

**LAURA CARNELL: THE WOMAN BEHIND THE
FOUNDER'S MYTH AT TEMPLE UNIVERSITY**

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ABSTRACT

Using archival materials from the early years of Temple University's history at the Special Collections Research Center, Templana Collection, at Samuel Paley Library of Temple University as well as historical periodicals, this project established a biographical sketch of Associate President Laura Carnell and examined her influence on the advancement and expansion of Temple University at the turn of the 20th century, as well as her broader impact on women's leadership roles in higher education, and to a lesser extent, her contribution to various civic causes in Philadelphia.

Laura Carnell held various leadership positions at Temple University during her 43 year career at a time when few women even attended college. In addition to her important role at Temple and in the public education movement, Laura Carnell was also involved in several other social causes in Philadelphia including healthcare, human services, and several civic groups.

This study examined how her role changed over time, and utilized the Kouzes and Posner (2006) Leadership Practice Inventory to analyze how her leadership of Temple University was demonstrated in her writings. Carnell used traditional gender roles, including masking her gender when necessary, to move the university agenda forward.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my husband, John Bakley and my daughter Grace Bakley with my love and thanks always.

It is also dedicated in memory of my grandmother, Elizabeth Anne Walsh McGinley, who first told me about meeting “The Dean of Temple” when she performed at the Sesquicentennial Celebration in Philadelphia. I remembered that long-ago conversation when I came across Laura’s notes and photos from the event and realized that she meant Laura Carnell. I felt Mom-Mom there in the archives with me and knew I was on the right path.

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I am indebted to many people who have helped me along the way to this important milestone in my academic career; I would be remiss if I didn't thank them here.

Dr. Corrinne Caldwell provided encouragement, support, and understanding throughout this process. One conversation in particular stands out-- she told me I had to just get over my anxiety about finishing the work. So I did. Dr. Steven Gross set me on this interesting path many years ago when he suggested I research Laura Carnell for a paper in his course on Democratic Ethical Leadership. After spending so many years at Temple wondering what was on the mezzanine in the library, I found that I loved researching in the Conwellana-Templana archives, thanks to the gentle assistance from Carolann Harris, who oversees that collection. When I had difficulty landing on a topic for my dissertation, a conversation with Dr. Ruth Ost sent me back to tell Laura's story. I might not have gotten there without that nudge. Both Dr. Rebecca Alpert and Dr. James Hilty encouraged me to do this project, gave me very good suggestions for historical source materials, and assisted me in improving the final document in significant ways. Dr. William Cutler and I struck up a conversation about Carnell and he graciously sent me notes and materials he had gathered on her, including the Ladies Home Journal article I had difficulty tracking down.

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John Bakley has bigger dreams for me than I have for myself. His love and support kept me going when I was sick and when I didn't think I could keep it all together. He smartly told me that the best thing about getting my doctorate would be that our daughter Grace would always remember it and know that she could do anything because I did this. Grace was three when I began doctoral studies. And now, from the other side, I am very glad that I went back at that moment. Somehow, we three found balance between family, work, and school. Three IS a magic number, indeed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Biographical Sketch of Laura Carnell

Laura Horner Carnell was born September 7, 1867 to Lafayette and Rebecca Wood Ayres Carnell. The young family resided at 2125 Germantown Avenue in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Laura Carnell was baptized on January 26, 1868 by Reverend William Cooper at the Midtown Methodist Church (formerly Cohocksink Methodist) on 7th Street, the church her father was raised in. Two years after Laura, her brother William Colwell Carnell (1870-1922) was born.

Lafayette Carnell (1836-1871), the youngest of twelve children, was raised at 1907 N. 7th Street (7th and Berks Streets) in Philadelphia. He established a business as a tobacconist, making and selling cigars from a storefront in the Germantown section of Philadelphia. He and Rebecca Wood Ayres (1845-1940) married in 1866.

Laura Carnell's mother, Rebecca was born in Woodbury, New Jersey, and moved to Philadelphia after she married Lafayette. When Lafayette Carnell died in September, 1871, Laura was four years old and William was nearly two. Rebecca Carnell stayed in Philadelphia, close to her in-laws, and raised her two children there. Lafayette Carnell left his family in a relatively good financial position. The 1870 Census records his home

on Germantown Avenue as being worth \$10,000 (in 2014 dollars, this is equivalent to approximately \$250,000.00).

According to United States Census records (1920 United States Census District 1055, Sheet 2, Ward 32) Rebecca took in an occasional boarder but there is no record of her ever working outside the home. In the 1870 Federal Census she is listed as knowing how to read and write, but the specifics of her education are unknown. Rebecca Carnell was thought by her neighbors to be a Quaker, because beginning with her husband's death she dressed particularly conservatively in long black dresses and veil and continued this manner of dress for the remainder of her life. She outlived both her children and died in 1940 at the age of 95.

Laura Carnell's Youth and Teenage Years

Not much is known about Laura Carnell's early schooling; there was no record of the Carnell family in the 1880 Federal Census¹, when Laura would have been school-aged. It is likely that she learned the fundamentals of reading and writing at home from her mother. Carnell said of her own childhood, "as a child of five or six I used to play at teaching" (Quoted in a Press Release from Temple University, March 1929). In his unpublished manuscript of *Teacher Education in Philadelphia*, Butterweck (1966) states that Laura Carnell attended grammar school and high school in Philadelphia, which had a relatively well developed school system in the 1870's and 1880's.

¹ Most of this census was lost in a fire.

By the time Laura Carnell attended Philadelphia High School for Girls-Normal School, the Carnell family had moved to 2136 Camac Street in North Philadelphia, and Laura joined the Grace Baptist Church, located just a few blocks from her home, where Russell Conwell was pastor.

In 1884, Conwell began teaching evening courses to working men who are preparing for the ministry. They began meeting in the study of the rectory, then, when their numbers increased, moved to the basement of the Grace Baptist Church. Soon after, students began calling it “Temple College.” Laura Carnell was president of a youth group when she met Russell Conwell for the first time. Interested in a career as a teacher, Carnell volunteered to assist Conwell in teaching his night classes. He declined her offer because she was only sixteen years old.

The following year, Laura Carnell completed her Normal School diploma and, at seventeen, began working as a high school teacher in the Philadelphia Public School System. Carnell’s first teaching assignment was located at 5th and Dauphin Streets in the basement of a Lutheran church (Temple University Press Release, March 28, 1929).

