

APPENDIX: STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS
IN THE UNITED STATES

State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
Ala.	1907	Daphne	State Normal School (Closed)	
	1873	Florence	State Normal School; State Normal College (1889); State Normal School (1912); State Teachers College (1929); State College (194?); University of North Alabama (1967)	
	1875	Normal	State Normal School for Colored Students; State Normal and Industrial School (1885); State Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes (1896); State Agricultural and Mechanical Institute for Negroes (1919); Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College (1948); Alabama A & M University (1969)	African American
	1883	Jacksonville	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1929); State College (1947); Jacksonville State University (1966)	
	1883	Livingston	State Normal College (for Girls); Alabama Normal College (1900; coeducational beginning in 1900); State Normal School (1907); State Teachers College (1929); State College (1957); Livingston University (1969)	Women
1873	Montgomery	Lincoln Normal University (located in Marion, 1873–1887); State Colored Normal School (1886); State Teachers College (1929); State College (1946); Alabama State University (1969)	African American	

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
	1910 1887	Moundville Troy	State Normal College; State Normal School (1912) (Closed) State Normal School; State Normal College (1893); State Normal School (1911); State Teachers College (1927); State College (1957); Troy State University (1967)	
Alaska	Alaska did not establish state normal schools.			
Ariz.	1899	Flagstaff	Northern Arizona Normal School; Northern State Teachers College (1925); Northern State College (1945); Northern Arizona University (1966)	
	1886	Tempe	Territorial Normal School/Normal School of Arizona; State Teachers College (1925); Arizona State College (1945); Arizona State University (1958)	
Ark.	1908	Conway	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1925); State College (1967); University of Central Arkansas (1975)	
	1876	Pine Bluff	Branch Normal College (of Arkansas Industrial University); Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal School (1921); Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College (1928); University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff (1972)	African American
Calif.	1914	Arcata	Humboldt State Normal School; Humboldt State Teachers College (1921); Humboldt State College (1935); Humboldt State University (1972)	
	1889	Chico	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1935); California State University at Chico (1972)	

	1911	Fresno	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1935); California State University at Fresno (1972)
	1882	Los Angeles	State Normal School (Closed in 1919; site became first location of University of California at Los Angeles)
	1898	San Diego	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1935); San Diego State University (1972)
	1899	San Francisco	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1935); California State University at San Francisco (1972)
	1862	San Jose	State Normal School (located in San Francisco, 1862–1871); State Teachers College (1921); State College (1935); San Jose State University (1972)
	1910	Santa Barbara	State Normal School of Manual Arts and Home Economics; State Normal School (1919); State Teachers College (1921); State College (1935); College of the University of California (1944); University of California at Santa Barbara (1958)
Colo.	1890	Greeley	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1911); State College of Education (1935); University of Northern Colorado (1957)
	1901	Gunnison	State Normal School; Western State College of Colorado (1923)
Conn.	1904	Danbury	State Normal (Training) School; State Teachers College (1937); State College (1959); Western Connecticut State University (1983)
	1850	New Britain	State Normal (Training) School; Teachers College of Connecticut (1933); Central Connecticut State College (1959); Central Connecticut State University (1983)

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
	1893	New Haven	State Normal (Training) School; State Teachers College (1937); Southern State College (1959); Southern Connecticut State University (1983)	
	1889	Willimantic	State Normal (Training) School; State Teachers College (1937); Eastern State College (1959); Eastern Connecticut State University (1983)	
Del.	Delaware did not establish state normal schools.			
Fla.	1887	DeFuniak Springs	State Normal College/State Normal School for White Students (Merged with Florida State College in Tallahassee in 1905)	
	1887	Tallahassee	State Normal School for Colored Teachers; State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students (1891); State Normal and Industrial School (1903); Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes (1909); Florida A & M University (1953)	African American
Ga.	1917	Albany	Georgia Normal and Agricultural College; State College (1943); Albany State University (1996)	African American
	1890	Milledgeville	State Normal and Industrial College; State College for Women (1922); Women's College of Georgia (1961); Georgia College (1967); Georgia College & State University (1996)	Women
	1913	Valdosta	Southern State Normal College; State Women's College (1922); State College (1950); Valdosta State University (1993)	

Hawaii	1896	Honolulu	Territorial Normal and Training School (Merged with University of Hawaii in 1931 as University of Hawaii Teachers College)
Idaho	1894	Albion	State Normal School; Southern Idaho College of Education (1947) (Closed in 1951)
	1896	Lewiston	State Normal School; Northern Idaho College of Education (1947; Closed, 1951–1955); Lewis-Clark State Normal School (1955); Lewis-Clark State College (1971)
Ill.	1874	Carbondale	Southern State Normal University; Southern Illinois University (1947)
	1899	Charleston	Eastern State Normal School; Eastern State Teachers College (1921); Eastern State College (1947); Eastern Illinois University (1957)
	1899	De Kalb	Northern State Normal School; Northern State Teachers College (1921); Northern State College (1955); Northern Illinois University (1957)
	1902	Macomb	Western State Normal School; Western State Teachers College (1921); Western State College (1947); Western Illinois University (1957)
	1857	Normal	State Normal University; Illinois State University (1967)
Ind.	1918	Muncie	State Normal School, Eastern Division; Ball Teachers College, Eastern Division (1922); Ball State Teachers College (1929); Ball State University (1965)
	1870	Terre Haute	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1929); Indiana State University (1965)
Iowa	1876	Cedar Falls	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1909); Northern State College (1961); University of Northern Iowa (1967)

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
Kans.	1865	Emporia	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1923); State College (1974); Emporia State University (1977)	
	1902	Hays	Western Branch State Normal School; Fort Hays State Normal School (1913); State Teachers College (1923); State College (1931); Fort Hays State University (1977)	
	1903	Pittsburg	Auxiliary Manual Training Normal School; State Teachers College (1923); State College (1959); Pittsburg State University (1977)	
Ky.	1907	Bowling Green	Western State Normal School; Western State Normal School and Teachers College (1922); Western State Teachers College (1930); Western State College (1948); Western Kentucky University (1966)	
	1887	Frankfort	State Normal School for Colored Persons; Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons (1902); State Industrial College for Colored Persons (1926); State College for Negroes (1938); State College (1952); Kentucky State University (1972)	African American
	1923	Morehead	State Normal School; State Normal School and Teachers College (1926); State Teachers College (1930); State College (1948); Morehead State University (1966)	
	1923	Murray	State Normal School; State Normal School and Teachers College (1926); State Teachers College (1930); State College (1948); Murray State University (1966)	

	1907	Richmond	Eastern State Normal School; Eastern State Normal School and Teachers College (1922); Eastern State College (1948); Eastern Kentucky University (1966)
La.	1885	Natchitoches	State Normal School; State Normal College (1921); Northwestern State College (1944); Northwestern State University (1970)
Maine	1867	Castine	Eastern State Normal School (Closed in 1942; site became Maine Maritime Academy)
	1864	Farmington	Western State Normal School; State Normal (and Training) School (1879); State Teachers College (1945); State College of the University of Maine (1968); University of Maine at Farmington (1970)
	1878	Fort Kent	Madawaska Training School; State Normal School (1956); State Teachers College (1962); State College (1964); State College of the University of Maine (1968); University of Maine at Fort Kent (1970)
	1879	Gorham	State Normal and Training School; Western State Normal School (1886); State Teachers College (1946); State College (1964); State College of the University of Maine (1968); University of Maine-Portland/Gorham (1970); University of Southern Maine (1978)
	1910	Machias	Washington State Normal School; Washington State Teachers College (1952); Washington State College (1965); Washington State College of the University of Maine (1968); University of Maine at Machias (1970)
	1903	Presque Isle	Aroostook State Normal School; Aroostook State Teachers College (1952); Aroostook State College (1965); Aroostook State College of the University of Maine (1968); University of Maine at Presque Isle (1970)

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
Md.	1866	Baltimore	State Normal School (moved to Towson in 1916); State Teachers College (1935); Towson State College (1963); State University (1976); Towson University (1997)	
	1914	Bowie	Maryland Normal and Industrial School; State Teachers College (1938); State College (1963); Bowie State University (1988)	African American
	1902	Frostburg	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1935); State College (1963); Frostburg State University (1987)	
	1925	Salisbury	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1935); State College (1963); State University (1988); Salisbury University	
Mass.	1873	Boston	Massachusetts Normal Art School; Massachusetts College of Art	
	1840	Bridgewater	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1932); Bridgewater State College (1960)	
	1895	Fitchburg	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1933); Fitchburg State College (1962)	
	1839	Framingham	State Normal School (located in Lexington, 1839–1844 and West Newton, 1844–1853); State Teachers College (1932); Framingham State College (1960)	Women
	1897	Hyannis	State Normal School (Closed)	
	1897	Lowell	State Normal School; State College (1932); University of Lowell (1973); University of Massachusetts at Lowell (1991)	

	1897	North Adams	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1932); State College (1968); Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (1997)	
	1854	Salem	State Normal School (Coeducational beginning in 1899); State Teachers College (1932); Salem State College (1960)	Women
	1839	Westfield	State Normal School (located in Barre, 1839–1841; Closed, 1841–1844); State Teachers College (1932); Westfield State College (1960)	
	1874	Worcester	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1932); Worcester State College (1960)	
Mich.	1904	Kalamazoo	Western State Normal School; Western State Teachers College (1927); Western Michigan College of Education (1941); Western Michigan College (1955); Western Michigan University (1957)	
	1899	Marquette	Northern State Normal School; Northern State Teachers College (1927); Northern Michigan College of Education (1941); Northern Michigan College (1955); Northern Michigan University (1963)	
	1895	Mt. Pleasant	Central State Normal School; Central State Teachers College (1927); Central Michigan College of Education (1940); Central Michigan College (1955); Central Michigan University (1959)	
	1853	Ypsilanti	State Normal School; State Normal College (1899); Eastern Michigan College (1956); Eastern Michigan University (1959)	
Minn.	1919	Bemidji	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1957); Bemidji State University (1976)	
	1902	Duluth	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); University of Minnesota, Duluth (1947)	

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
	1868	Mankato	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1957); State University (1975); Minnesota State University, Mankato	
	1888	Moorhead	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1957); State University (1975); Minnesota State University, Moorhead	
	1869	St. Cloud	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1957); St. Cloud State University (1975)	
	1860	Winona	State Normal School (Closed, 1862–1864); State Teachers College (1921); State College (1957); Winona State University (1975)	
Miss.	1912	Hattiesburg	Mississippi Normal School; Mississippi Normal College (1918); State Teachers College (1924); Mississippi Southern College (1940); University of Southern Mississippi (1962)	
	1871	Holly Springs	State (Colored) Normal School (Closed)	African American
Mo.	1873	Cape Girardeau	Southeast State Normal School; State Normal School (third district) (1879); Southeast State Teachers College (1919); Southeast State College (1946); Southeast Missouri State University (1972)	
	1879	Jefferson City	Lincoln Normal Institute; Lincoln University (1921)	African American
	1871	Kirksville	North State Normal School; State Normal School (first district) (1880); Northeast State Teachers College (1919); Northeast State College (1968); Northeast State University (1972); Truman State University (1996)	

	1906	Maryville	State Normal School (fifth district); State Teachers College (1919); State College (1949); Northwest Missouri State University (1970)
	1906	Springfield	State Normal School (fourth district); Southwest State Teachers College (1919); Southwest State College (1945); Southwest Missouri State University (1972)
	1871	Warrensburg	South State Normal School; State Normal School (second district) (1878); Central State Teachers College (1919); Central State College (1946); Central Missouri State University (1972)
Mont.	1927	Billings	Eastern State Normal School; Eastern Montana College of Education (1949); Eastern Montana College (1966); Montana State University-Billings (1994)
	1897	Dillon	State Normal School; State Normal College (1903); Western Montana College of Education (1949); Western Montana College (1965); Western Montana College of the University of Montana (1988)
Nebr.	1911	Chadron	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); Chadron State College (1963)
	1905	Kearney	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1963); University of Nebraska at Kearney (1991)
	1867	Peru	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); Peru State College (1963)
	1910	Wayne	State Normal School; State Normal School and Teachers College (1921); State Teachers College (1949); Wayne State College (1963)

Nev. Nevada did not establish a separate normal school; prospective teachers were educated at the state university.

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
N.H.	1909	Keene	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1939); Keene State College (1963)	
	1871	Plymouth	State Normal School; State Teachers College; State College; Plymouth State University (2003)	
N.J.	1923	Glassboro	Glassboro Normal School; State Teachers College (1937); State College (1958); Rowan College of New Jersey (1992); Rowan University (1996)	
	1927	Jersey City	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1935); State College (1958); New Jersey City University (1998)	
	1908	Montclair	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1929); State College (1958); Montclair State University (1994)	
	1913	Newark	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1937); State College (1958; moved to Union, 1958); Kean College of New Jersey (1974); Kean University of New Jersey (1997)	
	1923	Paterson	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1937); State College (1958); William Paterson College of New Jersey (1971); William Paterson University of New Jersey (1997)	
	1855	Trenton	State Normal (and Model) School; State Normal School and Teachers College (1929); State Teachers College (1952); State College (1958); The College of New Jersey (1996)	
N.Mex.	1913	El Rita	Spanish–American Normal School (Closed)	
	1898	Las Vegas	New Mexico Normal School; New Mexico Normal University (1899); New Mexico Highlands University (1941)	

	1894	Silver City	New Mexico Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); Western New Mexico University (1963)
N.Y.	1844	Albany	State Normal School; State Normal College (1890); State College for Teachers (1914); State University College of Education (1959); State University College (1961); State University of New York at Albany (1962)
	1867	Brockport	State Normal School (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1942); State University of New York College at Brockport
	1871	Buffalo	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1928); State College for Teachers (1946); State University College for Teachers (1951); State University College of Education (1959); State University of New York College at Buffalo (1962)
	1869	Cortland	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1941); State College of Education (1959); State University of New York College at Cortland (1961)
	1868	Fredonia	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1948); State University of New York College at Fredonia (1961)
	1871	Geneseo	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1942); State University of New York College at Geneseo (1961)
	1897	Jamaica	State Normal (and Training) School (Control transferred to New York City in 1905; became city training school for teachers)
	1886	New Paltz	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1942); State College of Education (1959); State University of New York College at New Platz (1961)

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American Native American
	1889	Oneonta	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1938); State University Teachers College (1948) State University College of Education (1951); State University of New York College at Oneonta (1961)	
	1866	Oswego	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1948); State University of New York College at Oswego (1962)	
	1890	Plattsburgh	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1942); State University Teachers College (1948); State University College of Education (1959); State University of New York College at Plattsburgh (1961)	
	1869	Potsdam	State Normal (and Training) School; State Teachers College (1942); State University Teachers College (1948); State University College of Education (1959); State University of New York College at Potsdam (1961)	
N.C.	1903	Boone	Appalachian State Normal School; Appalachian State Teachers College (1929); Appalachian State University (1967)	
	1905	Cullowhee	Normal and Industrial School; State Normal School (1925); Western Carolina Teachers College (1929); Western Carolina College (1953); Western Carolina University (1967)	
	1891	Elizabeth City	State Colored Normal School; State Teachers College (1939); State College (1963); Elizabeth City State University (1969)	African American
	1877	Fayetteville	State (Colored) Normal School; State Teachers College (1944); State College (1963); Fayetteville State University (1969)	African American
	1887	Goldsboro	State (Colored) Normal School (Closed)	African American

	1892	Greensboro	State Normal and Industrial School/College for Girls; North Carolina College for Women (1919); Women's College of the University of North Carolina (1932); University of North Carolina at Greensboro (1963)	Women
	1909	Greenville	East Carolina Teachers Training School (1909); East Carolina State Teachers College (1921); East Carolina College (1951); East Carolina University (1967)	
	1913	Pembroke	Cherokee Indian State Normal School; State College for Indians (1941); State College (1949); Pembroke State University (1969)	Native American
	1881	Plymouth	State (Colored) Normal School/College (Closed in 1905)	African American
	1881	Salisbury	State (Colored) Normal School (Closed in 1905)	African American
	1895	Winston-Salem	Slater Industrial and State Normal School; State Teachers College (1925); State College (1963); Winston-Salem State University (1969)	African American
N.Dak.	1918	Bottineau	State Normal School (Closed)	
	1918	Dickenson	Normal School; State Teachers College (1931); State College (1963); Dickenson State University (1987)	
	1907	Ellendale	State Normal and Industrial School (Closed)	
	1890	Mayville	State Normal School; Mayville State University	
	1913	Minot	State Normal School/College; State Teachers College (1924); State College (1964); Minot State University (1987)	
	1890	Valley City	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1921); State College (1964); Valley City State University (1987)	
Ohio	1914	Bowling Green	State Normal College; State College (1929); Bowling Green State University (1935)	
	1913	Kent	State Normal School; State Normal College (1915); State College (1929); Kent State University (1935)	

