated others to combine marriage and work. Significantly, she and her staff brought traditionally taboo topics regarding sexuality into public discussion, facing criticism as they did so.

To create such initiatives in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Taylor worked incrementally. Within the context of holistic student personnel counseling, Taylor saw the women's narrow focus on parietals as a barrier that required removal before women students could reach their full potential. Taylor used student government to advance a feminist agenda that questioned gender roles and their manifestation as formal rules and regulations. As an administrator, she seeded the women's movement at KU despite resistance from students who had adopted the culture of *in loco parentis* and believed they needed to be supervised by others rather than making their own personal decisions. Taylor used student deference to her authority to remove the regulations by challenging women students to reconsider the rules that governed their actions, constructed their gender identities, and circumscribed their place on campus and in society. At a state-funded institution like KU, Taylor had to advance these changes in a manner that could be accepted by Kansas citizens. As such, she began a series of "experiments" and promoted their success as proof the system of regulations could be eliminated. By 1966, her activity overlapped with student protests at other campuses like Berkeley. Her work set an example for other schools as the senior key plan interested other campuses, and the KU hours changes became a template for IAWS chapters across the country.³ These

³ The campus paper at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, published an editorial

cultivated “experiments” were minor, incremental steps toward social change that show how feminist activism took place in the consensus culture of the 1950s and early 1960s on a college campus before the social disruptions of the counter-culture and New Left erupted across the nation. Taylor trod slowly, proved her success, and then enlarged the project to work toward her goal. It was a liberal feminist strategy that worked in the heartland of the United States.

Historians have long relied upon the useful divisions of liberal and radical feminism help to frame the varied approaches tested during the chaos of the social upheaval that characterized the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, this categorization eclipses the longer road for feminist activism before the establishment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and NOW – before Betty Friedan arrived on the scene – because it hides the intergenerational dialectic between younger and older women where feminism grew throughout the postwar years across the varying philosophies and tactics. The role women’s organizations like NADW, the AAUW and IAWS played in fostering feminist

that called for the dean of women on its campus to consider the same program for its students in "Dorm Keys for Senior Women"; Margaret Tietze Senior Privilege Chairman of KU AWS Chapter, "The University of Kansas Senior Privilege Plan 1965-66," No date, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, in 77-M126-82-M100, Box 4, Folder 17: Hours, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University; Margaret Lahey, Letter to Taylor, November 12, 1960; Anne Ward, Letter to Taylor, December 3, 1960; Dave Haseltine, Letter to Taylor, December 16, 1960; Virginal Lackley, Letter to Taylor, February 4, 1963; Mary Helen Flentge, Letter to Taylor, January 8, 1964; Bettie Weaver, Letter to Taylor, March 3, 1964; Raymond C. Kirtland, Letter to Stroup, February 11, 1965; Patti Teel, Letter to Board, February 11, 1965.

attitudes becomes largely invisible under the “double wave” narrative version of the women’s movement. In fact, Helen Schleman, dean of women at Purdue and President of NADW during the mid 1960s, looked back to the association’s 1952 choice to create the Commission on the Education of Women at the American Council on Education as *the* moment that women’s resistance in the second wave began:

one would also have difficulty identifying any other efforts that’s, that has greater claim to distinction of being the starting point of the revolution, than NAWDC’s [NADW’s] deliberate choice to recommend, with an irresistible accompanying bonus of \$50,000, the creation of the Commission on the Education of Women with the established and educationally accepted framework of the American Council on Education.⁴

Schleman, whom Eleanor Roosevelt tapped to serve on the education committee of the President’s Commission on the Status of Women, was uniquely situated to use hindsight to see how the connections between the ACE work, the Women’s Bureau, and the efforts to educate young women co-mingled in the creation of a broader adoption of feminist principles. While Schleman’s assertion overstates the organization’s role, it does clearly remind historians that the efforts within women’s organizations propagated the popularity of the movement for the late 1960s. Just as American feminism had always been linked to educated women, NADW clearly played a central role in fostering the next generation of advocates.⁵

⁴ Gangone, "The National Association for Women in Education: An Enduring Legacy," 11-12.

⁵ The similarities between the NADW / CEW approach and the women’s activism of the late 1960s is also credited in Hartmann, "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-*

The links between Mueller, NADW, IAWS and Taylor show one of the “longer, quieter” paths for feminism between suffrage and “the sixties.” In higher education, the women’s organizations which Cott showed carried the feminist impulse forward after 1920 also provided a route for older women to introduce young women to feminist ideals as a cross-generational exchange. Because few have studied the now defunct position of “dean of women” in higher education, the specific connections between these women and the unrest of the 1960s on college campuses have been eclipsed at the very least in the case of the University of Kansas. Such a finding suggests further consideration of other universities. If, as the NADW and IAWS records suggest, other campuses equally fostered feminist intergenerational exchange, it would further bring into question whether the metaphor of the first and second waves of the women’s movement provides an accurate reflection of the historical reality of feminism in the United States. While suffrage and “the sixties” certainly attracted wider and more popular support among American women, feminism had not disappeared during the gap between these two periods.