Young Adulthood

Beginning in 1886, Laura Carnell taught during the daytime at a Philadelphia public school and in the evening taught at the new Temple College. She continued this pattern for several years. During this period, Russell Conwell hired a succession of clergymen to hold leadership positions such as vice president, dean, and the like. (Butterweck, 1966, 1.15-16)

Conwell found the person he was looking for in Carnell. The October 1893 Board of Trustee minutes note that Laura Carnell was appointed Lady Principal of the Women's Department for a salary of \$60 per month. In this position Carnell served both as department head and *de facto* Dean of Women. Carnell found that, "there was no such department, and, in order to head it, I had first to form it." (*Philadelphia Bulletin*, 1929, January 29). In charging Carnell with her duties, Conwell gave her the single directive, "Just do what you think ought to be done." (Carnell as quoted in Butterweck, 1966, 1.19). Carnell developed and oversaw the curriculum of the Woman's Department, which included millinery, dressmaking, and household sciences. Carnell, at the age of 26, also handled any discipline issues that came up for the young women and men of Temple College.

Career at Temple University

Russell Conwell grew to lean quite heavily on the very capable and dependable Laura Carnell. Having taught in the public school system, Carnell had a model for how to build the necessary administrative infrastructure for the young college. She also articulated these ideas at the state and national level and worked to normalize the curricula and professional standards for college faculty and administrators of the new Temple College.

Laura Carnell held a number of roles at Temple University, each with progressively more responsibility than the last. She began as an instructor in the evening program at Temple College in 1886. In October, 1893, Carnell was named Lady Principal by the Board of Trustees. President Conwell named Laura Carnell Acting Dean of Temple College in 1897, a year before she completed her own baccalaureate degree from Temple College. In 1905 she was named Dean of the College Corporation and instructor in Art History. In 1907, Temple College was elevated to university status.

In 1908, Carnell traveled to England to enroll in a summer course at the University of Cambridge and visited several other universities in England in order to bring home some new ideas for curricular programming. In 1916, the National Association of Women in Education formed, as well as the National Association of Deans of Women. Carnell was active in both organizations. She was also a member of the National Education Association, the American Association of University Women, and the College Art Association (*Temple University Press Release* issued March 28, 1929.).

Carnell also held leadership positions in several other organizations, she was president of the Pennsylvania Association of Deans of Women (1924) and served as a director for the Republican Women of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Forum and elected a director of the Woman's City Club in 1924 (*Temple University Press Release* issued March 28, 1929). Laura Carnell also served on numerous Education Committees of social organizations such as the Civic Club of Philadelphia, the New Century Club, and the Temple University Women's Association and also the Contemporary Club.

Laura Carnell was elected to the Board of Education in Philadelphia in 1923, when John Wanamaker died, leaving a vacancy on the Board. Carnell was the first woman to serve as acting president of a meeting of the Board of Education in 1924 (unidentified news clipping, 1924, November 10). She served on two committees of the Board of Education, the Committee on High School for Boys and the Committee on Bylaws and Rules.

Carnell was the first woman elected as a member of the Society of Sons of St. George in 1923 and Carnell was nominated for the Woman Educator Award given by the Philadelphia Club of Advertising Women in January 1929 (Woman Educator Award Nominee, *The Evening Bulletin*, 1929, January 18).

On December 4, 1925, at the urging of Charles Beury, Laura Carnell was named Associate President of Temple University and the Board of Trustees granted her the authority to manage all business aspects of the University. Two days later, Russell Conwell died and the Board began considering various candidates to replace the Founder

as president. Though Laura Carnell was considered for the position, she withdrew her candidacy. Wilmer Krusen, Vice President of the Health Science campus was passed over and Charles Ezra Beury was named the second president of Temple University.

Carnell and Beury were friends, and she continued working as his Associate President until her death from myocarditis on March 30, 1929. Charles Beury and several other members of the Temple University administration and faculty surrounded their friend and colleague as she passed away in Samaritan Hospital. At the time of her death, she was living her mother, Rebecca Carnell and her cousin, Roseina Gillman, a teacher in Philadelphia. She was also survived by her sister-in-law Annie Carnell and her nephew William Carnell, Jr. A few months after her death, her colleague Milton Stauffer eulogized Carnell at a reunion dinner, "Her 35 years of service was a continuous, beautiful and effective prayer for the University." (unidentified newspaper clipping 1929, June 9).

Two days after her death, *The Evening Bulletin* ran a death notice for Carnell,

Dr. Laura Carnell

Joint Builder with Russell H. Conwell, of Temple University, Dr. Laura H. Carnell needs no memorial of words in this community. Temple University is her memorial, rapidly rising into the realization of the vision which was hers hardly less than it was Dr. Conwell's. And even more lasting than the stone of the buildings is and will continue to be the testimony of the lives bettered, enlarged, empowered by reason of her service. Dr. Carnell rightly is to be ranked among the great educators of the country. When Dr. Conwell drove his plow into the acres of diamonds

that lay about him, he went to the task with the inspiration of faith, but with little actual knowledge of the task ahead of him. And when he summoned Miss Carnell to his aid, the field had not yet been surveyed, the soil had not been tested; for a long time it was pioneering, sometimes encouraging, sometimes discouraging, always requiring steadfast faith and hard labor. The names of these joint workers are inseparably written into the story of Temple University- Dr Conwell, Dean Carnell, Joint Builders. (newspaper clipping on microfiche 1929, April 1 "Dr. Laura Carnell" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*. Philadelphia, PA.)

Statement of the Problem

Much has been written about the place of women in higher education during the Progressive Era (1890-1920). Most of this literature focuses on women as college students (Dugger, 2001; Edwards, 2002; Gordon, 1987; Gordon, 1990; Horowitz, 1987; Palmieri, 1995), a few works look at the position of Dean of Women (Pierce, 1920; Tuttle, 1996, Tuttle, 2001,), and several look at the expansion of women's colleges (Finch, 1947; Fox-Genovese, 1997; Gordon, 1990; Horowitz, 1994) and programs for women at coeducational colleges (Conable, 1977; Isaac, et. al. 2009). There are several exemplary cases of women leaders of coed universities during the latter part of this era. Laura Carnell held a high-level position of broad scope beginning in 1897 when she was named Acting Dean. Even in the latter part of her career and life, a woman holding senior level of authority and responsibility was still quite atypical for this period.