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
Okla.	1909	Ada	East Central State Normal School; East Central State Teachers College (1919); East Central State College (1939); East Central University (1974)	
	1897	Alva	Northwestern Territorial Normal School; Northwestern State Normal School (1904); Northwestern State Teachers College (1919); Northwestern State College (1939); Northwestern Oklahoma State University (1974)	
	1909	Durant	Southeastern State Normal School; Southeastern State Teachers College (1921); Southeastern State College (1939); Southeastern Oklahoma State University (1974)	
	1891	Edmond	Territorial Normal School; Central State Normal School (1904); Central State Teachers College (1919); Central State College (1939); Central State University (1974); University of Central Oklahoma (1990)	
	1897	Langston	Colored Agricultural and Normal University; Langston University (1941)	African American
	1909	Tahlequah	Northeastern State Normal School; Northeastern State Teachers College (1919); Northeastern State College (1939); Northeastern State University (1974)	Native American
	1903	Weatherford	Southwestern State Normal School; Southwestern State Teachers College (1920); Southwestern Institute of Technology (1941); Southwestern State College (1949); Southwestern Oklahoma State University (1974)	
Oreg.	1882	Ashland	State Normal School (Closed, 1890–1895); Southern State Normal School (1895; Closed, 1909–1926); Southern	

		Oregon College of Education (1939); Southern Oregon College (1956); Southern State College (1975); Southern Oregon University (1996)		
	1885	Drain	State Normal School; Central State Normal School (1899) (Closed in 1909)	
	1883	Monmouth	State Normal School (Closed, 1909–1911); Oregon College of Education (1939); Western Oregon College (1981); Western Oregon University	
	1885	Weston	Eastern State Normal School (Closed in 1909)	
Pa.	1869	Bloomsburg	State Normal School (sixth district); State Teachers College (1927); State College (1960); Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1874	California	Southwestern Normal College; Southwestern State Normal School (1878); State Normal School (1914); State Teachers College (1928); State College (1959); California University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1921	Cheyney	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1951); State College (1959); Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (1983)	African American
	1887	Clarion	State Normal School (thirteenth district); State Teachers College (1927); State College (1959); Clarion University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1893	East Stroudsburg	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1960); East Stroudsburg University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1861	Edinboro	(Northwestern) State Normal School (twelfth district); State Teachers College (1926); State College (1960); Edinboro University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1875	Indiana	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1960); Indiana University of Pennsylvania (1965)	

State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
	1866	Kutztown	State Normal School; Keystone State Normal School (1871); State Teachers College (1928); State College (1960); Kutztown University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1877	Lock Haven	Central State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1962); Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1862	Mansfield	State Normal School (fifth district); State Teachers College (1927); State College (1960); Mansfield University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1859	Millersville	(First) State Normal School (second district); State Teachers College (1927); State College (1959); Millersville University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1873	Shippensburg	Cumberland Valley State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1960); Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1889	Slippery Rock	State Normal School (eleventh district); State Teachers College (1926); State College (1960); Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
	1871	West Chester	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1960); West Chester University of Pennsylvania (1983)	
R.I.	1871	Providence	State Normal School; State College of Education (1920); Rhode Island College (1959)	
S.C.	1896	Orangeburg	State Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College; State College (1954); South Carolina State University (1992)	African American

	1891	Rock Hill	Winthrop Normal (and Industrial) College (of South Carolina); Winthrop College for Women (1920); Winthrop College (1974); Winthrop University (1988)	Women
S.Dak.	1901	Aberdeen	Northern Normal and Industrial School; Northern State Teachers College (1939); Northern State College (1964); Northern State University (1989)	
	1884	Madison	State Normal School; General Beadle State College; Dakota State College (1969); Dakota State University (1989)	
	1884	Spearfish	State Normal School; Black Hills State Teachers College (1941); Black Hills State College (1964); Black Hills State University (1989)	
	1897	Springfield	State Normal School (Closed)	
Tenn.	1911	Johnson City	East State Normal School; East State Teachers College (1925); East State College (1943); East Tennessee State University (1963)	
	1912	Memphis	West State Normal School; West State Teachers College (1929); State College (1941); State University (1957); University of Memphis (1994)	
	1911	Murfreesboro	Middle State Normal School; Middle State Teachers College (1925); Middle State College (1943); Middle Tennessee State University (1965)	
	1912	Nashville	Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes; Agricultural and Industrial State Normal College (1924); Agricultural and Industrial State College (1927); Agricultural and Industrial State University (1951); Tennessee State University (1969)	African American
Tex.	1920	Alpine	State Normal School for Teachers; Sul Ross State Teachers College (1923); Sul Ross State College (1949); Sul Ross State University (1969)	

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
	1910	Canyon	West State Normal College; West State Teachers College (1923); West State College (1949); West State University (1963); West Texas A & M University (1992)	
	1917	Commerce	East State Normal College; East State Teachers College (1923); East State College (1957); East Texas State University (1965); Texas A & M University—Commerce (1995)	
	1901	Denton	North State Normal College; North State Teachers College (1923); North State College (1949); North State University (1965); University of North Texas (1988)	
	1878	Prairie View	Normal Institute; State Normal and Industrial College (1889); Agricultural and Mechanical College (1947); Prairie View A & M University (1970)	African American
	1879	Huntsville	Sam Houston State Normal Institute; Sam Houston State Teachers College (1923); Sam Houston State College (1965); Sam Houston State University (1969)	
	1903	San Marcos	Southwest State Normal School; Southwest State Teachers College (1923); Southwest State College (1959); Southwest State University (1969); Texas State University-San Marcos (2003)	
Utah	1903	Cedar City	Southern Branch Normal School; Branch Agricultural College (1913); College of South Utah (1953); Southern State College (1969); Southern Utah University (1992)	
Vt.	1867	Castleton	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1947); Castleton State College (1962)	

	1867	Johnson	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1947); Johnson State College (1962)	
	1911	Lyndon	Lyndon Institute; State Teachers College (1949); Lyndon State College (1962)	
	1867	Randolph	State Normal School (Closed)	
Va.	1884	Farmville	State (Female) Normal School; State Teachers College (1924); Longwood College (1949); Longwood University	Women
	1911	Fredericks- burg	State Normal (and Industrial) School for Women; State Teachers College (1924); Mary Washington College (of the University of Virginia) (1938); University of Mary Washington (2004)	Women
	1909	Harrisonburg	State Normal (and Industrial) School for Women; State Teachers College (1924); Madison College (1938); James Madison University (1977)	Women
	1883	Petersburg	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute; Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute (1902); State College for Negroes (1930); State College (1946); Virginia State University (1979)	African American
	1913	Radford	State Normal and Industrial School for Women; State Teachers College (1924); Radford College (1944); Radford University (1979)	Women
Wash.	1899	Bellingham	New Whatcom State Normal School; Western Washington College of Education (1937); Western State College (1961); Western Washington University (1977)	
	1890	Cheney	State Normal School (and Training) School; Eastern Washington College of Education (1937); Eastern State College (1961); Eastern Washington University (1977)	
	1891	Ellensburg	State Normal (and Training) School; Central Washington College of Education (1937); Central State College (1961); Central Washington University (1977)	
W.Va.	1875	Athens	Concord State Normal School; Concord State Teachers College	

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State	Date open	Location	Names and dates of name changes, with current title in bold	Institution: Women; African American; Native American
	1895	Bluefield	(1931); Concord College (1943); Concord University (2004) Colored Institute; State Teachers College (1931); Bluefield State College (1943)	African American
	1867	Fairmont	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1931); State College (1943); Fairmont State University	
	1873	Glenville	State Normal School; Glenville State College (1930)	
	1867	Huntington	Marshall College State Normal School; Marshall University (1961)	
	1891	Institute	West Virginia Colored Institute; West Virginia Collegiate Institute (1912); State College (1929); West Virginia State University (2004)	African American
	1872	Shepherds- town	Shepherd College, State Normal School; Shepherd College, Teachers College (1930); Shepherd College (1950); Shepherd University (2004)	
	1870	West Liberty	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1931); West Liberty State College (1943)	
Wisc.	1917	Eau Claire	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire (1972)	
	1909	La Crosse	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-La Crosse (1972)	
	1885	Milwaukee	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (1972)	
	1871	Oshkosh	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927);	

		State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh (1972)
1866	Platteville	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-Platteville (1972)
1875	River Falls	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-River Falls (1972)
1894	Stevens Point	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point (1972)
1896	Superior	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-Superior (1972)
1868	Whitewater	State Normal School; State Teachers College (1927); State College (1951); University of Wisconsin-Whitewater (1972)

Wyo. Wyoming did not establish a separate normal school; prospective teachers were educated at the state university.

Note: If a state normal school grew out of a private academy or seminary, the date it became a state normal school is reported as the date of opening. The names of states and towns in which the institutions were located are left out of the reported names, while the present name of each institution is written in full.

Sources: United States Commissioners of Education, *Reports and Bulletins, 1875–1928–1930* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1876–1932); Harry Christopher Humphreys, *The Factors Operating in the Location of State Normal Schools* (New York: Teachers College, 1923), appendix, 144–147; Esek Ray Mosher, “The Rise and Organization of State Teachers Colleges” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1923); Julian B. Roebuck and Komanduri S. Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993), chapter 3; college and university catalogs, histories, and websites.

ABBREVIATIONS OF ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

CASUNYG	College Archives, Milne Library, State University of New York College at Geneseo, Geneseo, New York
CSCA	Castleton State College Archives, Vermont Room, Coolidge Library, Castleton, Vermont
LCHS	Livingston County Historical Society, Geneseo, New York
SJSUA	San Jose State University Archives, Special Collections, SJSU Library, San Jose, California
SWTA	Southwest Texas State University Archives, Special Collections, Alkek Library, San Marcos, Texas
UCUNA	University Collection, Collier Library Archives, University of North Alabama, Florence, Alabama
UWOA	University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh Archives, Area Research Center, Polk Library, Oshkosh, Wisconsin
WRUA	Wisconsin Room-University Archives, Karrmann Library, University of Wisconsin-Platteville, Platteville, Wisconsin

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: "IT WASN'T MUCH OF A COLLEGE"

1. David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Higher Education* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday [1956] 1958), 21, 43, 61–62.
2. See the appendix for a state-by-state list of all state normal schools.
3. Paul Woodring, "The Development of Teacher Education," in *Teacher Education: The Seventy-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, ed. Kevin Ryan (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 5.
4. William Marshall French and Florence Smith French, *College of the Empire State: A Centennial History of The New York State College for Teachers at Albany* ([Albany?], 1944), no page numbers.
5. Catalogs of Wisconsin State Normal School/Teachers College at Oshkosh testify to such actions. Maps in early catalogs showed Normal Avenue running along campus; in later catalogs the same street was named College Avenue. One early catalog included a photo of a doorway with "Normal" carved into the stonework; by the mid-1990s, raised black letters in the same location spelled "Dempsey," presumably the name of a past leader or benefactor.
6. John I. Goodlad, *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), 73. See also John I. Goodlad, "Connecting the Present to the Past," in *Places Where Teachers Are Taught*, ed. John I. Goodlad, Roger Soder, and Kenneth Sirotnik (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990).
7. In the early 1980s, Jurgen Herbst and Colin Burke urged historians to reconsider state normal schools in light of the educational advantages they brought to the sons and daughters of midwestern farmers. Geraldine Jonçich Clifford recently suggested that educational historians have created an artificial division between "higher" and "lower" education, and limited their understanding of normal schools by falsely placing them on the "lower" side of the barrier; normal schools, as well as academies and early high schools, often offered "college-like" curricula. Clifford and Sally Schwager have urged historians of education for women to include normal schools in their analysis, because the story of women and education is incomplete without an understanding of the institutions that provided thousands of women with a taste of higher education. See Jurgen Herbst, "Nineteenth-Century Normal Schools in the United States: A Fresh Look," *History of Education* 9 (September 1980): 219–227; Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, "'Shaking Dangerous Questions from the Crease': Gender and American Higher Education," *Feminist Issues* 3 (Fall 1983): 3–62, "No Shade in the Golden State: School and University in Nineteenth-Century California," *History of Higher Education Annual* 12 (1992): 35–68, and "Equally in View": *The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools* (Berkeley: Center for Studies in Higher Education and Institute for

- Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1995), 2–6; Sally Schwager, “Educating Women in America,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12 (Winter 1987): 333–372. See also E. Alden Dunham, *Colleges of the Forgotten Americans: A Profile of State Colleges and Regional Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).
8. Robert A. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 141.
 9. John R. Thelin, “Rudolph Rediscovered,” prefatory essay to Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), xviii.
 10. Edward Everett, “An Address by Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts, at the Opening of the Normal School at Barre, September 5, 1839,” *American Journal of Education* 13 (December 1863): 769.

1 “TO AWAKEN THE CONSCIENCE”: ESTABLISHING TEACHER EDUCATION AND STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS

1. Arthur C. Boyden, *The History of Bridgewater State Normal School* (Bridgewater, MA: Bridgewater Normal Alumni Association, 1933), 30–31; *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the State Normal School, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, June 19, 1915* (Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, 1915), 71.
2. Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), chapter 4, Mann quoted on 140–141; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), chapters 2–5; Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), chapter 1.
3. Kaestle, *Pillars*, chapters 5, 6, and 8; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, chapter 1.
4. John L. Rury, “Who Became Teachers? The Social Characteristics of Teachers in American History,” in *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, ed. Donald Warren (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company), 11–14; Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, [1939] 1970), parts 1 and 2, quotation on 29; Michael W. Sedlak, “‘Let Us Go and Buy a School Master,’” in *American Teachers*, 259–262; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 22–24; Christopher J. Lucas, *Teacher Education in America: Reform Agendas for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 3–10.
5. Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, “Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5 (1980): 495–497; Rury, “Who Became Teachers?,” 15–16; Kathleen Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 9–13; Catharine Beecher, “Remedy for Wrongs to Women,” in *Woman’s “True” Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching*, ed. Nancy Hoffman (New York: The Feminist Press, 1981), 40.
6. Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*, 9–16, Mann quoted on 12; Willard quoted in David B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 42; Beecher, “Remedy for Wrongs to Women,” 36–56, quotation on 45; Geraldine Joncich Clifford, “Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family, and Career in American Educational History,” in *American Teachers*, 299–305;

- Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 27–29; Rury, “Who Became Teachers?,” 15–16; Strober and Tyack, “Why Do Women Teach,” 495–497; Kaestle, *Pillars*, 123–125. See also Lucas, *Teacher Education*, 12–15; Donald H. Parkerson and Jo Ann Parkerson, *Transitions in American Education: A Social History of Teaching* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001), chapter 4; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973).
7. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 24–27; Polly Welts Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), xviii; Clifford, “Man/Woman/Teacher,” 293–295; Patricia A. Schmuck, “Women School Employees in the United States,” in *Women Educators: Employees of Schools in Western Countries*, ed. Patricia A. Schmuck (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 76; Kaestle, *Pillars*, 125; Rury, “Who Became Teachers?,” 17–20; Strober and Tyack, “Why Do Women Teach,” 498. See also Keith E. Melder, “Woman’s High Calling: The Teaching Profession in America, 1830–1860,” *American Studies* 13 (Fall 1972): 19–32; Myra H. Strober and A. G. Langford, “The Feminization of Public School Teaching: Cross-Sectional Analysis,” *Signs: Women and Culture in Society* 11 (1980): 212–235. For further discussion of the statistical analysis of the feminization of teaching, see Joel Perlman and Robert A. Margo, *Women’s Work? American Schoolteachers, 1650–1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), and John L. Rury, review of Perlman and Margo, *Women’s Work*, in *History of Education Quarterly* 42 (Summer 2002): 292–295.
 8. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*. See also Kaestle, *Pillars*, 124–125.
 9. Herbert Kliebard states, “Market forces and a gender-related conception of teaching notwithstanding, the single greatest influence on the feminization of teaching was probably professionalization.” Herbert M. Kliebard, “The Feminization of Teaching on the American Frontier: Keeping School in Otsego, Wisconsin, 1867–1880,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 27 (1995): 558.
 10. Franklin quoted in Merle L. Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education: A Historical Survey of American Thought* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1956), 35; the article in *Massachusetts Magazine* was published anonymously, but the author was probably Elisha Ticknor, quoted in J. P. Gordy, *Rise and Growth of the Normal-School Idea in the United States* (U.S. Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 8, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 9; Olmstead quoted in Gordy, *Rise and Growth*, 10; Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical*, 35; Paul H. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 28–32; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 22; Charles A. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education: The Story of the State Teachers Colleges as They Evolved from the Normal Schools* (Washington, DC: American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1939), 13–14; Samuel R. Hall, *Lectures on School-Keeping* (Boston: Richardson, Lord and Holbrook, 1829), iv.
 11. Hall, *Lectures*, iv; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 30–31; Gordy, *Rise and Growth*, 13–14; Harper, *A Century*, 14–16; Gallaudet quoted on 15. See also Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, 23–27.
 12. Willis Rudy, “America’s First Normal School: The Formative Years,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 5 (December 1954): 263–264; Edward Everett, “An Address by Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts, at the Opening of the Normal School at Barre, September 5, 1839,” *American Journal of Education* 14