Bailey’s work on the sexual revolution at KU notes that Taylor must have been supportive of the women’s changes in order to assure their success. However, Bailey suggests that the students “co-opted” the administration’s philosophy regarding creation of responsible cold war adults to advocate for their own rule changes. By taking this view, Bailey misses the early instigation of the rule elimination by Taylor. In addition, Bailey argues that the AWS followed “closely upon the highly visible actions of the Student Responsibility Movement (SDS)” and that students “broke with tradition” by

1960, ed. Meyerowitz.

asserting that AWS “allowed them to *make* the rules, not just to fine-tune them.” In this interpretation, Bailey does not see the earlier efforts Taylor initiated to eliminate parietals, nor does Bailey consider how the dean of women’s office instigated opportunities for the students to define their own regulations as early as the 1959 AWS rules convention. As such, Bailey’s work provides an example of the interpretative challenges that arise when scholars focus on what Stansell calls “the combustion of the late 1960s,” without an eye to the quiet feminism before the sexual revolution and the social turbulence of civil rights and the New Left.⁶

This dissertation catalogs the unfolding of liberal and radical feminist action and intergenerational collaboration as one example of how feminism, the New left and civil rights overlapped and developed on one university campus. This KU example suggests scholars consider a more nuanced approach to social change at universities by contemplating how a university administration both blocked and enabled social change. The efforts at KU were not one-way initiatives from the students. In addition, the national reach of IAWS and NADW suggests these interactions between women administrators and women students materialized in other areas of the country. Not all deans of women possessed the forceful feminism of Taylor, but she certainly was not unique as women like Dorothy Truax illustrate. In summary, Taylor’s case illustrates that the usual higher education history regarding campus protest may need to be recast to allow for more administrator involvement. At KU, Taylor fostered an environment amenable to women’s liberation, and pulled women students into the protest against *in loco parentis* before such student resistance had gained ground nationally. The temptation to focus on the chaos of

⁶ Stansell, *The Feminist Promise*, 212.

the late 1960s and early 1970s has eclipsed the quieter road for feminist action. Or, as in a quotation Taylor often used from Ellen Goodman: “Anyone who’s spent a lot of time white water rafting down the river of social change gets to see a lot of ironies washed up on the banks.” Taylor liked the analogy of white water rafting. “Sometimes it’s a whole lot more rapid than others. You can go for a long time with not much change,” said Taylor. However, it is important to consider the calm waters as well as the breaking ones. NADW, IAWS, and the KU AWS show how the calm and the rapid combined to create social change.

Appendix A - Abbreviations

AAUW	American Association of University Women
ACE	American Council on Education
ASC	All Student Council
AWS	Associated Women Students (later Association of Women Students)
BPW	National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
BSU	Black Student Union
CEW	Commission on the Education of Women
CRC	Civil Rights Council
CORE	Committee of Racial Equality
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
GLF	Gay Liberation Front
HEW	Department of Health, Education and Welfare
IAWS	Intercollegiate Associated Women Students (later Intercollegiate Association of Women Students – national umbrella organization to AWS chapters)
IRC	Inter-Residents Council (a women's dormitory governance council at KU)
IU	Indiana University
KU	University of Kansas

KUCA	KU Committee for Alternatives
KU CSW	University of Kansas Commission on the Status of Women
LWV	League of Women Voters (formerly NAWSA)
NACW	National Association of Commissions for Women
NADW	National Association of Deans of Women
NASPA	National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (formerly the National Association of Deans of Men)
NAWDAC	National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (formerly NADW)
NAWDC	National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (formerly NADW)
NAWE	National Association of Women Educators (formerly NADW)
NAWSA	National American Woman Suffrage Association
NCCWSL	National Conference for College Women Student Leaders
NIP	National Identification Project (ACE program)
NMC	National Manpower Council
NOW	National Organization for Women
NWP	National Woman's Party
OSU	Ohio State University
ROTC	Reserve Officer Training Corps
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SenEx	University Senate Executive Committee
SIECUS	Sexuality Information Council of the United States

SPU	Student Peace Union
UHRC	University Human Relations Committee
WC	Women's Coalition
WEAL	Women's Equity Action League
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZPG	Zero Population Growth

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