It is important, both to the history of Temple University and to the study of women's leadership in higher education, to analyze Laura Carnell's contributions to

higher education during this critical time period. Understanding what she did and how she did it is important to our historical understanding of how Temple University was shaped and how women were able to operate in the business world and in the higher education industry during this period.

Purpose of this Study

The goal of this project was, in part, to tell the story of Laura Carnell, both as an important character whose work deserves to be better remembered in the history of Temple University as much as any president, and also as an expansion of the understanding of women's leadership in higher education particularly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries when few women went to college or held such positions. This research may spark others to investigate the founding of other institutions, to tell these stories more fully and to develop a deeper understanding of the history of higher education in the United States, the role gender played in how higher education was shaped and the contributions of women dedicated to this cause.

Utilizing the archival materials held at the Conwellana-Templana Archive in the Special Collections Research Center at the Samuel Paley Library at Temple University, I examined and critically evaluated the correspondence files of Laura Carnell, and key early administrators: Russell Conwell, Charles Beury, the second president of Temple

University; Wilmer Krusen, Vice President of Temple University; Milton Stauffer, first dean of the School of Business; and Gertrude Peabody, the first to hold the title Dean of Women at Temple University.

In addition, I examined the minutes of the Board of Trustees of Temple University during the time period 1890-1930 and the files of the Women's Auxiliary of Temple University from its formation to 1930. Because Laura Carnell had a significant role in the founding of the College of Education and the School of Nursing, and because these were the primary areas that were open for women to receive professional education and employment during this time period, I examined the early historical documents of these colleges specifically, as well as other foundational documents of the various colleges formed during Carnell's years in administration to see what her role was in each.

I also analyzed the archived newspaper and magazine articles related to these subjects maintained in the clippings files of the Conwellana-Templana Archive, as well as other supporting documents, including the student newspaper, articles in yearbooks, and various other published articles whose original sources were not noted. I also utilized the Urban Archives at Temple University, and searched for references on Laura Carnell, the individuals named above and Temple University more generally to access the clippings files in the collection of *The Philadelphia Bulletin*.

The "America's Historical Newspapers" database was utilized to find numerous articles written by or that make reference to Laura H. Carnell. In addition, I searched for

information such as census data, photos, and other records (passport applications, ship registries, and the like) from this time period to learn more about Laura Carnell's family, life and travels. These records were accessible through a paid subscription to ancestry.com.

Research Questions

It was my hope that a critical analysis of these materials would yield a fairly complete biography of Laura Carnell. I wanted to better understand her personal and professional life, what motivated her, and what her leadership style was. I wanted to understand her position on the role of women in society. Laura Carnell certainly had a history of professional achievement; did she work to encourage other women to achieve the same? Did she support women's suffrage and an active role in politics? Other women who were leaders of women's colleges were known for their stance on these issues during this period. Did she have an opinion on these matters, or was she a "lone voyager"? I also hoped to gain a sense of the role Laura Carnell played at Temple and how it changed over time.

I had also hoped to gain a better sense of how Laura Carnell and the idea of a woman in such a powerful role were viewed by others, including faculty, students, members of the Board of Trustees of Temple and by the Board of Education in Philadelphia. If possible, I hoped to see if there were other women during this time period who were doing similar work at other institutions. This was not entirely possible,

given the fairly specific and narrow scope of the research materials, but upon completion of this project, there are ample opportunities in need of further research.

Using the theoretical foundations in Feminist and Leadership theories, the following research questions were considered:

- *How was Carnell able to succeed as an educational leader during a time when few women were even permitted to go to college?*
- *How extensive was Laura Carnell's influence over the development of Temple University and public education more broadly?*
- *In addition to public education, what other political causes did Laura Carnell participate in?*

Definition of Terms

Progressive Era- The period from 1890-1920 in the United States is referred to as the “Progressive Era” because this post-Civil War period was a time of great progress in terms of political and social issues. The public education movement was spreading throughout the United States (which was itself spreading westward); and other social issues were also raised during this time period, including temperance/prohibition, the rights of the working class, child labor laws, and others. In addition gaining the right to vote in 1920, the role of women changed dramatically during this period. Women began to continue their education and earned college degrees and worked outside the home as teachers and nurses and began moving into other professions as well.

Temple College/Temple University—Temple College was founded in 1884, and officially recognized by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1888. Temple was approved for university status in 1907. I have made an effort to refer to Temple as “College” or “University” throughout this document in a historically appropriate manner—that generally, “university” references are describing the institution in the period after this changed or the institution as an entity without regard for time period.

Woman's Club Movement—In the late 19th century and early 20th century, Women's Clubs began sprouting up in cities in the United States. These clubs typically were opportunities for personal development, participation in social events to benefit civic causes, fund raising for charities, and an opportunity for women to socialize together.

Women's Suffrage—Protests calling for reforms for women began in the 1830's in the United States. In 1842, the first "Women's Rights Convention" was held and a few years after that, the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments was signed by women and men who continued to protest for many years. Many women educators were involved in this movement to give women a voice in governance. Ultimately, women gained the right to vote in 1920 with the Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution.

Limitations and Delimitations of this Study

The scope of this archival research project was purposefully narrow, focused on one individual's experience and influences with the hopes that this micro-data will ultimately reveal a deeper understanding of the larger context for working women, particularly those who worked in colleges and in other leadership positions in higher education in the early 20th century. Other colleges have similar examples of women ²who were instrumental in helping to further develop their institutions in their early formative period, and this project could lead to additional research in this particular area.

Laura Carnell and the foundational years of Temple University were selected as the subject of this project because of the logistical needs of the researcher to have regular access to archival materials that are only available in hard copy. Virtually nothing in the Conwellana-Templana Collection is digitized. Carnell is also an interesting character in the history of the researcher's alma mater, and has been the subject of a prior research project. This research focused on Laura Carnell as an example of a Democratic

² Other exemplars who could be considered for comparison in future research projects include: Elizabeth Hamilton, Miami University; Irma Voigt, Ohio University; Margaret Evans, Carleton College; Marion Talbot, University of Chicago, Eugenie Galloo, University of Kansas; Mary E. Lewis, Indiana, South Dakota, Hawaii, Missouri; Kathryn Newell Adams, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Hawaii, See Gerda, 2004 for a fuller discussion.