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13. Gordy, *Rise and Growth*, 19–20; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 21–22, 35–50, quotation on 48; Harper, *A Century*, 17–20.
 14. Harper, *A Century*, 16–17, 22–24, Adams quoted on 23–24; Walter H. Ryle, *Centennial History of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College* (Kirksville, MO: Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, 1972), 19–32.
 15. Dwight quoted in Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 60; Harper, *A Century*, 21–25, 51, Mann quoted on 21–22; Everett, “An Address,” 769, 760.
 16. George Frederick Miller, *The Academy System of New York State* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon Company, 1922), 131; Dixon quoted in Bjarne R. Ullsvik, *A History of the Platteville Academy, 1839–1866* (Platteville, WI, 1994), 14; Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 18–21. For more on academies, see Kim Tolley, “Mapping the Landscape of Higher Schooling, 1727–1850,” in *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727–1925*, ed. Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002), 19–43.
 17. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, [1962] 1990), 217; Brockport catalog quoted in Thomas E. Finegan, *Teacher Training Agencies: A Historical Review of the Various Agencies of the State of New York Employed in Training and Preparing Teachers for the Public Schools of the State* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1917), 206; Geneseo Academy–Temple Hill Academy (a.k.a. Livingston County High School), binder 974.785, LCHS; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Platteville Academy, 1849*, Platteville Academy, Annual Catalogs, PL Series 16, Box 1, WRUA; Ullsvik, *A History*, 20; Richard D. Gamble, *From Academy to University, 1866–1966: A History of Wisconsin State University, Platteville, Wisconsin* (Platteville, WI: Wisconsin State University, 1966), 71–72, 76; Castleton catalog quoted in *Proceedings of the Laying of the Cornerstone and Dedication of the New Administration Building* (Castleton Normal School, 1926), CSCA, 17–18; Mary Clough Cain, *The Historical Development of State Normal Schools for White Teachers in Maryland* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1941), 37–47. For more on teacher education in academies, see Christine A. Ogren, “Betrothed to the State?: Nineteenth-Century Academies Confront the Rise of the State Normal Schools,” in *Chartered Schools*, 284–303.
 18. Marvin G. Maiden, “History of the Professional Training of Teachers in Virginia” (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1927), 92–93; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Platteville Academy, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862*; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Geneseo Academy, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1860, 1861*, LCHS; Willis F. Dunbar, *The Michigan Record in Higher Education* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1963), 6; Christine A. Ogren, “Normal Departments,” in *Historical Dictionary of Women’s Education in the United States*, ed. Linda Eisenmann (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 305–307. On teacher education in liberal arts colleges, see Charles Burgess, “Abiding by the ‘Rule of Birds’: Teaching Teachers in Small Liberal Arts Colleges,” in *Places Where Teachers Are Taught*, ed. John I. Goodlad, Roger Soder, and Kenneth A. Sirotnik (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), 87–135.
 19. Miller, *The Academy System*, 19, 137–144, 152–161; William Marshall French, “How We Began to Train Teachers in New York,” *Proceedings of the New York*

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20. William S. Taylor, *The Development of the Professional Education of Teachers in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924), 77–80; Virginia legislative act quoted in Maiden, "History," 78–79; Albert Salisbury, *Historical Sketch of Normal Instruction in Wisconsin* (n.p., 1893), 13–14; William Kittle, *A Brief History of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin, 1857–1925* (n.p., 1924), 3, 7; George C. Purington, *History of the State Normal School, Farmington, Maine* (Farmington, ME: Knowlton, McLeary & Co., 1889), 9–10; George Frank Sammis, "A History of the Maine Normal Schools" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1970), 43; James R. Dotson, "The Historical Development of the State Normal School for White Teachers in Alabama" (Ed.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1961), 164–165.
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 22. Harper, *A Century*, 51; Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 155; French, "How We Began," 190; Kaestle, *Pillars*, 129. See also Henry Barnard, *Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers* (Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffany and Company, 1851).
 23. Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 156; Ullsvik, *A History*, 16; Irving G. Hendrick, *California Education: A Brief History* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser, 1980), 42; Deward Homan Reed, *The History of Teachers Colleges in New Mexico* (Nashville, TN: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1948), 7–8; Rhode Island law quoted in Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 156; Clarence H. Dempsey, "The Castleton Normal School," in *Proceedings*, 29; John W. Payne, "Poor-Man's Pedagogy: Teachers' Institutes in Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 14 (1955): 195–206; Gamble, *From Academy*, 90.
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 25. Illinois superintendent and Henry Barnard quoted in Kaestle, *Pillars*, 129; West Virginia superintendent quoted in Woods, "Private," 114; attendance figures reported in Kaestle, *Pillars*, 129; Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, 71. For a more detailed discussion of teachers' institutes, see Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, chapter 4.
 26. James Robert Overman, *The History of Bowling Green State University* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1967), 5; Travis Edwin Smith, *The Rise of Teacher Training in Kentucky* (Nashville, TN: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1932), 149–153; R. H. Eckelberry, "The McNeely Normal School and Hopedale Normal College" *Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications* 40 (1931): 86–136; Ryle, *Centennial History*, 56–70; Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 312–313.

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28. Taylor, *The Development*, 65, 85–88, 107–108; Lee Graver, *A History of the First Pennsylvania State Normal School, Now the State Teachers College at Millersville* (Millersville, PA: State Teachers College, 1955), 20–30; Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 150; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 100–101, 144–145.
29. Taylor, *The Development*, 89, 94; Ryle, *Centennial History*, 19–32; Salisbury, *Historical Sketch*, 9–13, Ladd quoted on 11; Finegan, *Teacher Training Agencies*, 193.
30. J. L. Meader, *Normal School Education in Connecticut* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1928), 11–12; Egbert R. Isbell, *A History of Eastern Michigan University, 1849–1965* (Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University Press, 1971), 8–9, 16, legislation quoted on 8.
31. Glen E. Hickman, “A History of Teacher Education in Nebraska” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Oregon, 1947), 21–23; I. F. Boughter, ed., *Fairmont State Normal School: A History* (Fairmont, WV: Fairmont State Normal School, 1929), 30–32; Cain, *The Historical Development*, 55–56; Maiden, “History,” 141.
32. Everett, “An Address,” 760; Mark K. Fritz, “The State Normal Schools: Teaching Teachers and Others,” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 11 (Fall 1985): 4; Taylor, *The Development*, 103–106, 110; Lee Graver, “Kutztown State College—1864–1964,” *Historical Review of Berks County* 29 (Autumn 1964): 107; Dempsey, “The Castleton Normal School,” 29–30; “Castleton Normal School: Its History and Outlook,” *The Normal Student* 2 (Nov. 21, 1902): 1, CSCA; Harper, *A Century*, 66, 75, 88; Isbell, *A History*, xii–xiii. For more on the semiprivate nature of normal schools in Pennsylvania, see Linda Eisenmann, “The Influence of Bureaucracy and Markets: Teacher Education in Pennsylvania,” in *Places Where Teachers Are Taught*, 287–329.
33. Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States, with Special Reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, IL: McKnight & McKnight, 1935), 23.
34. David B. Potts, “‘College Enthusiasm!’ As Public Response, 1800–1860,” *Harvard Educational Review* 47 (February 1977): 41.
35. “The Normal School,” *Grant County Witness*, Dec. 7, 1865, WRUA, 2.
36. Herbert E. Fowler, *A Century of Teacher Education in Connecticut: The Story of the New Britain State Normal School and the Teachers College of Connecticut, 1849–1949* (New Britain, CT: The Teachers College of Connecticut at New Britain, 1949), 26–27, legislation quoted on 26; Isbell, *A History*, 11; Philip R. Leavenworth, “The School in Retrospect,” in *Proceedings*, 18; Conrad E. Patzer, *Public Education in Wisconsin* (Madison, WI: John Callahan, State Superintendent, 1924), 145–146; Janette Bohi, “Whitewater, A Century of Progress (1868–1968),” in *History of the Wisconsin State Universities*, ed. Walker D. Wyman (River Falls, WI: River Falls State University Press, 1968), 57–58, 62, newspaper quoted on 58.
37. Bohi, “Whitewater,” 59–60; Fritz, “The State Normal Schools,” 5; Taylor, *The Development*, 108; Graver, “Kutztown State College,” 105–107; Sammis, “A History,” 46–47, 83–84; Ernest Longfellow, *The Normal on the Hill: One Hundred Years of Peru State College* (Grand Island, NE: The Augustine Company, 1967), 6, 11–13; Boughter, *Fairmont State Normal*, 20; Victoria Ann Smith,

- “A Social History of Marshall University During the Period at the State Normal School, 1867–1900,” *West Virginia History* 25 (October 1963): 32; Gamble, *From Academy*, 93; Finegan, *Teacher Training Agencies*, 136, 206–208. See also Ogren, “Betrothed,” 292–297.
38. Gordy, *Rise and Growth*, 51–54; Harper, *A Century*, 35; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 64; Vernon Lamar Mangun, *The American Normal School: Its Rise and Development in Massachusetts* (Baltimore, MD: Warwick & York, Inc., 1928), chapters 8–10; Fowler, *A Century*, 59; J. M. McKenzie, *History of the Peru State Normal* (Auburn, NE: The Nemaha County Republican, 1911), 24; Edwin H. Cates, *A Centennial History of St. Cloud State College* (Minneapolis, MN: Dillon Press, 1968), 27–34; Finegan, *Teacher Training Agencies*, legislative resolution quoted on 118, 137. In New York, some academies became openly critical of the normal schools, which they accused of stealing students by offering too much general academic work in addition to teacher training. Finegan, *Teacher Training Agencies*, 118.
 39. Kirksville newspaper quoted in Ryle, *Centennial History*, 98; Jean Talbot, *First State Normal School 1860, Winona State College, 1960* (Winona, MN: *Quarterly Bulletin of Winona State College* 55 [August 1959]—56 [August 1960]), 3–4, 6–7; John Swett, *Public Education in California: Its Origin and Development, With Personal Reminiscences of Half a Century* (New York: American Book Company, 1911), 264.
 40. Everett, “An Address,” 758, 764; Cyrus Peirce, Letter to Henry Barnard, Jan. 1, 1841, in *The First State Normal School in America: The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift*, ed. Arthur O. Norton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 1.
 41. Everett, “An Address,” 765–768; Harper, *Development*, 88. The main distinction that historians of teacher education have emphasized in the normal schools’ approaches to teacher education in the mid-nineteenth century, is between followers of the Bridgewater and Westfield traditions. Followers of Nicolas Tillinghast at Bridgewater, according to this analysis, were more likely to focus on the preparation of elementary-school teachers, while followers of the Westfield approach thought more expansively, eventually focusing on the preparation of high-school teachers and administrators. See Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical*, chapter 2; Harper, *Development*, chapter 5; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, chapter 4.
 42. William F. Phelps, *David P. Page: His Life and Teachings* (New York: E. L. Kellogg & Co., 1892), 7–9, Mann quoted on 9; Norton, ed., *The First State Normal*, xxv; John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1882), 28; David Nelson Camp, *David Nelson Camp: Recollections of a Long and Active Life* (New Britain, CT: Privately printed, 1917), chapter 1; Arthur Clarke Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden and the Bridgewater State Normal School: A Memorial Volume* (Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, 1919), 18; Edward Austin Sheldon, *Autobiography of Edward Austin Sheldon*, ed. Mary Sheldon Barnes (New York: Ives-Butler Company, 1911), chapters 1–7; Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1957* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1956), 82–83.
 43. Phelps, *David P. Page*, 9–10; Cook and McHugh, *A History*, 28–30; Louie G. Ramsdell, “First Hundred Years of the First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts—1839–1939,” in *First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College*

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78. Michigan's normal-school act stated that the Ypsilanti institution would "give instructions in the mechanic arts, and in the arts of husbandry and agricultural chemistry," and 1857 legislation in Illinois "provided that 'natural science, including agricultural chemistry and animal and vegetable physiology,' be taught" at Illinois State Normal University. Michigan legislation quoted in Isbell, *A History*, 8; Harper, *Development*, 361. Because such statements distinguished normal-school legislation in the Midwest from that in the East, historians including Harper and Herbst have claimed that midwestern normals functioned more as general-purpose institutions while eastern normals retained a focus on teacher education. However, the background and interests of students in all parts of the country resulted in extensive academic—but not agricultural and mechanical—offerings alongside teacher education; there were few regional differences in curriculum. See Harper, *Development*; Jurgen Herbst, "Nineteenth-Century Normal Schools in the United States: A Fresh Look," *History of Education* 9 (1980): 219–227.
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2 “THE MASSES AND NOT THE CLASSES”: A TRADITION OF WELCOMING NONTRADITIONAL STUDENTS

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 20. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, chapters 2 and 7. See also Bowles and DeCosta, *Between Two Worlds*; Julian B. Roebuck and Komanduri S. Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993). Two states also established normal schools for Native-American students: Oklahoma opened Northeastern State Normal School in 1909, and North Carolina opened in the Cherokee Indian State Normal School in 1913. These institutions opened too late to be included in this analysis.
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22. Percentage of Catholic students at Providence calculated from data in Len West, "Teacher Education for Americanizing Immigrants in the Public Schools, 1871–1920: The Rhode Island Normal School Programs" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1995), 159; Percentage of immigrant students calculated from data in *Biographical Directory and Condensed History of the State Normal School, Mankato, Minn., 1870–1890* (Mankato, MN: Mankato State Normal School Alumni Association, 1891); McGraw, "A Century," section 4, no page numbers; William Marshall French and Florence Smith French, *College of the Empire State: A Centennial History of The New York State College for Teachers at Albany* ([Albany?], 1944), 95, 258; Oswego students quoted in Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education: A Century in the Sheldon Tradition* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961); Douglas R. Skopp, *Bright With Promise: From the Normal and Training School to SUNY Plattsburgh, 1889–1989* (Norfolk, VA: The Donning Company, 1989), 45; Robert T. Brown, *The Rise and Fall of the People's Colleges: The Westfield Normal School, 1839–1914* (Westfield, MA: Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State College, 1988), 61–62; McGraw, "A Century," section 4, no page numbers; Louie G. Ramsdell, "First Hundred Years of the First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts—1839–1939," in *First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts* (Framingham, MA: The Alumnae Association of the State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts, 1959), 11; Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1957* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1956), 132–133, 239; Elizabeth Tyler Bugaighis, "Blackboard Diplomacy: The Role of American Normal Schools in Exporting Education to Latin America, 1891–1924" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 2000); Evans quoted in Tom W. Nichols, *Rugged Summit* (San Marcos, TX: The University Press, South West Texas State University, 1970), 94.
23. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*; Oscar Handlin and Mary F. Handlin, *The American College and American Culture: Socialization as a Function of Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970); Arthur Levine and Jana Nidiffer, *Beating the Odds: How the Poor Get to College* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996), 37–48; Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 51; Solomon, *In the Company*, 68–71.
24. Blair quoted in William P. Turner, *A Centennial History of Fairmont State College* (Fairmont, WV: Fairmont State College, 1970), 21–22; Class Day Program, 1888, UWOA, 13; Percentages of parents engaged in certain occupations at Providence calculated from data in West, "Teacher Education," 158; David A. Gould, "Policy and Pedagogues: School Reform and Teacher Professionalization in Massachusetts, 1840–1920" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1977), 87; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 79; statistics on parents of students at San Marcos calculated from data in *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905, 1905–1906, 1906–1907, 1907–1908, 1908–1909, 1909–1910, 1910–1911* (Austin, 1903–1910), SWTA.
25. Rosalind R. Fisher, ". . . the stone strength of the past . . .": *Centennial History of State University College of Arts and Science at Geneseo, New York* (Geneseo, NY, 1971), 146; Hart, *The First 75 Years*, 116; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas for the First Twenty-Five Years* (Emporia, KS, 1889), 45; Pamela Dean, "Covert Curriculum: Class, Gender, and Student Culture at a New South

- Woman's College, 1892–1910" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994), 108–109, 114; Elizabeth L. Wheeler, "Isaac Fisher: The Frustrations of a Negro Educator at Branch Normal College, 1902–1911," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1982): 5.
26. Robert A. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 142; Morey quoted in C. O. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch and Notes: Winona State Normal School, 1860–1910* (Winona, MN: Jones & Kroeger Co., 1910), 210; J. S. Nasmith, "An Open Letter From J. Nasmith," *Platteville Witness* LXIII (April 13, 1932), 2; newspaper quoted in Irene Goldgraben, "And the Glory of the Latter House Shall Be Greater Than That of the Former," in *And the Glory of the Latter House Shall Be Greater Than That of the Former: An Informal History of Castleton State College*, ed. Holman D. Jordan (Castleton, VT: Castleton State College, 1968), 19; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 89; Rogers, *Oswego*, 58; cheer quoted in *The Arkansasyer* (Pine Bluff, AR: Faculty of Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College) 1 (1928): 1, in "Keepers of the Spirit: The L. A. Davis, Sr. Historical Collection," Exhibit, Isaac S. Hathaway-John M. Howard Fine Arts Center, University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, Pine Bluff, AR, May 1995.
27. West, "Teacher Education," 157; Dignam quoted in Work Projects Administration in the State of Massachusetts, *The State Teachers College at Westfield* (Boston: State Department of Education, 1941), 53; Hopkins and Thomas, *The Arizona State University Story*, 85–86; Class Day Program (Oshkosh), 1888, 18; Hartman, "The History," 154; Brush, *In Honor*, 45, 46, 114; students' ages at San Marcos calculated from data in Student Registers, 1903–1910, box 70, series 3, SWTA; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1894–95, 1899–1900*, UWOA; *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 2 (June 1905), 7 (June 1910), UWOA; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1905–1906, 1910–1911*, SWTA; *The Normal School Bulletin* 4 (July 1, 1915), 8 (July 1919), SWTA; Skopp, *Bright*, 62–63.
28. Rogers, *Oswego*, 59; Farmington statistics based on information in George C. Purington, *History of the State Normal School, Farmington, Maine* (Farmington, ME: Knowlton, McLeary & Co., 1889), 141–174; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 71; Mankato statistics calculated from data in *Biographical Directory*; Oshkosh statistics calculated from *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1879–80, 1884–85, 1889–90, 1891–92, 1893–94, 1895–96, 1897–98, 1899–1900, 1901–1902*, and *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 1 (June 1904); 3 (June 1906); 5 (June 1908); quotations from Class Day Programs (Oshkosh), 1895, 18; 1896, 16.
29. Hopkins and Thomas, *The Arizona State University Story*, 85–86; Bowles, *A Good Beginning*, 15–16; Florence data calculated using statistics in State Superintendent of Education (AL), *Reports, 1899 and 1900*, 31–32; 1901–1902, 117. San Marcos statistics calculated from information in Student Registers (San Marcos), 1903–1910. Wilson quoted in Lowell H. Harrison, "Gordon Wilson's Normal Education: Western Kentucky State Normal School, 1908–1913," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 86 (Winter 1988): 27–28.
30. Hewett quoted in Harmon, "The Voice"; Egbert R. Isbell, *A History of Eastern Michigan University, 1849–1965* (Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University Press, 1971), 138; State Superintendent of Education (Alabama), *Report, 1901–1902* (Montgomery, AL, n.d.), 117; Stebbins, *The OCE Story*, 46;

- Brush, *In Honor*, 114; Rogers, *Oswego*, 122; Nasmith, "An Open Letter," 2; Morey quoted in Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 210.
31. George H. Martin, "The Bridgewater Spirit," in *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the State Normal School, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, June 19, 1915* (Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, 1915), 14; Dixon quoted in Arthur Clarke Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden and the Bridgewater State Normal School: A Memorial Volume* (Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, 1919), 143; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School, Florence, Alabama, 1867-1877, 1883 and 1884*, UCUNA; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1889-1890, 1894-95, 1899-1900, 1904-1905, 1910-1911*, UCUNA; State Superintendent of Education (AL), *Report, 1912*; Dean, "Covert Curriculum," 102; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1879-80, 1884-85, 1889-90, 1894-95, 1899-1900*; *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 2 (June 1905); 7 (June 1910); Merlino, "A History," 94-95. Kathleen Underwood paints a different picture of the female students at Greeley, Colorado in the 1890s, emphasizing their middle-class "urban" (greater than 2,500 population) backgrounds. See Kathleen Underwood, "The Pace of Their Own Lives: Teaching Training and the Life Course of Western Women," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (November 1986): 513-530.
 32. Johnson quoted in Charles H. Coleman, "Eastern Illinois State College: Fifty Years of Public Service," *Eastern Illinois State College Bulletin* 189 (January 1, 1950): 65.
 33. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson*, 142.
 34. McKenzie, *History*, 22-23, 96; Principal's annual report, 1910-1911, quoted in Arthur Charles Forst, Jr., "From Normal School to State College: The Growth and Development of Eastern Connecticut State College From 1889 to 1959" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1980), 101; President Matthews at Tempe quoted in Hronek, "Women," 165; Mead quoted in Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 212.
 35. Class Day Program (Oshkosh), 1888, 17-18.
 36. Ryle, *Centennial History*, 151-152; Edwin H. Cates, *A Centennial History of St. Cloud State College* (Minneapolis, MN: Dillon Press, 1968), 37; Thomas W. Bicknell, *History of the Rhode Island Normal School* (Providence, RI, 1911), 226; Samuel R. Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years: A History of Central Washington State College, 1891-1966* (Ellensburg, WA: Central Washington State College, 1967), 48-49.
 37. Purington, *History*, 22; M. Janette Bohi, *A History of Wisconsin State University Whitewater, 1868-1968* (Whitewater, WI: Whitewater State University Foundation, 1968), 69; Cates, *A Centennial History*, 37; Wright, *Fifty Years*, 42-43; David Sands Wright, "Iowa State Normal School," *The Palimpsest* 13 (January 1932): 6-9; Ryle, *Centennial History*, 153; W. Wayne Dedman, *Cherishing This Heritage: The Centennial History of the State University College at Brockport, New York* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 110, 165-166.
 38. Ramsdell, "First Hundred Years," 8; *Biographical Directory*, 14; Mary Clough Cain, *The Historical Development of State Normal Schools for White Teachers in Maryland* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1941), 83; Murphy, "Origin and Development," 123-128.
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41. Adelaide R. Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School, 1886–1888,” Pender Collection, University Archives, Elihu Burritt Library, Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, Connecticut, 1; Westfield catalog quoted in Fiorello, “General Education,” 59; Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 65–66. Questions for students desiring to enter the junior class at San Jose included: “How many cords of wood in a pile 18 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 4 feet high?”; “Give three ways in which a noun may be in the objective case, with an example of each”; and “Compare the length of the equatorial diameter with that of the polar diameter.” Students intending to enter the middle class also had to answer: “3 is 175 per cent. of what?”; “Conjugate the verb *flow* in the indicative future, in the potential perfect, and in the subjective present”; “Give the use of the fly-wheel, the governor, and the sliding valve in a steam engine.” *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1879* (Sacramento, 1879), 47–51; “State Normal School, Castleton, Vermont,” Flier, 1891, CSCA; Albert Salisbury, *The Normal Schools of Wisconsin: A Souvenir of the Meeting of the National Educational Association held at Milwaukee, Wis., July 6–9, 1897* (n.p., 1897), 17.
42. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School, Florence, Alabama, 1876–77*, 12; Fredrick Chambers, “Historical Study of Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, 1873–1943” (Ed.D. diss., Ball State University, 1970), 68; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School, Florence, Alabama, 1883 and 1884*, 13; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1886–87*, 14; *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1887–88*, 18; Westfield catalog quoted in Fiorello, “General Education,” 256; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1898–99*, 113.
43. Iowa board and Cedar Falls catalog quoted in Clarence Theodore Molen, “The Evolution of a State Normal School Into a Teachers College: The University of

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44. *State Normal School, Geneseo, NY, 1901–1902*, 16; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1898–99*, 111; *Bulletin of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1* (1912), UCUNA, 9.
45. *The First Half Century of the Oshkosh Normal School* (Oshkosh, WI: The Faculty of State Normal School, 1921), 17; Albert Reynolds Taylor, *Autobiography of Albert Reynolds Taylor* (Decatur, IL: Review Printing and Stationery Co., 1929), 57–58; *State Normal School, Geneseo, NY, 1907–1908*, 19; Isbell, *A History*, 166; Hopkins and Thomas, *The Arizona State University Story*, 171.
46. Bridgewater catalog quoted in *As We Were . . . As We Are: Bridgewater State College, 1840–1876* (Bridgewater, MA: Alumni Association, Bridgewater State College, 1876), 79; Bicknell, *History*, 32; Murphy, “Origin and Development,” 101; pledge quoted in Hronek, “Women,” 94.
47. Bridgewater catalog quoted in *As We Were*, 79; Bicknell, *History*, 33; Clayton C. Mau, *Brief History of the State University Teachers College, Geneseo, New York* (Geneseo, NY, 1956), 6; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 29; Murphy, “Origin and Development,” 102; Reed, *The History*, 57.
48. Isbell, *A History*, 138; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1895* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1895), 9; *1900* (1900), 11; Murphy, “Origin and Development,” 167; Dean, “Covert Curriculum,” 118; Hronek, “Women,” 111; Michael Francis Bannon, “A History of State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama” (Ed.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1954), 47; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1908–1909*, 44.
49. Chambers, “Historical Study,” 80; Vaughn, “The History,” 38; Greathead, *The Story*, 57–58; Coleman, “Eastern Illinois State College,” 92; Bannon, “A History,” 79; Hartman, “The History,” 155.
50. Peru student quoted in McKenzie, *History*, 98; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 111; Rogers, *Oswego*, 71; Brush, *In Honor*, 32, 102–103; Nichols, *Rugged Summit*, 92–93; Murphy, “Origin and Development,” 167; Rothrock, “Joseph Carter Corbin,” 289; *State Normal School, Geneseo, NY, 1911–1912*, 28; *1912–1913*, 25.
51. Albert Salisbury, *Historical Sketches of the First Quarter-Century of the State Normal School at Whitewater, Wisconsin* (Madison, WI: Tracy, Gibbs & Co., 1893), 17.

3 “SUBSTANTIAL BRANCHES OF LEARNING” AND “A HIGHER DEGREE OF CULTURE”: ACADEMIC STUDIES AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

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2. *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas for the First Twenty-Five Years* (Emporia, KS, 1889), 31.
3. Hector Richard Carbone, “The History of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction and the Rhode Island Normal School as Agencies and Institutions of

- Teacher Education, 1845–1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1971), 278; C. O. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch and Notes: Winona State Normal School, 1860–1910* (Winona, MN: Jones & Kroeger Co., 1910), 127; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School, Florence, Alabama, 1876–77*, UCUNA; James R. Dotson, “The Historical Development of the State Normal School for White Teachers in Alabama” (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1961), 207–208; Susan Vaughn, “The History of State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama,” *Bulletin of the State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama* 18 (Supplemental, 193?), UCUNA, 16; *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1878*, SJSUA, 44–46.
4. Carbone, “The History,” 284–285; Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States, with Special Reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, IL: McKnight & McKnight, 1935), 122, 189; Melvin Frank Fiegel, “A History of Southwestern State College, 1903–1953” (Ed.D. diss., Oklahoma State University, 1968), 19–20; E. Louise Murphy, “Origin and Development of Fayetteville State Teachers College, 1867–1959—A Chapter in the History of the Education of Negroes in North Carolina” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 103–104.
 5. Albert Salisbury, *Historical Sketch of Normal Instruction in Wisconsin* (n.p., 1893), 51–53, report quoted on 51; Oshkosh catalogs and bulletins, UWOA; quotation from *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1888–89*, UWOA, 20.
 6. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 128–131; *Report of the Principal of the Kansas State Normal School to the Board of Directors for the Year 1865* (Emporia, KS, 1865), 7; *Official Reports of the State Normal School for the Academic Year Ending December 31, 1870, Emporia Kansas* (Topeka, KS, 1870), 8–9; Albert Reynolds Taylor, *Autobiography of Albert Reynolds Taylor* (Decatur, IL: Review Printing and Stationery Co., 1929), 58–59; Florence catalogs and bulletins, UCUNA; George C. Purington, *History of the State Normal School, Farmington, Maine* (Farmington, ME: Knowlton, McLeary & Co., 1889), 195; Castleton catalogs and bulletins, CSCA; George E. Gay, “Massachusetts Normal Schools,” *Education* 17 (May 1897): 515; J. Orin Oliphant, *History of the State Normal School at Cheney, Washington* (Spokane: Inland-American Printing Company, 1924), 128–129.
 7. Daniel Putnam, *A History of the Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1849–1899* (Ypsilanti, MI: Michigan State Normal College, 1899), 60–61.
 8. W. Wayne Dedman, *Cherishing This Heritage: The Centennial History of the State University College at Brockport, New York* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 97, 112–113; Geneseo catalogs and circulars, CASUNYG; Clayton C. Mau, *Brief History of the State University Teachers College, Geneseo, New York* (Geneseo, NY, 1956), CASUNYG, 8; Rosalind R. Fisher, “. . . the stone strength of the past . . .”: *Centennial History of State University College of Arts and Science at Geneseo, New York* (Geneseo, NY, 1971), 67–68; I. F. Boucher, ed., *Fairmont State Normal School: A History* (Fairmont, WV: Fairmont State Normal School, 1929), 87–91; Frank T. Router, *West Liberty State College: The First 125 Years* (West Liberty, WV: West Liberty State College, 1963), 19–21; Victoria Ann Smith, “A Social History of Marshall University During the Period as the State Normal School, 1867–1900,” *West Virginia History* 25 (October 1963): 33, 35.

9. Oshkosh catalogs and bulletins, UWOA; Salisbury, *Historical Sketch*, 53–55; John Edward Merryman, “Indiana University of Pennsylvania: From Private Normal School to Public University” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1972), 187; Jared Stallones, “Struggle for the Soul of a Normal School,” *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 23 (1996): 104; Elisabeth Ann Bowles, *A Good Beginning: The First Four Decades of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 11–12; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 30–31. Some normals also offered special courses for long-serving teachers or college graduates. In Wisconsin, a one-year teachers’ “professional course” was part of the 1892 curriculum revision, and Washington’s legislature mandated “an advanced course of one year for graduates from colleges and universities” in 1899. Such courses were unusual and generally unpopular. Salisbury, *Historical Sketch*, 55; Washington legislation quoted in Oliphant, *History*, 131.
10. According to Sandra Harmon, at Normal, Illinois, “Men and women took the same classes and met in the same classrooms, but Old Main, the only campus building for many years, had separate entrances, cloakrooms, and stairways for the two sexes.” Sandra D. Harmon, “‘The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women Are Abroad in the Land’: Women and the Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1899,” in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 88.
11. In the instructors’ grade books that were saved at Oshkosh, minor variations in the grades earned by women and men probably reflect some influence of gender ideology on instructors’ expectations, and perhaps also students’ assessments of their own capabilities. But the gender differences in grades were slight, suggesting relatively equal expectations for, and treatment of, female and male normalites. In English, women tended to score just slightly higher than men. In Word Analysis during the second quarter of 1893–1894, the average grade for the 23 female students was 82.8, and for the 13 males was 78.4. Ten years later, in first-quarter Composition II, 19 women averaged 83.5, and nine men averaged 82.1. Women scored a bit higher than men in pedagogy and psychology, and a bit lower in government. In Theory I in the department of pedagogy during the second quarter of 1902–1903, the average grade for the 47 women was 82.1, and for the 12 men was 78.8. In Psychology II during the following year, 27 females averaged 92.1, and 12 men 89.8. In Civil Government during the fall and winter of 1880–1881, ten women earned an average score of 70.9, while their seven male classmates earned an average score of 81.3; but during the latter part of 1881–1882, the women barely outscored the men—14 women averaged 80.8, and 12 men averaged 80.3. In mathematics, men generally earned somewhat higher grades than women. In Algebra I in 1890–1891, 18 male students earned an average grade of 74.3, and 18 female students averaged 73.9. Women and men earned remarkably similar grades in physics during the 1900s. In Advanced Physics during 1902–1903, all of the students—two women and eight men—earned perfect scores of 100; five years later in Heat and Light, a woman and a man shared the lowest score, 84.3. Calculated from grades in Registrar, Teachers’ Grade Record Books, 1886–1935, boxes 1–18, series 90, UWOA.
12. Alumnus quoted in Fisher, “. . . *the stone strength*,” 133.
13. Harper, *Development*, 98–99. National data compiled from the *Biennial Survey of Education 1926–1928*, Bulletin No. 16 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1930), reported in Elizabeth Tyler Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential: Women and the Pennsylvania State Normal Schools, 1890–1930”

- (Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2000), 149. See chapter 2 for a discussion of the gender composition of the student body. Faculty data collected from school catalogs and bulletins, as well as institutional histories.
14. *The First Half Century of the Oshkosh Normal School* (Oshkosh, WI: The Faculty State Normal School, 1921), UWOA, 68; *Oshkosh State Teachers College: The First Seventy-Five Years* (Oshkosh, WI: Oshkosh State Teachers College, 1946), 36; Robert McGraw, "A Century of Service," in *The First 100 Years: Worcester State College*, ed. Herb Taylor (Worcester, MA: Worcester State College, Office of Community Services, 1974), section 3, no page numbers; Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education: A Century in the Sheldon Tradition* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), 48; *Catalogue of the State Normal School at Castleton, Vermont, 1883-1885*; State Superintendent of Education, *Vermont School Reports* (Montpelier, 1884-1896, biennial); Estelle Greathead, *The Story of an Inspiring Past: Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose, California, with a Catalogue of Its Graduates and a Record of Their Work for Twenty-Seven Years* (Sacramento: J.D. Young, 1889), 144-179; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1898-1899, 1899-1900, 1900-1901, 1901-1902, 1902-1903*, UWOA; *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin 1* (June 1904), UWOA; Elisabeth Ann Bowles, *A Good Beginning: The First Four Decades of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 41-42; other school catalogs, bulletins, and institutional histories. Female faculty members at normal schools were not the only women to teach in unconventional subject areas; pioneering women at colleges and universities also did so. Yet, while female college and university instructors usually had to be overqualified in comparison to their male colleagues in order to be hired and receive minimal support, women normal-school faculty members tended to hold credentials of lower status than their male colleagues. It was most common in the 1870s and 1880s for female faculty members to have graduated from other normal schools. Beginning in the 1890s, increasing numbers were graduates of colleges, and by the 1920s, most faculty women had bachelor's degrees, some also had master's degrees, and just a couple had doctorates. The men on normal-school faculties were more likely than the women to have bachelor's degrees in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, masters degrees in the early twentieth century, and doctorates in the 1910s and 1920s. School catalogs, bulletins and institutional histories; Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, ed., *Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Institutions, 1870-1937* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1989), 4.
 15. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977), 134-135, 145. The curricula at many colleges, where less than 50 percent of students were high-school graduates, were actually not college-level in the late nineteenth century. Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, "Equally in View": *The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools* (Berkeley: Center for Studies in Higher Education and Institute for Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1995), 3. On the college curriculum during this period, see Rudolph, *Curriculum*, chapters 4 and 5.
 16. Assorted school catalogs and institutional histories; Purington, *History*, 195; Florence catalogs; Harper, *Development*, 125; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1903-1904-1910-1911*, SWTA; Oliphant, *History*, 128-130; Salisbury, *Historical Sketch*, 51; Putnam, *A History*, 60-61; Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 129; C. Francis Willey,