Educational Leader, and was presented at the New DEEL (Democratic Ethical Leadership) Conference held at Temple University in 2008.

Having been trained in several related qualitative research methods, including participant-observer, content analysis, and case study, my bias was managed by stepping back from my understanding of Temple University in its present form and the materials were analyzed within their own historical context.

At a minimum, this research provides more information about this early formative period at Temple College and Laura Carnell's role in its expansion and refinement of its mission, which will be included in the Conwellana-Templana archive itself and other resource clearinghouses such as the digital archive of higher education/student personnel administrators at the National Student Affairs Archive of Bowling Green University

Significance of the Study

Temple University today in 2014 is a major urban research university whose reach extends nationally and internationally. It is important to have a more fulsome understanding of the history of a complex organization with populist roots that carry into decision making in the modern-day setting. Laura Carnell's leadership at Temple helped sustain this university through four decades of development. Compared to their male counterparts, there has not been much written about women leaders in coeducational institutions, particularly in the Eastern United States during this time period, and it is important to expand the understanding of this period and of women's roles in higher education. This research establishes Laura Carnell's pivotal role at critical moments in the development and expansion of Temple University. The Conwell-Carnell leadership team was able to accomplish a great deal during their working relationship. It is useful to have a better understanding of how that played out in its own historical context.

This study adds to the history of higher education in Philadelphia, which enjoys, at present, one of the largest concentrations of higher education institutions in the United States. Temple University's influence on Philadelphia cannot be overstated. Although not a public institution in the official sense during Laura Carnell's time, Temple College's mission was certainly a populist one and its influence on the development of Philadelphia and its citizenry bears further study (Hilty, 2010). There is a long-standing

relationship between Temple University and the City of Philadelphia, both in terms of the historical significance of the university's location and relationship with its neighbors and the students who graduate from Temple and who remain in Philadelphia, as well as the economic impact of the faculty and staff who work and live in or pass through Philadelphia.

Theoretical Base

Russell Conwell's leadership in founding Temple University is recounted in numerous publications about the origins of Temple University (Bjork, 1973; Butterweck, 1968; Perry (undated); Cutler, 1992; and Hilty, 2010) most of these works describe Carnell in her role of "Conwell's right hand person" not as a leader in her own right. Butterweck, who writes about the foundation of the College of Education, discusses the leadership role Carnell played in the development of that college and of Temple more broadly and Cutler's work discusses Carnell's contributions to Temple University in the context of various women leaders. Critical Theory is the paradigm I used in forming research questions that focused on Carnell's role as a leader at Temple and what societal forces were at work both in her original experience and in the modern-day mythology surrounding Russell Conwell the under-recognized role of Carnell.

In many ways, higher education institutions, because of their hierarchical nature, lend themselves to an examination of the power structures and various forces that, at least initially, limited Laura Carnell's authority and influence on Temple University. Although a building, named professorships, and a fund are named in her honor, and her portrait hangs in the Feinstone Lounge of Sullivan Hall³ and image is carved into the façade of that building, Laura Carnell's role in the development of Temple University is not part of what I call the "founder's myth" of Temple University. Although her name is

³ The portraits of the former presidents of Temple University hang on the Southern wall of Feinstone Lounge, but Carnell's hangs alone, at a significantly lower height, on the Eastern wall of this room.

attached to these symbols of Temple University, Carnell is scarcely remembered as a leader at Temple University.

Because our understanding of what characteristics make a leader has historically included primarily stereotypical “male” traits (confidence, charisma, strong opinions, lack of focus on the whole group), a woman who acted in a stereotypically female way would not be seen as a leader at all, particularly during this era (Kezar, R. & Contreras-McGavin, M., 2006). Current leadership models focus more on what Kouzes and Posner (2003) call “leadership practices.” The Kouzes and Posner (2003, 2006) “Leadership Practice Inventory” is given to leaders in a variety of fields to determine what leadership characteristics are displayed, as measured by their employees, colleagues, and supervisors. In this model, five categories of practice are seen as key behaviors exhibited by leaders. See Table 1 for the detailed categories and related practices.

The references to Carnell in some Temple University publications have referred to Laura Carnell as Russell Conwell’s right hand person. It was not clear to what extent Laura Carnell was seen as a leader by her contemporaries at Temple and in the City of Philadelphia. The Kouzes and Posner Leadership Practice Inventory is an excellent measure of how others perceive leadership, not just supervisors. The LPI was selected as a theoretical framework to analyze Carnell’s writings and answer the question, “To what extent was Laura Carnell perceived as a leader in her own time?”

Table 1. Leadership Practices Inventory.

Category	Leadership Practice
Model the Way-	<p>Asks for feedback on how her actions affect other people.</p> <p>Builds consensus around a common set of values.</p> <p>Follows through on promises and commitments she makes.</p> <p>Is clear about her philosophy of leadership.</p> <p>Sets a personal example of what she expects of others.</p> <p>Spends time and energy making certain that the people she works with adhere to the principles and standards agreed upon.</p>
Inspire A Shared Vision	<p>Appeals to others to share an exciting dream of the future.</p> <p>Describes a compelling image of what our future could be like.</p> <p>Paints the “big picture” of what we aspire to accomplish.</p> <p>Shows others how their long-term interests can be realized by enlisting in a common vision.</p> <p>Speaks with genuine conviction about the higher meaning and purpose of her work.</p> <p>Talk about future trends that will influence how work gets done.</p>
Challenge the process	<p>Asks “What can we learn?” when things don’t go as expected.</p> <p>Challenges people to try out innovative ways to do their work.</p> <p>Experiments and takes risks, even when there is a chance of failure.</p> <p>Makes certain achievable goals are set, concrete plans are made; with measurable milestones for projects and programs.</p> <p>Searches outside the formal boundaries of her organization for innovative ways to improve company practices.</p> <p>Seeks out challenging opportunities that test her abilities.</p>
Enable Others to Act	<p>Actively listens to diverse points of view</p> <p>Develops cooperative relationships among the people she works with</p> <p>Ensures that people grow in their jobs by learning new skills and developing themselves.</p> <p>Gives people a great deal of freedom and choice about how to do their work.</p> <p>Supports decisions others make.</p> <p>Treats others with dignity and respect</p>
Encourage the Heart	<p>Finds ways to celebrate accomplishments.</p> <p>Gives members of her team lots of appreciation and support for their contributions.</p> <p>Makes it a point to let people know about her confidence in their abilities.</p> <p>Makes sure people are creatively rewarded for their contributions to the success of projects.</p> <p>Praises people for a job well done.</p> <p>Publicly recognizes people who exemplify commitment to shared values.</p>

Adapted from Kouzes and Posner (2003).

These characteristics give a broad understanding of the different behaviors leaders exhibit within their organization. Documentation of some of these behaviors could suggest how Laura Carnell was perceived as a leader within and outside the Temple University community.

Many of the essential questions undergirding this research are fundamental questions asked by feminist theorists. Feminist researchers seek to understand and reinterpret the historical experience of women's and men's lives to understand the unique set of circumstances and perhaps uncover the biases of prior researchers on a particular subject to better account for lived experiences of women.

In this case, a feminist theorist might look at the story of the founding of Temple University and ask the question—If Russell Conwell was traveling all over the United States raising money to support Temple University, who kept the university afloat administratively and financially, and maintained its relationships within the city and the Commonwealth? Although she did not act alone, Laura Carnell was responsible for much of this, but it is Conwell's, not Carnell's work that is remembered in the popular story a century later.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The History of Women in Higher Education

Although this research project centered on the Progressive Era, the roots of this important time period of significant expansion of higher education are firmly planted in the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. The impact that the war had on the growth of public education, women's roles, and on higher education cannot be understated. Prior to the Civil War, higher education was available primarily to men from wealthy families. Even high school attendance was rare- only about 10% of those eligible attended high school, but after the Civil War, nearly 50% of those eligible attended high school (Goldin and Katz, 1999, 49). This was also a time when practitioners of law, medicine, and other professions began to develop national guidelines for professional standards (Larson, 1977). And a college education became an essential minimum "gatekeeping" standard for many professions.

Add to this mix the (approximately) 600,000 men who died on either side of the Civil War. During the war and the period of Reconstruction, there were that many fewer men available to marry and many more women had to support themselves financially. Teaching was one of the few socially acceptable occupations that women could hold during this time (Woody, 1929).

In order to accommodate the rapid growth of compulsory public education, Normal Schools were established throughout the US, where men and women could be trained as teachers. Many of these initially became Teachers Colleges and would later expand to offer a regular complement of academic majors (Thelin, 2004. 85). As the position of teacher moved from a private tutor for the children of wealthy parents to the lower paid position of public school teacher, this role moved firmly into what is now known as the “pink collar” sector and remains there today.

Many at that time such as Edward Clarke (1879) argued against women’s higher education for biological reasons. Others feared that educated white women having fewer children than immigrant women would have ill effects on “civil” society (Evans, 1997). But the idea of higher education for women began to gain modest popularity. National magazines, such as the popular *Ladies Home Journal* began running stories on coeducational and women’s colleges and started a scholarship program for girls who sold subscriptions to the magazine. The *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, published in Philadelphia, began advertising the programs of various women’s colleges and around 1880, and developed a unique relationship with Vassar College. Godey’s began providing free advertising for Vassar by running many stories on their programs, students, and the like. (National Women’s History Museum online exhibit http://www.nwhm.org/online-exhibits/education/1800s_3.htm).

The second half of the 19th century, proved to be a period of unprecedented growth in terms of the number of institutions founded. Some private colleges, in an effort to stave off enrollment of women in their regular programs, developed women's annexes, or cooperatives (e.g. Harvard's Radcliffe), but others knew they had to enroll women in order to stay open (e.g. Cornell) or to avoid political backlash. Many private women's colleges were instituted during this critical period as well (e.g. Wellesley and Bryn Mawr). There were some co-ed institutions prior to the Civil War (Oberlin), though they did not always offer degrees for women or the same course of study to men and women, pushing women into fields deemed appropriate for them such as domestic science, education, and nursing.

The Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 established "land grant" funding for state universities⁴, mostly in the Midwest, which opened up the field of education quite broadly and provided many opportunities for (poorly paid) women to take jobs in the Midwest. Many of these new universities became co-educational because of the pressures of tax payers to provide these opportunities to their daughters to keep them close to home instead of sending them East for college. Similarly, Catholic women's colleges sprung up all around the country to provide that same opportunity locally so parents could keep an eye on their daughters (Thelin, 2004, 85).

In addition to the rapid expansion in terms of the number of colleges founded between 1830 and 1930, there was also significant expansion of what had been the typical

⁴Founded in 1855, Pennsylvania State University was designated in 1863 as the land grant college of Pennsylvania.

academic curriculum. This was related, in part, to the change in who was attending college and the increased professionalization of many positions on a national scale. This necessitated the expansion of a liberal arts, humanities and sciences curriculum to include programs in domestic science, nursing, teaching, and business as well as developing fields in the social sciences. Prior to the Civil War, the typical university curriculum was mostly focused on preparing men for ministry work, but the post-Civil War curriculum prepared men and women for a host of professional careers.

In the early part of the 1800's, few occupations were open to women, and none of these required higher education. Thomas Woody, who, in 1929, wrote a lengthy history and analysis of this subject in *Women in Higher Education* notes,

In 1836, there were, according to Miss Martineau, seven occupations open to women; these were teaching, needlework, keeping of boarders, labor in the cotton mills, bookbinding, typesetting and domestic service ... Today [note, 1929], women are to be found in almost every occupation, be it as paid laborer, employer, or professional expert. They have become politicians, lawyers, consular agents, magistrates, physicians, managers of big business, heads of educational institutions, scientists; they even play the dangerous, nerve-racking game of commercial gambling in the stock and grain markets, not to mention hazardous bootlegging... (Woody, 1929, 105).

Although a modern-day reader might wonder about the numbers of women “found in almost every occupation” that Woody refers to, nonetheless, there is no doubt that college attendance provided a growing number of occupational opportunities for many more women than in the early –mid 19th century.