- “Willimantic State Teachers College,” *Teacher Education Quarterly* (Fall 1949): 18; John C. Almack, “History of Oregon Normal Schools,” *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 21 (June 1920): 108; Adelaide R. Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School, 1886–1888,” Pender Collection, University Archives, Elihu Burritt Library, Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, Connecticut, 3.
17. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1871–72*, 17; Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School,” 3; Curtis quoted in William Marshall French and Florence Smith French, *College of the Empire State: A Centennial History of The New York State College for Teachers at Albany* ([Albany?], 1944), 19; Westfield document quoted in Robert T. Brown, *The Rise and Fall of the People’s Colleges: The Westfield Normal School, 1839–1914* (Westfield, MA: Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State College, 1988), 135; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1897–98*, 73–74; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1899–1900*, 33; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 20.
 18. Assorted school catalogs and institutional histories; Louis I. Kuslan, “Science in Selected Normal Schools of the 19th Century” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1954); Phelps quoted in Egbert R. Isbell, *A History of Eastern Michigan University, 1849–1965* (Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University Press, 1971), 253; Westfield document quoted in Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 135–136.
 19. State Superintendent of Education (Alabama), *Report, 1885* (Montgomery, AL, 1885), 38; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1889–1890*, 18; Westfield document quoted in Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 135–136; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1897–98*, 66, 70; Saunders quoted in Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 75.
 20. Arthur C. Boyden, *The History of Bridgewater Normal School* (Bridgewater, MA: Bridgewater Normal Alumni Association, 1933), 49–51, quotation on 50; Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 51; *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending June 7, 1895* (Little Rock, AR, 1896), 20.
 21. Knapp quoted in *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose, California, with a Catalogue of Its Graduates and a Record of Their Work for Twenty-Five Years* (Sacramento, CA: J.D. Young, 1889), 70; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 113.
 22. Matthis quoted in *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose*, 98; Isbell, *A History*, 254; Ernest Longfellow, *The Normal on the Hill: One Hundred Years of Peru State College* (Grand Island, NE: The Augustine Company, 1967), 19; Greathead, *The Story*, 114; San Jose catalogs, SJSUA; J. M. McKenzie, *History of the Peru State Normal* (Auburn, NE: The Nemaha County Republican, 1911), 62.
 23. Boyden, *The History*, 51; Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 143; C. Nicholas Raphael and James R. McDonald, “Geography and Geology at Eastern Michigan University: The First Hundred Years of the ‘Normal,’” *Michigan Academician* 27 (1995): 428; Work Projects Administration in the State of Massachusetts, *The State Teachers College at Westfield* (Boston: State Department of Education, 1941), 49; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1897–98*, 70; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal*

- School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 23; *Vermont State Normal Schools, 1909–1910*, CSCA, 12; *The Normal Index 2* (Oct. 1886), SJSUA, 33. On the growth of natural-history museums after the Civil War, see Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), chapter 2.
24. McGraw, “A Century,” section 4, no page numbers; Knapp quoted in *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose*, 69; *The Normal Index 1* (April 1886): 74; State Superintendent of Education (Alabama), *Report, 1885*, 38; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1889–1900*, 31; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 26; McKenzie, *History*, 63; Rogers, *Oswego*, 111; Eli G. Lentz, *Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect: Southern Illinois University, 1874–1949* (Carbondale, IL: University Editorial Board, Southern Illinois University, 1955), 46; Harper, *Development*, 364; Carey W. Brush, *In Honor and Good Faith: A History of the State University College at Oneonta, New York* (Oneonta, NY: The Faculty-Student Association of State University Teachers College at Oneonta, Inc., 1965), 61; Frank A. Cooper, *The Plattsburgh Idea in Education, 1889–1964* (Plattsburgh, NY: Plattsburgh College Benevolent and Educational Association, Inc., 1964), 38.
 25. Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 50; Phelps quoted in Isbell, *A History*, 253; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School, Florence, Alabama, 1884–85*, 17; *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1888*, SJSUA, 25; *The Pedagogue* (1906), SWTA, 22.
 26. Albee quoted in *The First Half Century of the Oshkosh Normal School*, 11; Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 51; Normal catalog (1889) quoted in Harper, *Development*, 374; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1899–1900*, 30; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 27; Matthis quoted in *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose*, 97; *The Normal Advance 1* (Jan.–Feb. 1895), UWOA, 13.
 27. *The Normal Advance 4* (Nov. 1897), 41; Kelley, Bean, and Allen quoted in Rogers, *Oswego*, 111, 50; Clark quoted in Albert Salisbury, *Historical Sketches of the First Quarter-Century of the State Normal School at Whitewater, Wisconsin* (Madison, WI: Tracy, Gibbs & Co., 1893), 53. The extensive offerings in science at state normal schools confirm historian Kim Tolley’s observation that, contrary to present-day assumptions, science and mathematics were acceptable and popular subjects for female students in higher schools during the nineteenth century. See Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).
 28. Almack, “History,” 109; Purington, *History*, 195; Putnam, *A History*, 60–61; Boyden, *The History*, 54; Westfield document quoted in Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 134.
 29. *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, SJSUA, 27; King quoted in Isbell, *A History*, 248; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1890–91*, 22; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1897–98*, 60.
 30. William Frederick Hartman, “The History of Colorado State College of Education: The Normal School Period, 1890–1911” (Ph.D. diss., Colorado State College of Education, 1951), 126; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at*

- Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1872–73*, 30, 1874–75, 34, 1879–80, 43, 1885–86, 40, 1895–96, 90, 1902–1903, 130; Pine Bluff document quoted in Fredrick Chambers, “Historical Study of Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, 1873–1943” (Ed.D. diss., Ball State University, 1970), 101; *Circular of the State Normal and Training School at Geneseo, NY* (1888), CASUNYG, 7–8; Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 39–41, quotation on 39; Michael Francis Bannon, “A History of State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama” (Ed.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1954), 46; Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 140; Hart quoted in Rogers, *Oswego*, 96.
31. Brush, *In Honor*, 22–23, Schumacher quoted on 19; Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 39; James B. Bonder, “The Growth and Development of the State Teachers Colleges of Pennsylvania” (Ed.D. diss., Temple University, 1952), 334; Hartman, “The History,” 116; Westfield document quoted in Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 134; Boyden, *A History*, 41–42; Willimantic catalog quoted in Arthur Charles Forst, Jr., “From Normal School to State College: The Growth and Development of Eastern Connecticut State College From 1889 to 1959,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1980), 70–71; Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School,” 7.
 32. *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 19; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 17–18; Sandra D. Harmon, “‘The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women Are Abroad in the Land’: Women and the Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1899,” in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 90; Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School,” 20; *Catalogue of the State Normal School at Castleton, Vermont, 1872–73*, 14; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1890–91*, 22.
 33. Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 30; *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1890*, 31; *Vermont State Normal Schools, 1909–1910*, 11; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1889–1890*, 19; Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School,” 8.
 34. Harmon, “‘The Voice,’ ” 94; Bessie L. Park, *Cortland—Our Alma Mater: A History of Cortland Normal School and the State University of New York Teachers College at Cortland, 1869–1959* (Cortland, NY, 1960), 102; Fisher, “. . . the stone strength,” 86–87; *The Lamron: 50th Anniversary, Geneseo Normal School* (Geneseo, NY, 1921), CASUNYG, 17; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1890–1891*, 22; Dotson, “The Historical Development,” 408; *The First Half Century of the Oshkosh Normal School*, 23–24; *Annual Catalog of Branch Normal College, 1919–1920* (Little Rock, AR, 1920); Chambers, “Historical Study,” 79–80; Commencement Programs, 1870s–1930s, UCUNA; graduation programs in “Keepers of the Spirit: The L. A. Davis, Sr. Historical Collection,” Exhibit, Isaac S. Hathaway-John M. Howard Fine Arts Center, University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff, Pine Bluff, AR, May 1995; Commencement Programs, Castleton State Normal School, 1874–1940, CSCA; Class Day Programs, UWOA; Hendrix quoted in *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose*, 49; *The Normal Advance* 1 (Jan.–Feb. 1895)–19 (Sept. 1912).

35. Virtually all school catalogs and bulletins list drawing and vocal music as required subjects. Hartman, "The History," 116; Gay, "Massachusetts Normal Schools," 515; Rogers, *Oswego*, 29, 97–98, McGuire quoted on 98; Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 174; Carbone, "The History," 349; Margaret Wilson and N. E. Gaymon, eds., *A Century of Wisdom: Selected Speeches of Presidents of Florida A & M University* (Winter Park, FL: Four-G Publishers, Inc., 1990), 21–22.
36. Bonder, "The Growth and Development," 334, 340; Dotson, "The Historical Development," 208, 300, 316–317; Paul Stoler, "Castleton Normal School in the Nineteenth Century," in *And the Glory of the Latter House Shall Be Greater Than That of the Former: An Informal History of Castleton State College*, ed. Holman D. Jordan (Castleton, VT: Castleton State College, 1968), 52; Chambers, "Historical Study," 66–68, 143; Murphy, "Origin and Development," 129, quotation on 145; Deward Homan Reed, *The History of Teachers Colleges in New Mexico* (Nashville, TN: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1948), 106–107.
37. "Decennial Address of President Edwards" (1872) quoted in Harper, *Development*, 118.
38. Quoted in Lawrence W. Levine, "William Shakespeare and the American People: A Study in Cultural Transformation," in *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 169.
39. Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976), 30, 55; Levine, "William Shakespeare and the American People"; Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Verso, 1996), 157–159; Paul DiMaggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America," *Media, Culture and Society* 4 (1982): 33–50; Paul DiMaggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston, Part II: The Classification and Framing of American Art," *Media, Culture and Society* 4 (1982): 303–322; Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture & Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), chapter 5; Oscar Handlin and Mary F. Handlin, *The American College and American Culture: Socialization as a Function of Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), 49–50. See also Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967). Jencks and Riesman distinguish between social stratification and cultural stratification, but acknowledge that the two are highly interrelated. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), 64–90. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital has three forms: the "embodied state" is the culture absorbed into one's being or personality; "objectified" cultural capital is physical items such as books or paintings; and the "institutionalized" form is academic qualifications. Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 243–249. See also David Swartz, *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997); Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, translated by Richard Nice (Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, 1977); Randall Collins, *The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification* (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc., 1979), 57–62;

- Alejandro Portes, "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 1–24.
40. Kirksville, Missouri offered the degree of Bachelor of the Arts and Philosophic Didactics, and had granted 46 such degrees as early as 1876. In later years, Kirksville offered other bachelors', and even a master's degree. The few other normal schools that officially offered some sort of bachelor's degree in the nineteenth century rarely—if ever—actually conferred them, and there is little evidence that these degrees certified college-level work. Cedar Falls, Iowa offered a Bachelor of Didactics degree for completion of the scientific course. At Troy, Alabama, President Edridge granted a bachelor of philosophy degree to his own daughter in 1889, but did have permission from the legislature to grant bachelors' degrees until four years later. Ypsilanti, Michigan awarded its first Bachelor of Pedagogics degree in 1890. Silver City, New Mexico began to offer Bachelor of Pedagogy and Master of Pedagogy degrees in 1896 and 1903, respectively, but did not actually confer them until the 1910s. After the turn of the century, more normals would offer bachelor's degrees. Walter H. Ryle, *Centennial History of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College* (Kirksville, MO: Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, 1972), 113, 165; Clarence Theodore Molen, "The Evolution of a State Normal School Into a Teachers College: The University of Northern Iowa, 1876–1916" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1974), 80; Bannon, "A History," 31–32; Isbell, *A History*, 136; Reed, *A History*, 41.
 41. Providence catalog quoted in Carbone, "The History," 279; Harper, *Development*, 125, 339–340; Wisconsin report quoted in Salisbury, *Historical Sketch*, 51; Purington, *History*, 194; Putnam, *A History*, 61; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 97, 112.
 42. Percentage of Millersville graduates calculated from statistics listed in Bugaighis, "Liberating Potential," 100; Harper, *Development*, 136; New York report printed in Thomas E. Finegan, *Teacher Training Agencies: A Historical Review of the Various Agencies of the State of New York Employed in Training and Preparing Teachers for the Public Schools of the State* (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1917), 129; Brush, *In Honor*, 89; Molen, "The Evolution," 79–80; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 31.
 43. Bonder, "The Growth and Development," 335; Harper, *Development*, 125; Chambers, "Historical Study," 78–79, 144–145; *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending June 7, 1895*, 16, *June 8th, 1900*, 17; Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 129; Oliphant, *History*, 128–129; *State Normal School, Geneseo, New York, 1905–1906*, CASUNYG, 6–7; Reed, *History*, 112.
 44. Westfield document quoted in Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 137–140; Greathead, *The Story*, 16–17.
 45. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 129; Oliphant, *History*, 131; Fisher, ". . . the stone strength," 67–68; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 28; Ernest J. Hopkins and Alfred Thomas, Jr., *The Arizona State University Story* (Phoenix, AZ: Southwest Publishing Co., Inc., 1960), 89, 105; Stallones, "Struggle," 105; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama, 1891–92*, 27, 1895–96, 34; Westfield document quoted in Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 138–139; Putnam, *A History*, 61; Cooper, *The Plattsburgh Idea*, 27; Boughter, *Fairmont State Normal*, 73–74; Almack, "History," 109–110; Brush, *In Honor*, 273; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 112;

- Brown explains that at normal schools in Massachusetts in 1897, "all foreign language instruction ceased, not to be resurrected for sixty years. That same year saw the end of the four-year advanced course of studies in all the schools except Bridgewater, by order of the Board." Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 101.
46. Ticket for "Twelve Nights Entertainment," in Activities, 1861–1940, Files, CSCA; Geneseo catalog quoted in Fisher, ". . . the stone strength," 64–65; Slippery Rock catalog quoted in Eugene Coleman Ney, "Slippery Rock State Normal School, 1890–1916: The Maltby Era" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1998), 107; *The Normal Advance* 2 (Sept.–Oct. 1895): 10; Louie G. Ramsdell, "First Hundred Years of the First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts—1839–1939," in *First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts* (Framingham, MA: The Alumnae Association of the State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts, 1959), 9; Student Walter S. Campbell quoted in Jerry G. Nye, *Southwestern Oklahoma State University: The First 100 Years* (Weatherford, OK: Southwestern Oklahoma State University, 2001), 28; Bowles, *A Good Beginning*, 18, 118; Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, *Pioneers for One Hundred Years: San Jose State College, 1857–1957* (San Jose, CA: San Jose State College, 1957), 108; M. Janette Bohi, *A History of Wisconsin State University Whitewater, 1868–1968* (Whitewater, WI: Whitewater State University Foundation, 1968), 99.
 47. Bohi, *A History*, 48; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 64; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 129; Boyden, *The History*, 51; Class Day Program (Oshkosh), 1889, 74; *Students' Hand Book, 1906–1907* (Oshkosh, WI: Students' Christian Association, 1906), UWOA, 22; "Normal Index Department," *The Pacific Coast Teacher: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Educational Interests of the Pacific Coast*, SJSUA, 1 (Oct. 1891): 61, 1 (Dec. 1891): 105.
 48. Isbell, *A History*, 334; Brush, *In Honor*, 50; *The Pedagogue* (1908), 112; *The First Half Century of the Oshkosh Normal School*, 25 (Oshkosh's German club was probably Der Deutsche Literarische Kreis, or German literary circle); I. N. Mitchell, ed., *Quarter Century of the Milwaukee State Normal School, 1886–1911* (Milwaukee, 1911), 19; Bohi, *A History*, 92; McKenzie, *History*, 81.
 49. Isbell, *A History*, 334; *The Normalian* 1 (June 20, 1900), CASUNYG, 4; *The Normal Pennant* 6 (June 1903), SJSUA, 79; *The Pedagogue* (1907), 112; Fisher, ". . . the stone strength," 85; Bohi, *A History*, 99; Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1957* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1956), 201; *The Normal Advance* 6 (Sept. 1899): 10–11; *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 3 (June 1907): 101. See chapter 5 for further discussion of student music groups and performances.
 50. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, [1962] 1990), 137–150; Rudolph, *Curriculum*, 95–98; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), chapter 2; Thomas S. Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815–1876* (New York: Pageant Press, 1976).
 51. Harper, *Development*, 112.
 52. Arthur Clarke Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden and the Bridgewater State Normal School: A Memorial Volume* (Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, 1919),