In his book *Sex in Education or A Fair Chance for the Girls* (1873), Dr. Edward Clarke argued that because a body can only focus on one phase of development at a time, girls between the ages of 14 and 18 should not attend school while their bodies are “ripening.” Clarke argues, “It is... obvious that a girl upon whom Nature, for a limited period and for a definite purpose, imposes so great a physiological task will not have as much power left for the tasks of the school.”

Clarke argued that many women’s schools and colleges had numerous women who were made sterile by studying and overusing their brains, thus diverting the blood flow from their reproductive organs, making them incapable of pregnancy. Clarke cited cases of his own patients whose breasts were underdeveloped or whose uterus was *displaced* by going to college and meeting the academic requirements of their faculty (Clarke, 1879, 82).

Later in this book, he suggests that women whose development is arrested by taking on the “habits of men” will,

...become thoroughly masculine in nature, or hermaphrodite in mind, -- when, in fact, she has pretty well divested herself of her sex, -- then she may take his ground and do his work; but she will have lost her feminine attractions, and probably also her chief feminine functions (Clarke, 1879, 115).

These threats to women’s reproductive capability, paired with the anti-immigrant societal pressure to produce more white children did not seem to have an immediate impact on the numbers of women who opted to enroll in college. However, there are few

reliable statistics from this time period to say that definitively, because the definition of what constituted a “college” was in flux during this period. Colleges, normal schools, teacher’s colleges, seminaries, finishing schools, academies and the like were sometimes used interchangeably though they rarely meant the same thing. This makes looking back at past figures for enrollment somewhat difficult.

Women’s colleges definitely did grow in terms of enrollments during the latter part of the 19th century. The women who attended women’s colleges in the “first generation” were somewhat less likely to marry and those who did tended to have a smaller family size than the norm of the day (Gordon, 1990). Typically, the goal of women’s colleges was to provide high quality educational opportunities equivalent to those available to men. At single sex institutions, women were treated well; their intellectual development was acceptable, encouraged, and lauded

Prior to the development of women’s colleges, women were treated as second class citizens at colleges that were just becoming coeducational. The second president of Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, Carey Thomas, reported that, as the only woman in her courses at Johns Hopkins (Horowitz, 1994), she was required to sit behind a screen so she would not be a distraction to either the instructor or her fellow (male) students. At women’s colleges, many women found not only an opportunity for a baccalaureate degree, but also a career as a faculty member or administrator.

There are many “house histories” written on colleges like Bryn Mawr, Vassar, and Wellesley. Bryn Mawr College’s Carey Thomas is the subject of much scholarship for both her stance on women’s education and her work as a suffragette (Horowitz, 1994). She lectured often on “the Bryn Mawr Woman,” who strove to meet the highest academic standards, and who would not be swayed into marriage, but, rather, find personal satisfaction and fulfillment in her chosen profession.

Carey Thomas was a controversial figure as the daughter of a wealthy Baltimore-area businessman, who happened to be on the Board of Trustees of Bryn Mawr at its founding. Thomas was named Dean directly upon completion of graduate school and a few years later, assumed the presidency. An outspoken suffragette, Carey Thomas was often written about in the society pages as well as general news stories. During her tenure as president, Thomas lived with two different women in the president’s residence, the first of whom, Mamie Gwinn left her to marry. Thomas’ second partner while president at Bryn Mawr was Mary Garrett, who left her a sizable inheritance. Thomas then gave up the presidency and traveled around the world for the remainder of her life (Horowitz, 1994).

Women Leaders in Higher Education

During the Progressive Era, there was a significant divide between the types of institutions that would have women in cabinet level (president, vice president, dean) positions. Women's colleges were the sector of Higher Education where women, typically with PhDs, held the position of president or academic dean, or registrar, but these were typically held by men in co-educational settings (Clifford, 1989, 4). Also, as women students began moving into public and private colleges, the need for the position of Dean of Women presented itself. This was one of the few positions that brought women into cabinet-level decision making (Tuttle, 1996). It did not last long, however. Many institutions eliminated separate Dean of Men and Dean of Women positions in favor of the "Dean of Students" position beginning shortly after World War II. Often the Dean of Men became the Dean of Students and the Dean of Women became an advisor or was pushed out of service altogether (Sartorius, 2006).

Women became Deans in many of the new Land Grant Colleges, in part, some argue (Gordon, 1990, Clifford, 1989), because these positions typically came with lower salaries that only women would accept. As the Land Grant Colleges expanded their enrollment by World War II, many positions previously held by women were taken over by men.

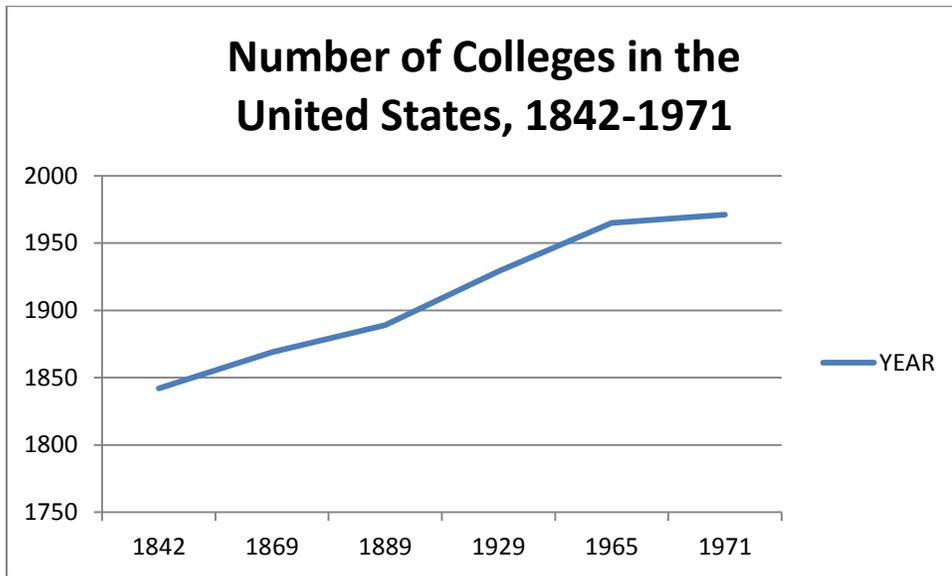
In the early days of women's colleges, the faculty members often did not have American PhDs because no schools offered them to women, and beginning in the 1880's, women's colleges began offering advanced studies to women (Thelin, 2004,98) A

handful had doctorates from abroad, but many had been trained as teachers in a normal school program (Clifford, 1989). This is actually similar to the educational experience of Laura Carnell who earned a teaching certificate at normal school and earned her baccalaureate degree from Temple University while she served as Acting Dean of the College. Four years later, Carnell received an honorary Doctor of Literature degree.

Growth of Higher Education Institutions

The number of universities and colleges in the United States grew significantly in the mid-19th century to the end of the Progressive Era. In 1842, there were 101 colleges in the United States, in 1869 there were 563, in 1889, nearly 1000, and by 1929 there were over 1400 (Brickman, 1972, 34). The impact of the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 are seen so clearly in the increase in those last two figures. (See Fig 1 for a graphic representation of this growth.)

Figure 1 Growth of Colleges in the United States, 1842-1971



Higher Education Opportunities for Women in Philadelphia

In late-19th century Philadelphia, there was no land grant institution and there were very few colleges that would offer baccalaureate programs to women. Figure 2 shows the list of colleges in and around the Philadelphia area and the years when they admitted women to degree programs. The Pennsylvania School of Design for Women (later renamed Moore College of Art & Design) enrolled women in the mid-1800s and remains an all-women's institution today. Although women did attend the University of Pennsylvania, they were not permitted in full degree programs until the 1880s. The Institute for Colored Youth (later renamed Cheyney University) went co-educational in 1852 (Cheyney University http://www.cheyney.edu/about-cheyney-university/documents/TheInstituteforColoredYouth_TheEarlyYears.pdf) and turned out its first woman graduate in 1859.

Women were able to attend a few Catholic women's colleges, most were primarily convent schools training future members of their order, a few also served as a local place to keep an educationally-minded daughter close-to-home and at a Catholic school as opposed to sending her to a school run by another denomination or a public university (Thelin, 2004, 90). Bryn Mawr College opened in the late 1880's to women only (and later permitted men to enroll in the Graduate School of Social Service).

Although the initial charter for Temple College (1888) noted that the institution was organized, "intended primarily for the benefit of Working Men" (Hilty, 2010, 12), three years later it was amended to include men and women. Classes were held in the

study of Dr. Russell Conwell, the basement of the church and local buildings in the evenings. Tuition was free, and there were no minimum qualifications for admission during this early period. The “Temple Idea” was part social experiment, offering students the opportunity to better their lives through educational opportunities.

Four women were included in the first graduating class of eighteen in 1892. Laura Carnell was hired to organize a Woman’s Department in 1893.

The initial program of study was run in the evenings and the “faculty” of Temple College were often professionals or teachers during the day who volunteered to teach Temple students after regular business hours. Initially, Temple offered a classical curriculum to prepare students for the ministry, but within a few years, new programs of study in education and business were added to the offerings (Hilty, 2010, 18)

Several Philadelphia-area colleges did not permit women to enroll until the 1970’s including Catholic colleges like St. Joseph’s University and LaSalle University. Haverford College and Lehigh University did not permit women to enroll full-time until 1980.

Table 2. Philadelphia Area Colleges 1755-2000

College	Founded	Women Admitted	Notes
Arcadia University	1872	1872	Beaver Female Seminary (1853 outpost); admitted men 1872-1907; women only 1908 until 1972
Art Institute of Philadelphia	1971	1971	
Bryn Athyn	1877	unknown	
Bryn Mawr College	1885	1885	Single Sex
Cabrini College	1957	1957	Coed around 1972
Chestnut Hill College	1938	1938	HS-1924 the convent school of Sisters of St. Joseph
Cheyney University	1837	1852	African Institute; Institute of Colored Youth
Curtis Institute	1924	1924	Conservatory
Delaware Valley College	1896	1969	
Eastern University	1825	unknown	Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary
Gratz College	1895	unknown	
Haverford College	1833	1980	
Holy Family College	1954	1954	Single Sex
Immaculata College	1920	1920	Single Sex, Catholic; Convent School for the order of the IHM Sisters
Lafayette College	1826	1970	
LaSalle University	1863	1970	
Lehigh University	1865	1980	1960 as part time students
Lincoln University	1854	1952	
Moore College of Art and Design	1848	1848	Single-Sex; Fine Arts/Design School
Neumann College	1964	1964	Our Lady of Angels
PA Academy of the Fine Arts	1805	unknown	Mary Cassatt attended in 1860; Fine Arts
Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine	1899	unknown	
Philadelphia University	1884	unknown	Philadelphia Textile Institute; first female teacher 1945

St. Joseph University	1851	1970	
Temple University	1884	1890	unclear
Thomas Jefferson University	1899	1961	Jefferson College
University of Pennsylvania	1755	1881	Women's College 1933-1974
University of the Sciences in Philadelphia	1821	1876	
Villanova University	1859	1918	nuns; 1938 laywoman degreed 1953 full time women 1968 fully coed

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Archival Research and the Role of the Researcher

The primary data for this study were collected from the Conwellana/Templana Archive located in the Special Collections Research Center of Samuel Paley Library at Temple University in Philadelphia. Having already completed other research projects related to this subject, I was familiar with the iterative way archival research is conducted, knew how the records were stored, and had already developed a positive working relationship with the archivist for this collection.

When I first began doing research in this archive, I wasn't always sure what I would find, especially since much of the archive is un-indexed and there is no finders' guide. For example, one early project focused on reading through the old *Temple News* articles and other clippings files on Laura Carnell and Russell Conwell. Several years later, in working on this current project, numerous boxes of material such as correspondence files and Board of Trustee minutes were made available to me for critical analysis. Even as I worked on this project over the course of about 12 months, new materials were discovered that had been located in off-site storage.

Also, as I came across materials that were hidden in files for years that were either of institutional or historical significance, I made an effort to let the archivists at Paley Library know of these so they might be better preserved and documented, for example, the letter from Laura Carnell to W.E.B. DuBois, and unprotected photographs from the Philadelphia Sesquicentennial celebration.

I cast the net fairly wide in terms of the materials I requested for this project in order to portray Laura Carnell and the history of Temple University as accurately, completely, and fairly as possible.