- 138–139; Isbell, *A History*, 332–333; Marshall, *Grandest*, 158; Fiegel, “A History,” 26–27; George Frank Sammis, “A History of the Maine Normal Schools” (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1970), 203; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 8; J. S. Nasmith, “An Open Letter From J. Nasmith,” *Platteville Witness* LXIII (April 13, 1932), 2; Pamela Dean, “Covert Curriculum: Class, Gender, and Student Culture at a New South Woman’s College, 1892–1910” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994), 179; *The Normal Index* 3 (Nov. 1887): 32; Hartman, “The History,” 159. Very rarely did normal schools, such as the one in Castleton, Vermont, not establish literary societies. Also highly unusual was the situation at Winona, Minnesota, in which students had little interest in societies. One commentator reported, “For several years previous to 1903, the school had been without any literary societies. . . . for many years a certain amount of rhetorical work by each student had been a requirement for graduation . . . This gave rhetorical training, but it lacked the values obtainable from spontaneous participation, one of the greatest sources of benefit from this kind of work.” Ruggles, *Historical Sketch*, 163.
53. Vaughn, “The History,” 31–32; Ronald C. Brown, *Beacon on the Hill: Southwest Texas State University, 1903–1978* (San Marcos, TX: Southwest Texas State University, 1978), 21–25; *The Pedagogue* (1904–1910), SWTA; Mau, *Brief History*, 17; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 124; Brush, *In Honor*, 49; Bannon, “A History,” 43–44; Chambers, “Historical Study,” 89–90; Reuter, *West Liberty*, 129; Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, 116–117; Merryman, “Indiana University of Pennsylvania,” 149.
54. Putnam, *A History*, 215–261, resolution quoted on 222–223; Marshall, *Grandest*, 158, 162–163; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 63–68; Greathead, *The Story*, 66–67, 73–77; *Normal Crescent* (Nov. 7, 1885), UWOA, 144; Edward Noyes, “Oshkosh—From Normal School to State University (1871–1968),” in *History of the Wisconsin State Universities*, ed. Walker D. Wyman (River Falls, WI: River Falls State University Press, 1968), 104, 115; *Oshkosh State Teachers College*, 65–66, 68; David Sands Wright, *Fifty Years at the Teachers College: Historical and Personal Reminiscences* (Cedar Falls, IA: Iowa State Teachers College, 1926), 116; McKenzie, *History*, 29, 45, 81.
55. Wright, *Fifty Years*, 116; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 30; Hopkins and Thomas, *The Arizona State University*, 111–112; Oregon catalog quoted in Almack, “History,” 143; Ryle, *Centennial History*, 441, 567–568; Fiegel, “A History,” 27; Reed, *The History*, 136; Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 97; *Biographical Directory and Condensed History of the State Normal School, Mankato, Minn., 1870–1890* (Mankato, MN: Mankato State Normal School Alumni Association, 1891), 12.
56. Lee Graver, *A History of the First Pennsylvania State Normal School, Now the State Teachers College at Millersville* (Millersville, PA: State Teachers College, 1955), 229; Bannon, “A History,” 44; Marshall, *Grandest*, 158.
57. Brush, *In Honor*, 48; John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1882), 149; Ryle, *Centennial History*, 444; Wright, *Fifty Years*, 202; *The Normal Advance* 5 (March 1899): 120–123.
58. *New York State Teachers College At Buffalo: A History, 1871–1946* (Buffalo: New York State Teachers College at Buffalo, 1946), 143, 129; Bannon, “A History,” 41; Irving H. Hart, *The First 75 Years* (Cedar Falls, IA: Iowa State

- Teachers College, 1951), 148; Park, *Cortland*, 86–87; *The Crucible* quoted in Hartman, “The History,” 169; *The Normal Advance*, UWOA.
59. *The Normal Advance* 7 (March 1901): 122; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 125–126; *The Normalian* 1 (March 5, 1900), CASUNYG, 8; Ladies’ Literary Society, Minutes, May 2, 1879, UWOA, 58; *The Normal Advance* 1 (Nov.–Dec. 1894): 14, 4 (Feb. 1898): 100–101, 5 (Feb. 1899): 91–96, 5 (March 1899): 120–123; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, Nov. 5, 1897, CASUNYG, 276; *The Normalian* 1 (March 5, 1900): 8; Fisher, “. . . the stone strength,” 86; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, Nov. 15, 1895, 192.
60. Vaughn, “The History,” 31; *Oshkosh State Teachers College*, 68; Wright, *Fifty Years*, 74; *The Normal Pennant* 4 (June 1901): 18; *The Pedagogue* (1905), 61; Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 96; Beach quoted in Salisbury, *Historical Sketches of the First Quarter-Century*, 91; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 125–126.
61. Dedman, *Cherishing*, 125; *The Pedagogue* (1909), 98–99; Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 96; Brush, *In Honor*, 52; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, April 30, 1892, 30; Dixie Club, Roll call and minutes of meetings, Oct. 17, 1902, in Organizations, Files, UCUNA; *The Pedagogue* (1907), 90, 87; *The Normal Advance* 13 (Sept. 1906): 15.
62. Brush, *In Honor*, 288; *The Normal Pennant* 3 (Feb. 1900): 11; *The Normal Index* 1 (Nov. 1885): 9, 3 (Nov. 1887): 28–30; *The Normalian* 1 (March 5, 1900): 8, 1 (June 20, 1900): 17–18; Arethusa Sorority, Program, “Anniversary exercises held at Normal Hall, Geneseo, by Arethusa Fraternity with Gamma Sigma Fraternity,” 1900.
63. *The Normal Advance* 2 (Jan.–Feb. 1896): 60; Society records excerpted in Work Projects Administration, *The State Teachers College at Westfield*, 72; *The Normal Advance* 6 (Oct. 1899): 33; Dixie Club, Roll and minutes of meetings, Oct. 25, 1912; Ladies’ Literary Society, Minutes, Oct. 8, 1880 and Feb. 4, 1881, UWOA, 127, 136; *The Normal Star* 2 (Feb. 23, 1912), SWTA, 1; *The Normal Advance* 18 (Jan. 1912): 128.
64. Park, *Cortland*, 41; Society records excerpted in Work Projects Administration, *The State Teachers College at Westfield*, 72; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, April 12, 1895 and Oct. 31, 1899, 173, 367; *The Pedagogue* (1905), 71; *The Normal Advance* 6 (Jan. 1900): 92; *The Pedagogue* (1907), 51; Rogers, *Oswego*, 88; Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential,” 208–211.
65. *The Normal Student* 2 (Nov. 21, 1902), CSCA, 5; *The Normal Advance* 4 (Feb. 1898): 100–101, 5 (Dec. 1898): 67, 9 (Dec. 1903): 167; Cook and McHugh, *A History*, 153–154; *The Normal Advance* 3 (Sept.–Oct. 1896): 17; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, Dec. 7, 1895, 196; *The Normal Pennant* 1 (March 1898): 2; *The Normal Advance* 2 (Sept.–Oct. 1895): 16; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, Oct. 5, 1894, 145; Dialectical-Lafayette debate program, April 1905, in Programs, 1857–1938, file, UCUNA.
66. *The Normal Advance* 2 (May–June 1896): 105–106; *Senior Year Book: San Jose Normal* (1910), SJSUA, 36; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, April 12, 1901, 423–424; *The Normal Pennant* 4 (June 1901): 19–20; Brush, *In Honor*, 52; *The Pedagogue* (1909), 74; Fiegel, “A History,” 50; Philalthean Society, Constitution and 2 volumes of Meeting Minutes, CASUNYG, Feb. 3, 1894, vol. 1, 186; *The Normal Advance* 2 (Sept.–Oct. 1895): 16, special edition (Nov. 1, 1912).

67. Brush, *In Honor*, 49; Dedman, *Cherishing*, 127–128, 124–125; Edwin H. Cates, *A Centennial History of St. Cloud State College* (Minneapolis, MN: Dillon Press, 1968), 78; Cook and McHugh, *A History*, 115; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 67.
68. Timbie quoted in Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, 146.

4 TEACHER EDUCATION: BREATHING “THE OZONE OF TEACHING”

1. Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976), chapter 3; Merle L. Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education: A Historical Survey of American Thought* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1956), quotations on 229. In the same vein as Borrowman, Paul Mattingly argues that in the late nineteenth century normal schools were “unprofessionally mechanical,” concentrating on “vocational training for specific skills.” Paul H. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), chapter 7, quotations on 166. Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 8.
2. Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890–1940* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), chapter 1, quotation on 3; Barbara J. Harris, *Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), chapter 4. Nancy Hoffman explains that “the common image of teaching as ‘women’s work’ resulted in its demotion to a second-rate profession. Because women themselves were viewed as subordinate to men, women’s profession could not equal law, medicine, theology, or even the management of education.” Nancy Hoffman, *Women’s “True” Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1981), 15. While Geraldine Jonçich Clifford points out that work with young children, low wages, teachers’ youth, and low public regard for schooling have all contributed to the problematic image and status of teachers, she cites gendered views of women teachers as a key factor: the “perceptions that teachers were ‘mothering,’ or that women teachers were only marking time until marriage, had unfortunate effects for the image of professionalism that teaching was trying to cultivate.” Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, “Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family, and Career in American Educational History,” in *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, ed. Donald Warren (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1989), 315–319. See also Michael W. Apple, “Teaching and ‘Women’s Work’: A Comparative Historical and Ideological Analysis,” *Teachers College Record* 86 (Spring 1985): 455–473; Linda Eisenmann, “Teacher Professionalism: A New Analytical Tool for the History of Teachers,” *Harvard Educational Review* 61 (May 1991): 215–224.
3. Lough quoted in *The Normal Advance* 7 (January 1901), UWOA, 77.
4. Mark Ginsburg points out that class and gender ideology granted more status to “liberal” than “technical” approaches to teacher education. He continues, “The ideological struggle that transpired should be conceived of not only in terms of ‘liberal’ versus ‘technical,’ but also in relation to ‘mental’ versus ‘manual’—terms

which have a clearer association with social class relations. The terms of the debate also connect gender relations, although not explicitly in terms of ‘mental’ versus ‘emotional’ labor.” And it was their “association with less elite members of the population—working class, farmers, and women—which helped to locate the normal schools at the lower end of the liberal-technical hierarchical relations.” Mark B. Ginsburg, “Teacher Education and Class and Gender Relations: A Critical Analysis of Historical Studies of Teacher Education,” *Educational Foundations* 2 (Spring 1987): 6, 12–13. Andrew Gitlin asserts that normal schools’ efforts to professionalize teaching focused on “experience and a more applied approach to education,” as the institutions “viewed reflection on experience as a way of knowing” in addition to insisting “that teachers be instilled with a type of commitment, a sense of being called. . . . This professionalization project, with its emphasis on experience and commitment” Gitlin further argues, was unsuccessful in the face of prevailing gender ideology and conceptions of professionalism: “dominant groups in society, such as male industrialists who viewed science as a necessary part of increasing control, production, and efficiency, had little confidence in the experiential emphasis embodied in the normal school or the quality of candidates who entered this institution. Normal schools’ functional approach to professionalization, as a consequence, did not garner their trust and thus did not act to uplift the authority, status, and work conditions of teachers.” Andrew Gitlin, “Gender and Professionalization: An Institutional Analysis of Teacher Education and Unionism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Teachers College Record* 97 (Summer 1996): 595–596, 598–599.

5. Albert Boyden quoted in Arthur C. Boyden, *The History of Bridgewater Normal School* (Bridgewater, MA: Bridgewater Normal Alumni Association, 1933), 78.
6. George C. Purington, *History of the State Normal School, Farmington, Maine* (Farmington, ME: Knowlton, McLeary & Co., 1889), 42; Elisabeth Ann Bowles, *A Good Beginning: The First Four Decades of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 19; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas for the First Twenty-Five Years* (Emporia, KS, 1889), 54; Egbert R. Isbell, *A History of Eastern Michigan University, 1849–1965* (Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University Press, 1971), 56–57.
7. *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 54, 44, 56, 48; Irving H. Hart, *The First 75 Years* (Cedar Falls, IA: Iowa State Teachers College, 1951), 59–60, Seerley quoted on 59. Historian Andrew Gitlin states, “The importance of experience, in terms of knowledge production, was also evident in the normal schools’ emphasis on hiring experienced teachers as opposed to more theoretically-minded, research-trained academics.” Gitlin, “Gender and Professionalization,” 596.
8. Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education: A Century in the Sheldon Tradition* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), 154; Hart, *The First 75 Years*, 60; Erwin S. Selle, ed., *The Winona State Teachers College: Historical Notes, 1910–1935* (Winona, MN, 1935), 57.
9. Rogers, *Oswego*, 48, 51; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 48, 54; Ben Burks, “A Stepping Stone in Academic Careers: Virginia’s Female Normal Schools and Their Instructors” (Paper presented at History of Education Society annual meeting, October 2000, San Antonio), 2, 10–11; Isbell, *A History*, 238, 396, 248, 56–57.
10. Isbell, *A History*, 56–57, 96, 115; David Sands Wright, *Fifty Years at the Teachers College: Historical and Personal Reminiscences* (Cedar Falls, IA: Iowa State

- Teachers College, 1926), 105–107, 73–74, 12; Albert Reynolds Taylor, *Autobiography of Albert Reynolds Taylor* (Decatur, IL: Review Printing and Stationery Co., 1929), 76–78; *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1907* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1907), 98, 113, 115; M. Janette Bohi, *A History of Wisconsin State University Whitewater, 1868–1968* (Whitewater, WI: Whitewater State University Foundation, 1968), 72; Michael Francis Bannon, “A History of State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama” (Ed.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1954), 41; Maxine Ollie Merlino, “A History of the California State Normal Schools—Their Origin, Growth, and Transformation into Teachers Colleges” (Ed.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1962), 180.
11. Walter H. Ryle, *Centennial History of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College* (Kirksville, MO: Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, 1972), 106; Isbell, *A History*, 116, 238, 258, 396, Bellows quoted on 116; James O. Knauss, *The First Fifty Years: A History of Western Michigan College of Education* (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan College of Education, 1953), 15; Wright, *Fifty Years*, 12, 129; Burks, “A Stepping Stone,” 16.
 12. *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 55, 47, 56, 48.
 13. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School, Florence, Alabama, 1876–77*, UCUNA, 11, 1883 and 1884, 18; Hector Richard Carbone, “The History of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction and the Rhode Island Normal School as Agencies and Institutions of Teacher Education, 1845–1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1971), 278; John C. Almack, “History of Oregon Normal Schools,” *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 21 (June 1920): 109; *Vermont State Normal Schools, 1898–99*, CSCA, no page numbers; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1898*, SJSUA, 11, 1904, 14; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1872–73*, UWOA, 23, 1879–80, 29.
 14. J. Orin Oliphant, *History of the State Normal School at Cheney, Washington* (Spokane: Inland-American Printing Company, 1924), 128–129; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1889–90*, UCUNA, 21; *State Normal School, Geneseo, New York, 1901–1902*, CASUNYG, 9–10; Hart, *The First 75 Years*, 81, 87; Jean Talbot, *First State Normal School 1860, Winona State College, 1960* (Winona, MN: *Quarterly Bulletin of Winona State College* 55 [August 1959]—56 [August 1960]), 12; Samuel R. Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years: A History of Central Washington State College, 1891–1966* (Ellensburg, WA: Central Washington State College, 1967), 90; *State Normal School, Geneseo, New York, 1905–1906*, 7; Avis Leo Sebaly, “Michigan State Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges in Transition, With Special Reference to Western Michigan College of Education” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1950), 199, 208.
 15. Ypsilanti catalog excerpted in Daniel Putnam, *A History of the Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1849–1899* (Ypsilanti, MI: Michigan State Normal College, 1899), 78; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1899–1900*, 29; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 31–32, 1904, 15; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905* (Austin, TX: State Printers, 1904), SWTA, 24.
 16. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1872–73*, 22, 1879–80, 28; *Catalogue and Circular of the California State*

- Normal School, San Jose, 1878–79*, SJSUA, 45, 1884–85, 45; Purington, *History*, 195; Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 47.
17. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1897–98*, 52; Elizabeth Tyler Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential: Women and the Pennsylvania State Normal Schools, 1890–1930” (Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2000), 301; Oliphant, *History*, 128; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 30; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1899–1900*, 28.
 18. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1890–91*, 17; Carroll quoted in Herbert E. Fowler, *A Century of Teacher Education in Connecticut: The Story of the New Britain State Normal School and the Teachers College of Connecticut, 1849–1949* (New Britain, CT: The Teachers College of Connecticut at New Britain, 1949), 68; Ypsilanti catalog excerpted in Putnam, *A History*, 78; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 31; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 24.
 19. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1872–73*, 22; Carey W. Brush, *In Honor and Good Faith: A History of the State University College at Oneonta, New York* (Oneonta, NY: The Faculty-Student Association of State University Teachers College at Oneonta, Inc., 1965), 14. At Ypsilanti by the late 1880s, “the Pestalozzian emphasis on the psychology of the child (with its obverse side of de-emphasis on the acquisition of facts, of the mere hearing of recitations by the teacher) had developed into a major emphasis on psychology in the professional curriculum.” Isbell, *A History*, 53.
 20. Albert Boyden quoted in Boyden, *The History*, 39; Albert Salisbury, *Historical Sketch of Normal Instruction in Wisconsin* (n.p., 1893), 56.
 21. Bridgewater publication quoted in Boyden, *The History*, 38; C. O. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch and Notes: Winona State Normal School, 1860–1910* (Winona, MN: Jones & Kroeger Co., 1910), 126; Ypsilanti catalogs excerpted in Putnam, *A History*, 58, 62; Robert T. Brown, *The Rise and Fall of the People’s Colleges: The Westfield Normal School, 1839–1914* (Westfield, MA: Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State College, 1988), 51; Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States, with Special Reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, IL: McKnight & McKnight, 1935), 127; *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1878–79*, 46; *Catalogue of the State Normal School at Castleton, Vermont, 1881–1883*, CSCA, 13; Bannon, “A History,” 21; Wright, *Fifty Years*, 109; James B. Bonder, “The Growth and Development of the State Teachers Colleges of Pennsylvania” (Ed.D. diss., Temple University, 1952), 334; Almack, “History,” 109; Fredrick Chambers, “Historical Study of Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, 1873–1943” (Ed.D. diss., Ball State University, 1970), 67; Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 46; Boyden, *The History*, 38.
 22. Ypsilanti catalog excerpted in Putnam, *A History*, 76–77; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1898–99*, 21, 1899–1900, 28; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1897–98*, 55; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 28, 30.
 23. Harper, *Development*, chapters 15 and 16, quotation on 235–236; Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1957* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1956), 188; Herbst, *And Sadly*

- Teach*, 145–146. See also Kathleen Ann Cruikshank, “The Rise and Fall of American Herbartianism: Dynamics of an Educational Reform Movement” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993).
24. Brush, *In Honor*, 22; W. Charles Lahey, *The Potsdam Tradition: A History and a Challenge* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), 109; Rogers, *Oswego*, 12; Cook quoted in Harper, *Development*, 235. Rogers reported that at Oswego, “Herbartian influence was clearly evident in local slavery to lesson planning. . . . Herbart, as translated in McMurry’s *Text on General Method*, was followed as slavishly in many classrooms as object teaching ever was.” And a historian of Southern Illinois Normal University in Carbondale observed that “the five formal steps . . . tended greatly to formalization and exaggeration.” Rogers, *Oswego*, 102; Eli G. Lentz, *Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect: Southern Illinois University, 1874–1949* (Carbondale, IL: University Editorial Board, Southern Illinois University, 1955), 35.
 25. Boyden, *The History*, 90; Robert McGraw, “A Century of Service,” in *The First 100 Years: Worcester State College*, ed. Herb Taylor (Worcester, MA: Worcester State College, Office of Community Services, 1974), section 2, no page numbers. See also Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical*, 107–109.
 26. Arthur Charles Forst, Jr., “From Normal School to State College: The Growth and Development of Eastern Connecticut State College From 1889 to 1959” (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1980), 73; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 31; Oliphant, *History*, 128–131; Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 18–19; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 106; Work Projects Administration in the State of Massachusetts, *The State Teachers College at Westfield* (Boston: State Department of Education, 1941), 65; *Vermont State Normal Schools, 1898–99*, 16; Isbell, *A History*, 55; Albert Reynolds Taylor, “History of Normal School Work in Kansas,” *Kansas State Historical Quarterly* 6 (1900): 118; Harper, *Development*, 246.
 27. Purington, *History*, 195; Ernest J. Hopkins and Alfred Thomas, Jr., *The Arizona State University Story* (Phoenix, AZ: Southwest Publishing Co. Inc., 1960), 89; I. F. Boughter, ed., *Fairmont State Normal School: A History* (Fairmont, WV: Fairmont State Normal School, 1929), 90; W. Wayne Dedman, *Cherishing This Heritage: The Centennial History of the State University College at Brockport, New York* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 113; Carbone, “The History,” 338; Chambers, “Historical Study,” 143; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1879–80*, no page numbers, 1891–92, 21–22; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1895*, 15; Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential,” 301–302.
 28. Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 46–47; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1899–1900*, 28; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 30.
 29. *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1878–79*, 45; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 30; Brush, *In Honor*, 20; Bowles, *A Good Beginning*, 20.
 30. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1897–98*, 55–56; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 49; Emporia catalog printed in *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 46.
 31. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1898–99*, 20–21; *Announcement of the Southwest Texas State Normal School for the Annual Session 1904–1905*, 24.

32. *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 30–31; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1899–1900*, 28; Ypsilanti catalogs excerpted in Putnam, *A History*, 71, 77.
33. Estelle Greathead, *The Story of an Inspiring Past: Historical Sketch of the San Jose State Teachers College From 1862 to 1928 with an Alphabetical List of Matriculants and Record of Graduates by Classes* (San Jose, CA: San Jose State Teachers College, 1928), 42; Terry A. Barnhart, “Educating the Masses: The Normal-School Movement and the Origins of Eastern Illinois University, 1895–1899,” *Journal of Illinois History* 4 (Autumn 2001): 215; Matthis quoted in *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose, California, with a Catalogue of Its Graduates and a Record of Their Work for Twenty-Seven Years* (Sacramento, CA: J.D. Young, 1889), 98; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1886–87*, 11; Tempe catalog quoted in Pamela Claire Hronek, “Women and Normal Schools: Tempe Normal, a Case Study, 1885–1925” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1985), 125.
34. Maude B. Gerritson, “Training School, 1839–1939, Especially 1914–1939,” in *First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts* (Framingham, MA: The Alumnae Association of the State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts, 1959), 56–57, student quoted on 56; George W. Neel, “A History of the State Teachers College at Edinboro, Pennsylvania” (Ed.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1950), 41–43; Troy catalog quoted in Bannon, “A History,” 19; Edward M. Shackelford, *The First Fifty Years of the State Teachers College at Troy, Alabama, 1887–1937* (Montgomery, AL: The Paragon Press, 1937), 186–187; Susan Vaughn, “The History of State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama,” *Bulletin of the State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama* 18 (Supplemental, 193?), UCUNA, 26; *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending Friday, June 8th, 1900* (Little Rock, AR, 1900), 22; Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, *Pioneers for One Hundred Years: San Jose State College, 1857–1957* (San Jose, CA: San Jose State College, 1957), 94.
35. *Vermont State Normal Schools, 1898–99*, 7; Arthur Clarke Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden and the Bridgewater State Normal School: A Memorial Volume* (Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, 1919), Albert Boyden quoted on 46, 64.
36. Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 63, 90; Hronek, “Women,” 125; I. N. Mitchell, ed., *Quarter Century of the Milwaukee State Normal School, 1886–1911* (Milwaukee, WI, 1911), 6, 9; William Frederick Hartman, “The History of Colorado State College of Education: The Normal School Period, 1890–1911” (Ph.D. diss., Colorado State College of Education, 1951), 135; Buffalo bulletin quoted in *New York State Teachers College At Buffalo: A History, 1871–1946* (Buffalo: New York State Teachers College at Buffalo, 1946), 46; Fowler, *A Century*, 67; Adelaide R. Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School, 1886–1888,” Pender Collection, University Archives, Elihu Burritt Library, Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, Connecticut, 17.
37. Buffalo bulletin quoted in *New York State Teachers College At Buffalo*, 46; Rogers, *Oswego*, 24.
38. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1898–1899*, 22; Wilson quoted in Carbone, “The History,” 329–330; Brush, *In Honor*, 21.
39. Boyden quoted in Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, 67; Hartman, “The History,” 137; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for*

- the School Year 1897–98*, 52; Matthis quoted in *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San Jose*, 98.
40. Chambers, “Historical Study,” 90; Hart, *The First 75 Years*, 105–108, Gilchrist quoted on 107; Dixon quoted in Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, 144–145.
 41. *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1886–87*, 11, 1898–99, 21; training-school report quoted in Carbone, “The History,” 362; McGraw, “A Century,” section 6, no page numbers; Edwards quoted in Sandra D. Harmon, “‘The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women Are Abroad in the Land’: Women and the Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1899,” in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 92–93.
 42. Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School,” 17–18; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama 1898–99*, 21; *Catalogue of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1900*, 33; evaluation form reproduced in Bannon, “A History,” 83–84.
 43. Harmon, “‘The Voice,’” 93; McGraw, “A Century,” section 6, no page numbers; catalog quoted in Neel, “A History,” 41–42; *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 7 (June 1910), UWOA, 75; legislative report excerpted in Thomas E. Finegan, *Teacher Training Agencies: A Historical Review of the Various Agencies of the State on New York Employed in Training and Preparing Teachers for the Public Schools of the State* (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1917), 127.
 44. State Superintendent of Education (Alabama), *Report, 1883* (Montgomery, AL, 1883), 19.
 45. Cheers printed in Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 109; *Echoes from the Geneseo Normal* 1 (June 1905), CASUNYG, no page numbers.
 46. *The Normal Advance* 1 (Sept.–Oct. 1894): 8, 4 (Jan. 1898): 68–81, 8 (March 1902): 141–148, 8 (April 1902): 167–169, 9 (Nov. 1902): 36–38, 10 (Dec. 1903): 77–78; *The Normal Student* 1 (Nov. 26, 1901), CSCA, 6; *The Normal Pennant* 1 (Jan. 1898), SJSUA, 1–2, 1 (April 1898): 1–2; *The Normal Index* 1 (Nov. 1885), SJSUA, 15; *The Normal Student* 1 (Nov. 26, 1901): 9, 2 (Nov. 21, 1902): 7–9, 2 (May 20, 1903): 2–8.
 47. *The Normal Gem* 1 (April 1, 1889), June Waite Collection, UCUNA, 3; Minutes of Dixie Club, 1899–1903, April 25, 1902, in Organizations, Files, UCUNA, 75. *The Pedagogue* (San Marcos, TX, 1905), SWTA, 65–66; *The Pedagogue* (1911), 102–103.
 48. *The Normal Index* 4 (May 1889): 90–92, 6 (Sept. 25, 1890): 5–6, 1 (Feb. 1886): 45, 5 (Feb. 25, 1890): 57–59; Isbell, *A History*, 333; Rural Sociology Seminar records quoted in Knauss, *The First Fifty Years*, 18–19.
 49. *The Normal Advance* 9 (Nov. 1902): 40; *The Normalian* 2 (May 13, 1901), CASUNYG; Frank A. Cooper, *The Plattsburgh Idea in Education, 1889–1964* (Plattsburgh, NY: Plattsburgh College Benevolent and Educational Association, Inc., 1964), 41; *The Normal Index* 6 (April 25, 1891): 94.
 50. Lafayette Society: Records, 1880–1883, March 12, 1881, in Organizations, Files, UCUNA, 62; Philalethean Society, Constitution and 2 volumes of Meeting Minutes, Sept. 1890–Feb. 1905, March 18, 1892, CASUNYG, vol. 1, 87; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries’ Reports, April 22, 1892–Nov. 14, 1901, April 22, 1892, CASUNYG, 27; *The Normal Index* 4 (Feb. 25, 1889): 58.
 51. Ladies’ Literary Society, Minutes, Aug. 30, 1878–May 25, 1882, Nov. 27, 1879, UWOA, 84; *The Normal Advance* 19 (June 1904): 237–238; debate question

- quoted in John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1882), 145; Lafayette Society: Records, Feb. 17, 1882, 115; Philaethean Society, Constitution and 2 volumes of Meeting Minutes, Oct. 16, 1891, 63; *The Pedagogue* (1906), 120.
52. Lafayette Society: Records, April 24, 1880–May 1, 1880, 19–21; Lafayette Society: Records, Oct. 6, 1882–Oct. 13, 1882, 131–132; *The Normal Gem* 4 (Nov. 1891): 1; *The Normal Index* 4 (Feb. 25, 1889): 52–54; Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries' Reports, Feb. 23, 1894 and Feb. 10, 1896, 119, 207; *The Normal Advance* 10 (Oct. 1902): 34.
53. Agonian, Constitution and Alpha Chapter Secretaries' Reports, Feb. 1, 1897, 248; *The Normal Index* 5 (April 25, 1890): 82; Lafayette Society: Records, May 1, 1880, 21; Ladies' Literary Society, Minutes, April 4, 1879, 54, Nov. 7, 1879, 81; *The Normal Advance* 7 (Dec. 1900): 59–63.
54. *The Normal Advance* 3 (Nov.–Dec. 1896): 31; *The Normal Index* 5 (Feb. 25, 1890): 50–51; *Echoes from the Geneseo Normal* 2 (June 1906), no page numbers; *The Normal Advance* 14 (Jan. 1908): 97, 3 (Jan.–Feb. 1897): 61, 7 (Jan. 1901): 77; Dixie Club, in Organizations, Files, UCUNA, Jan. 31, 1913, no page numbers.
55. *The Normal Index* 4 (Feb. 25, 1889): 49; *The Normal Advance* 7 (March 1901): 124, 9 (Oct. 1902): 28, 1 (Nov.–Dec. 1894): 6–9, quotation on 8; *The Oneontan* quoted in Brush, *In Honor*, 70.
56. *The Normal Index* 1 (Jan. 1886): 41–41, 3 (Jan. 1888): 55–56; *The Normal Pennant* 2 (Sept. 1899): 4–6; Cooper, *The Plattsburgh Idea*, 42; *The Normal Advance* 1 (Jan.–Feb. 1895): 6; *The Normalian* 2 (Oct. 29, 1900): 4; *The Normal Advance* 8 (March 1902): 157.
57. *The Normal Index* 3 (Sept. 1887): 2; *The Crucible* quoted in Hartman, "The History," 143; *Normal Outlook* quoted in Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 107; *The Normal Student* 1 (Feb. 6, 1902): 4, 1 (June 26, 1902): 6; *The Pedagogue* (1904), 6; *The Normal Advance* 7 (Jan. 1901): 77; *Normal Crescent* (Oshkosh, WI: The Phoenix Society, April 25, 1885–May 8, 1886), Aug. 29, 1885, UWOA, 47.
58. *The Pedagogue* (1905), 105.

5 "NOBLE" MEN AND "NOT NECESSARILY BLOOMER WOMEN": THE PUBLIC SPHERE, GENDER ATTITUDES, AND LIFE CHOICES

1. Social capital is the benefits of one's network of connections to other people and involvement in social groups, or, in the words of Bourdieu, "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to . . . membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word." One's social capital "depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected." Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 248–249. See also David Swartz, *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: The University of Chicago

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2. Some work in women's history emphasizes that separate-spheres ideology had little impact on the less-privileged classes and races. See, e.g., Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 15–30; Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1984), chapter 3. For a thorough description of separate-spheres ideology in middle-class society and on college campuses, see Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), chapter 1. On "conventional coeds," see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), chapter 9; Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), chapter 7.
 3. Rose Swart discussed "The New Woman" in an all-school talk on November 27, 1895. *The Normal Advance* 2 (Nov.–Dec. 1895), UWOA, 34.
 4. Clarence G. Fassett, "'The Noble Nineteen' or the Boys of S.N.S.," *The Normal Pennant* 7 (October 1903), SJSUA, 16.
 5. M. Janette Bohi, *A History of Wisconsin State University Whitewater, 1868–1968* (Whitewater, WI: Whitewater State University Foundation, 1968), 45; Egbert R. Isbell, *A History of Eastern Michigan University, 1849–1965* (Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University Press, 1971), 309–310; Edwin H. Cates, *A Centennial History of St. Cloud State College* (Minneapolis, MN: Dillon Press, 1968), 40; Bridgewater students quoted in *As We Were... As We Are: Bridgewater State College, 1840–1976* (Bridgewater, MA: Alumni Association, Bridgewater State College, 1976), 51.
 6. Fairmont's rules in the mid 1870s and 1892 quoted in I. F. Boughter, ed., *Fairmont State Normal School: A History* (Fairmont, WV: Fairmont State Normal School, 1929), 64, 77–78; Dixon quoted in Arthur Clarke Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden and the Bridgewater State Normal School: A Memorial Volume* (Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, 1919), 144; *Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wis., for the School Year 1871–72*, UWOA, 19, 1879–80, 47–48, 1885–86, 44–45; *Catalogue and Circular of the California State Normal School, San Jose, 1884–85*, SJSUA, 57–58.
 7. Janette Bohi, "Whitewater, A Century of Progress (1868–1968)," in *History of the Wisconsin State Universities*, ed. Walker D. Wyman (River Falls, WI: River Falls State University Press, 1968), 63; Dixon quoted in Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, 144; Clark quoted in Albert Salisbury, *Historical Sketches of the First Quarter-Century of the State Normal School at Whitewater, Wisconsin* (Madison: Tracy, Gibbs & Co., 1893), 51; Kutztown catalogs quoted in Mark K. Fritz, "The State Normal Schools: Teaching Teachers and Others," *Pennsylvania Heritage* 11 (Fall 1985): 5; John E. Hubley, *Hilltop Heritage: Shippensburg State's First Hundred Years* (Shippensburg, PA, 1971), 46; Elizabeth Tyler Bugaighis, "Liberating Potential: Women and the Pennsylvania

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 17. Cecil Dryden, *Light for an Empire: The Story of Eastern Washington State College* (Cheney, WA: Eastern Washington State College, 1965), 191; Samuel R. Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years: A History of Central Washington State College, 1891–1966* (Ellensburg, WA: Central Washington State College, 1967), 45; Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education: A Century in the Sheldon Tradition* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), 63–64, 120.
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 25. Rothery, "Some Educational Institutions," 75.
 26. Bessie L. Park, *Cortland—Our Alma Mater: A History of Cortland Normal School and the State University of New York Teachers College at Cortland, 1869–1959* (Cortland, NY, 1960), 36; Fiegel, "A History," 37; Bohi, *A History*, 63, committee quoted on 63; Charles H. Coleman, "Eastern Illinois State College: Fifty Years of Public Service," *Eastern Illinois State College Bulletin* 189 (January 1, 1950): 135–136, 139, Lord quoted on 136; *New York State Teachers College At Buffalo: A History, 1871–1946* (Buffalo: New York State Teachers College at Buffalo, 1946), 123; Harrison, "Gordon Wilson's Normal Education," 31.
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 61. Florence principal quoted in United States Commissioner of Education, *Report*, 1887–1888 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1888), 408–409; *The Normal Index* 3 (September 1887): 12; *Senior Year Book: San Jose Normal* (San Jose, CA: Students of San Jose Normal School, 1910), SJSUA, 35; Childs and McNaughton quoted in Gilbert, *Pioneers*, 93, 107–108; Smith, “Athletics,” 3.
 62. PerLee quoted in Park, *Cortland*, 93; *The Normal Student* 2 (February 19, 1903): 11.
 63. *The Normal Index* 1 (March 1886): 62, 2 (October 1886): 33, 6 (Feb. 25, 1891): 71; *The Normal Student* 1 (Nov. 26, 1901): 9; *The Pedagogue* (1904), 10; *The Normal Index* 1 (Feb. 1888): 69; *The Normal Pennant* 1 (Jan. 1899): 7.
 64. *The Normal Student* 1 (Nov. 26, 1901): 7; *The Normal Pennant* 7 (Oct. 1903): 16.
 65. *The Normal Student* 1 (June 26, 1902): 10; *The Normal Advance* 2 (Sept.–Oct. 1895): 16; Lafayette Society, Records, 1880–1883, in Organizations, Files, UCUNA, April 24, 1880, 19, May 1, 1880, 21, Oct. 6, 1882, 131, Oct. 13,

- 1882, 132; Philaethean Society, Constitution and 2 volumes of Meeting Minutes, Jan. 19, 1899, vol. 2, 77; *The Normal Advance* 5 (March 1899): 121; *Purple and Gold* (Florence, AL: Students of State Normal College, 1913), UCUNA, no page numbers.
66. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), 69.
67. The majority of students who attended state normal schools did not actually finish the course of studies. Yet, the institutions generally tracked the activities of students who graduated. Thus, it would be difficult to analyze the life paths of nongraduates, who probably enjoyed a certain amount of class mobility, but perhaps not as much as actual graduates.
68. Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, 74; percentages of male San Jose graduates who taught calculated from information included in "Record of Graduates By Classes," in Greathead, *The Story*, 290–506; percentages of male Oshkosh graduates who worked in the schools and average tenure on the job calculated from listing of individual graduates' "Years experience since graduating" in "Graduates' Directory," *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 4 (Oct. 1906), UWOA, 8–53. Because some Oshkosh graduates, especially of the later years, were still teaching or working as administrators in 1906, the average "years experience" were probably slightly higher than what is reported.
69. George C. Purington, *History of the State Normal School, Farmington, Maine* (Farmington, ME: Knowlton, McLeary & Co., 1889), 80–81; "50th Anniversary, class of 1884, Geneseo Normal School," Folder: Education: Normal School, LCHS, no page numbers.
70. "50th Anniversary, class of 1884"; Purington, *History*, 78; "Register of the Alumni," 50, 53; *Esto Lux* (Florence, AL: Alumni of State Normal College, 1898), UCUNA, no page numbers; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 66, 69, 77; percentages of male San Jose graduates who worked in administration calculated from information included in "Record of Graduates By Classes"; *Directory of Graduates, Oshkosh State Normal School* (Oshkosh, WI: State Normal School Alumni Association, 1912), UWOA, 16.
71. *Directory of Graduates*, 24, 17, 80, 85, 47; Brush, *In Honor*, 72, 82; Ryle, *Centennial History*, 114; Work Projects Administration, *The State Teachers College*, 54; "Register of the Alumni," 58; "Some of Florence Alumni," *Florence Times*, May 28, 1930, in Alumni: Clippings, file, UCUNA.
72. *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 161–169; *General Catalogue of the State Normal School, Westfield, Mass., 1839–1889* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Company, 1890), 94; Purington, *History*, 113, 102–103; *Directory of Graduates*, 107.
73. Park, *Cortland*, 90; Marshall, *Grandest*, 197; Purington, *History*, 78, 184; *Directory of Graduates*, 80, 85, 47; Work Projects Administration, *The State Teachers College*, 54; *General Catalogue of the State Normal School, Westfield, Mass.*, 121, 123; Brush, *In Honor*, 76–79, 82.
74. *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 68, 71; Brush, *In Honor*, 76–77; "50th Anniversary, class of 1884"; *Directory of Graduates*, 89, 105, 63; Jerry G. Nye, *Southwestern Oklahoma State University: The First 100 Years* (Weatherford, OK: Southwestern Oklahoma State University, 2001), 22.
75. Percentages of male San Jose graduates who studied law calculated from information included in "Record of Graduates By Classes"; percentages of male Oshkosh graduates who worked as attorneys calculated from listings of current

- occupations in "Graduates' Directory"; *Directory of Graduates*, 32, 44; Brush, *In Honor*, 82; Purington, *History*, 91, 128; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 161–169, 69; "Register of the Alumni," 51, 69; "Some of Florence Alumni"; *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending June 8th, 1900* (Little Rock, AR, 1900), 4, 7; *Annual Catalogue of the Arkansas State College for Negroes, 1928–1929* (Little Rock, AR, 1929), 64.
76. Percentages of male San Jose graduates who studied medicine calculated from information included in "Record of Graduates By Classes"; percentages of male Oshkosh graduates who worked as medical doctors calculated from listings of current occupations in "Graduates' Directory"; *Directory of Graduates*, 95, 113; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 76; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 79; "50th Anniversary, class of 1884"; "Register of the Alumni"; *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending June 8th, 1900*, 4; *Annual Catalogue of the Arkansas State College for Negroes, 1928–1929*, 62–66.
77. Percentages of male San Jose graduates who worked in various fields calculated from information included in "Record of Graduates By Classes," Matthews profiled on 362, Cathbertson profiled on 365; *A History of the State Normal School of Kansas*, 161–169, Kirker profiled on 66; *Directory of Graduates*, 24; "50th Anniversary, class of 1884"; *Esto Lux*; "Register of the Alumni," 60.
78. Work Projects Administration, *The State Teachers College*, 53–54; "Some of Florence Alumni"; "50th Anniversary, class of 1884"; Brush, *In Honor*, 78; J. S. Nasmith, "An Open Letter From J. Nasmith," *Platteville Witness* LXIII (April 13, 1932), 2.
79. California Board of Trustees of the State Normal Schools, *Report, Years Ending June 30, 1883 and June 30, 1884* (Sacramento, CA: J.D. Young, 1884), 30; Frank E. Welles, "Historical Address: Review of the First Twenty Years of the Geneseo State Normal School," June 15, 1891, CASUNYG; Commissioners of Higher Education through the Commission on Coordination, "The Kansas State Normal Schools," in *The Organization, Government and Results in the State Educational Institutions of Kansas* (Presented before the Association of Higher Education, 1913), 24–25; percentages of female San Jose graduates who taught calculated from information included in "Record of Graduates By Classes"; Harmon, " 'The Voice,' " 95; Boyden, *Albert Gardner Boyden*, 74; percentages of female Oshkosh graduates who worked in the schools and average teaching tenures calculated from listing of individual graduates' "Years experience since graduating" (even-numbered years only) in "Graduates' Directory."
80. Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, " 'Daughters into Teachers' ": Education and Demographic Influences on the Transformation of Teaching into 'Women's Work' in America," in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, ed. Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 119; Purington, *History*, 184; *Biographical Directory and Condensed History of the State Normal School, Mankato, Minn., 1870–1890* (Mankato, MN: Mankato State Normal School Alumni Association, 1891), 19–39; "50th Anniversary, class of 1884."
81. *Crucible* quoted in Kathleen Underwood, "The Pace of Their Own Lives: Teacher Training and the Life Course of Western Women," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (November 1986): 526; marriage rates for Florence alumnae calculated using information in "Register of the Alumni"; marriage rate for Castleton

- alumnae calculated using information in *General Catalogue of the Graduates of Castleton Normal School, 1867–1937* (1937), CSCA; Harmon, “‘The Voice,’ ” 96; marriage rates for Oshkosh alumnae calculated using information (even-numbered years only) in “Graduates’ Directory.”
82. Richardson and Bishop quoted in Pamela Claire Hronek, “Women and Normal Schools: Tempe Normal, a Case Study, 1885–1925” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1985), 106; average teaching tenure for married Oshkosh alumnae calculated using information (even-numbered years only) in “Graduates’ Directory”; Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential,” 248; Reuter, *West Liberty*, 24; Solomon, *In the Company*, 118; Madelyn Holmes and Beverly J. Weiss, *Lives of Public Schoolteachers: Scenes From American Educational History* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 232. On marriage rates among the general population and college graduates, as well as a discussion of college women’s career paths, see Solomon, *In the Company*, chapter 8; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 30–33. Underwood summarizes: “Graduates [of Greeley] clearly did not race to the altar. . . . This is in sharp contrast to the patterns of their peers.” Colorado State Normal School graduates “were older than their peers . . . when they married, and when they bore children.” Underwood, “The Pace of Their Own Lives,” 526–527, 524.
83. Reuter, *West Liberty*, 24–25; *General Catalogue of the State Normal School, Westfield, Mass.*, 111; “50th Anniversary, class of 1884”; *Directory of Graduates*, 27; *Esto Lux*; Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential,” 246.
84. Purington, *History*, 80, 111, 115, 121; Salisbury, *Historical Sketches of the First Quarter-Century*, 153; “Record of Graduates By Classes,” Mitchess and Packham on 298; Harmon, “‘The Voice,’ ” 96; Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential,” 247, 255–257.
85. *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending Friday, June 8th, 1900*, 4; Louie G. Ramsdell, “First Hundred Years of the First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts—1839–1939,” in *First State Normal School in America: The State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts* (Framingham, MA: The Alumnae Association of the State Teachers College at Framingham, Massachusetts, 1959), 11; “Register of the Alumni”; *Esto Lux*. Even in the South, married women teachers were more common than social norms and official regulations would suggest; see, for example, Sylvia Hunt, “To Wed and to Teach: The Myth of the Single Teacher,” in *Women and Texas History: Selected Essays*, ed. Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1993), 127–142.
86. “50th Anniversary, class of 1884”; Brush, *In Honor*, 111, 81; Rogers, *Oswego*, 157–158, 104.
87. *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending Friday, June 8th, 1900*, 4–7; *Annual Catalogue of the Arkansas State College for Negroes, 1928–1929*, 64–67; “Register of the Alumni”; Harmon, “‘The Voice,’ ” 96; *Biographical Directory*, 24; *Directory of Graduates*, 49; “Record of Graduates By Classes,” 296.
88. Brush, *In Honor*, 72; *Florence Normal College Quarterly* 2 (Jan. 1911): 21; Hollis quoted in Rogers, *Oswego*, 83; *The Normal School Bulletin* (San Marcos) 11 (April 1922): 151–174; “Record of Graduates By Classes”; Greathead, *The Story*, 93; Deward Homan Reed, *The History of Teachers Colleges in New Mexico* (Nashville, TN: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1948), 68–69. It was

- actually more common for women to serve as school superintendents in the early twentieth century than in the mid twentieth century. See Jackie M. Blount, *Destined to Rule the Schools: Women and the Superintendency, 1873–1995* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).
89. *The Normalian* 2 (November 12, 1900), 6; Purington, *History*, 184; Harmon, “‘The Voice,’” 96.
 90. *Albany Journal* quoted in Rogers, *Oswego*, 83; letter from Edna E. Bacon, February 11, 1906, in Rufus Henry Halsey, Personal Papers and Correspondence, UWOA; Oswego statistic in Rogers, *Oswego*, 83; Ramsdell, “First Hundred Years,” 11; Purington, *History*, 135; letter from Daisy W. Chapin, Jan. 17, 1907, in Halsey, Personal Papers; Purington, *History*, 143; *Catalogue and Circular of the Branch Normal College of the Arkansas Industrial University for the Year Ending Friday, June 8th, 1900*, 4–7; Rogers, *Oswego*, 88; C. O. Ruggles, *Historical Sketch and Notes: Winona State Normal School, 1860–1910* (Winona, MN: Jones & Kroeger Co., 1910), 182–184. Many women in the nineteenth century used teaching as a means of broadening their geographical horizons; see, e.g., Mary Hurlbut Cordier, *Schoolwomen of the Prairies and Plains: Personal Narratives from Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, 1860s–1920s* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1992); Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865–1873* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
 91. Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 76; Purington, *History*, 114; Pender, “At the New Britain Normal School,” title page; *Directory of Graduates*, 93; “Record of Graduates By Classes,” 360; Bugaighis, “Liberating Potential,” 253, 255; “Record of Graduates By Classes”; *Annual Catalogue of the Arkansas State College for Negroes, 1928–1929*, 64–66; “Register of the Alumni,” 62; Ramsdell, “First Hundred Years,” 11; Bowles, *A Good Beginning*, 161.
 92. “Record of Graduates By Classes,” Bowers on 295, Bertola on 322; Brush, *In Honor*, 82; Bowles, *A Good Beginning*, 162; Salisbury, *Historical Sketches of the First Quarter-Century*, 156, 159; Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 76; “And the Croix de Guerre Too!” *Geneseo Alumni News* 3 (May 1963), 6.
 93. Holmes and Weiss, *Lives of Women Public School Teachers*, 2.

EPILOGUE: “LOTS OF PEP! LOTS OF STEAM!”

1. Jeffrey Selingo, “Facing New Missions and Rivals, State Colleges Seek a Makeover,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (November 17, 2000): A40. See also Jeffrey Selingo, “Mission Creep?” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (May 31, 2002): A19; Kit Lively, “What’s in a Name? Just Ask Colleges that Want to Be Called Universities,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (June 13, 1997): A33–A34. For a scholarly review of similar issues, see Christopher C. Morphew, “‘A Rose by Any Other Name’: Which Colleges Became Universities,” *The Review of Higher Education* 25 (Winter 2002): 207–223. Scholarship on teacher education also makes reference to this loss of identity; see, e.g., Geraldine Jonçich Clifford and James W. Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); John I. Goodlad, Roger Soder, and Kenneth Sirotnik, eds., *Places Where Teachers Are Taught* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990).
2. David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Education* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, [1956] 1958), chapter 1.

3. See Appendix for more details on when individual normal schools became teachers colleges.
4. Chico yearbook quoted in Maxine Ollie Merlino, "A History of the California State Normal Schools—Their Origin, Growth, and Transformation into Teachers Colleges" (Ed.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1962), 337.
5. Carey W. Brush, *In Honor and Good Faith: A History of the State University College at Oneonta, New York* (Oneonta, NY: The Faculty-Student Association of the State University Teachers College at Oneonta, Inc., 1965), 89; Robert T. Brown, *The Rise and Fall of the People's Colleges: The Westfield Normal School, 1839–1914* (Westfield, MA: Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State College, 1988), 121, 1914 curriculum printed on 142–156; Shackelford quoted in Michael Francis Bannon, "A History of State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama" (Ed.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1954), 80.
6. Brown, *The Rise and Fall*, 116–118, Snedden quoted on 117; Estelle Greathead, *The Story of an Inspiring Past: Historical Sketch of the San Jose State Teachers College From 1862 to 1928 with an Alphabetical List of Matriculants and Record of Graduates by Classes* (San Jose, CA: San Jose State Teachers College, 1928), 47–49; John Marvin Smith, "The History and Growth of Southwest Texas State Teachers College," (M.A. thesis, University of Texas-Austin, 1930), 90–91; Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education: A Century in the Sheldon Tradition* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), 145–146.
7. Rogers, *Oswego*, 98, 149; John Hugh Reynolds and David Yancey Thomas, *History of the University of Arkansas* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 1910), 309–310; *Bulletin of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama* 6 (June 1917), UCUNA, 24–26; Susan Vaughn, "The History of State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama," *Bulletin of the State Teachers College, Florence, Alabama* 18 (Supplemental, 193?), UCUNA: 23; *Bulletin of the State Normal College, Florence, Alabama* 5 (June 1916): 23.
8. Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States, with Special Reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, IL: McKnight & McKnight, 1935), 339–340; *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 8 (June 1911), UWOA: 20–23, 29, 11 (June 1914): 7–8; *The Normal School Bulletin* 1 (July 1912), SWTA: 15–21, 2 (July 1913): 14, 9 (July 1920): 33–40; other Oshkosh and San Marcos bulletins.
9. *Bulletin of the State Teachers College, Oshkosh, Wisconsin* 18 (July 1, 1922), UWOA: 46; *Oshkosh State Normal School Bulletin* 15 (Sept. 1, 1918): 64–65.
10. Mary Moffett Ledger, *The Social Background and Activities of Teachers College Students* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1929), 66; *The Normal Pennant* 6 (June 1903), SJSUA, 82, 12 (June 1909): 41, Greathead, *The Story*, 74–77; *Senior Year Book: San Jose Normal* (San Jose, CA: Students of San Jose Normal School, 1915).
11. *The Normal Star* 2 (Feb. 23, 1912), SWTA, 1; Alethean Society, Constitution and Minutes, Jan. 31, 1917, UWOA: 24; *The Normalian* (1917), CASUNYG, 75; Brush, *In Honor*, 116; Lee Graver, *A History of the First Pennsylvania State Normal School, Now the State Teachers College at Millersville* (Millersville, PA: State Teachers College, 1955), 232–233; Walter H. Ryle, *Centennial History of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College* (Kirksville, MO: Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, 1972), 596–597; Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1957* (Normal, IL: Illinois State Normal University, 1956), 261, 272–274.

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17. Cheer printed in Mohler, *The First Seventy-Five Years*, 109.

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