Ethical Considerations

Archival research does have its own ethical considerations that must be taken into account. The researcher owes a duty to respect some protected areas of privacy (consistent with federal guidelines) of her subject matter. In this particular study, all of the actors are long deceased so this is of less concern. The archival researcher does, however, have an ethical duty to portray her subjects as carefully and accurately as possible. I have endeavored to do just that.

The most important ethical consideration I dealt with in conducting this research was to try to gain a clear understanding of Laura Carnell and her contemporaries, with access to somewhat limited data. Without much by way of personally revealing texts

such as diaries or letters written to friends, it is hard to know if the Laura Carnell portrayed in her professional writings was close to the “real” picture someone who knew Carnell in her own times might have drawn of her. Throughout this project, I have tried to stay focused on what the data reveal about Carnell and not to make sweeping, unsupported and uncorroborated statements about her character or her role within Temple.

Primary Source Data - Collection Procedures

I began by analyzing the original Vertical Files on Laura Carnell (two folders) and Russell Conwell (one folder). Then, I worked with the materials listed under “Laura Carnell Papers.” Three boxes of materials from 1888-1929 included a mixture of documents related to Laura Carnell, such as her correspondence files on all manner of subjects, as well as a miscellaneous collection of letters that neither originated from Carnell nor were addressed to her. For example, there were letters from Carnell’s secretary Miss Vlachos to faculty members or from church members to President Conwell. Unfortunately, this collection only contained files A through S. The archivists were unable to locate the “T” through “Z” files for this project.

Even as I worked through the documents, new information was found. A letter-book of notes Carnell sent in 1903-7 to a variety of recipients, including one to W. E. B. Du Bois, surfaced during the end of my collection period in the fall 2013 semester. This

book was not a comprehensive archive, but, rather, a select number of letters and other documents retained for business purposes.

From these initial documents, some names of key figures were noted and the records request was expanded to include the following subjects for critical review and analysis:

- Charles E. Beury- second president of Temple University
 - election as president; death of Carnell; personal correspondence; creation of the graduate school; building plans
- Board of Trustees- Beginning to 1930.
 - major decisions regarding facilities; elections; fiscal management and oversight; promotion of faculty and staff
- College of Education
 - Butterweck typescript; Dean Walk correspondence; Ritter Hall
- College of Liberal Arts
 - Dean McKinley; Dean Dunham; accreditation
- Russell H. Conwell- Founder and first president of Temple University
 - Personal correspondence, date book with travel schedule and payments;
- Wilmer Krusen – Director of Public Health, Philadelphia; Vice President at Temple University- Health Science Campus; candidate for presidency
 - Vertical file, news clipping

- Grace Nadig- faculty member in Home Economics
 - Home Economics curriculum
- Gertrude Peabody- faculty member in Home Economics, Carnell's assistant; and after Carnell's death, was named Dean of Women
 - Scandalously short skirts in the summer; Home Economics curriculum; personal letter recounting early Temple days addressed to Arthur Cook, historian at Temple University
- Milton Stauffer- Dean of the School of Business and finance officer of the University
 - Alumni network, financial records, disciplinary actions
- School of Nursing-
 - Key issues: creation of new dormitory at Jones Hall; curriculum
- Women's Auxiliary of Temple University
 - Mrs. Ketterer (president during Carnell's tenure); meeting notes, programs, clippings from news stories about events
- Women's Issues
 - Mostly information from the 1960's and 70's and a few pieces from the-early 1990's.

Other related subjects, such as women's athletics, did not have records in the Conwellana/Templana Archive. Having found some evidence that Carnell and Carey Thomas attended some of the same meetings, I had hoped to find correspondence from Thomas in the Carnell files, but this section of the files (T-Z) was not available for retrieval; it is presumed lost.

As documents were reviewed and analyzed, I was able to photograph many documents with my iPad for future review and coding. Unable to copy all of the documents on file (a violation of the archive's policy), I had to make judgment calls as to which documents were either useful for understanding a particular context (like relationships with the Commonwealth when Temple became a state-related institution) or were key exemplars of Carnell's writings to a particular population (faculty, students, others). When possible, I copied a series of letters to one person or one group, or stand-out documents of note (like a single letter where Carnell openly flirts with a faculty member at the Medical School).

Data Analysis Procedures

After documents were collected digitally, they were printed and indexed in chronological order in a large three-ring binder. This method allowed for easy note taking on the documents themselves, and, most importantly coding according to subject matter. Approximately 750 letters and other documents were analyzed. Each letter was read through at least three times, and in many cases, multiple additional times: the initial reviews in the archive, again when indexing, then again when coding, and once coding was completed, then a coding verification spot check. Documents that were exemplars for major themes were then used to create an electronic database of key documents, so they were reread several more times in order to type in all pertinent content and subsequently analyzed and added to the findings chapter, as appropriate.

Detailed notes were kept during the initial reading phase of this project to establish an appropriate set of codes for analysis. Every document had at least one code associated with it, but some texts had multiple codes. If this were a different type of project, statistical analysis of the coding would have permitted only one code per document (to maintain an accurate number of documents and not double-count documents and findings). Because this analysis had a somewhat different goal of a critical understanding of these various themes within their historical context, multiple codes better met that research need for complete understanding where possible. For

example, a letter about a student's need for scholarship assistance was filed under both "students-academics" and "financial." If the student was named specifically, a separate flag was applied to indicate that.

All documents were coded with post-it flags and patterned tapes in various colors. Although this system sounds a little complicated, it was quite easy to identify all letters coded for particular themes at a glance, and because they were indexed in chronological order, it was easy to see when certain themes were more prevalent. For example, documents that were coded with a green tag for financial issues were distributed throughout the chronological index, but those regarding specific student issues (white with red dots) were concentrated primarily in the 1909-11 period. In addition to the code (colored flag), occasionally I wrote a word on the tag to make it easier to find particular letters in the next phase of this study.

See Table 3 for coding schema and themes.

Table 3. Coding Schema and Themes

Theme	Color Code	Related Issues
Academic Issues	Yellow	Proto-Transcripts, cheating, faculty hiring, curricular clarification,
Administrative	Blue	Policies, directions to university offices, etc. letters to staff regarding their work or changes in practice; facilities issues; vendor contracts
Board of Trustees	Dark green	Carnell's correspondence with members of the Board of Trustees or their notes to her.
Financial Issues	Lime Green	Scholarships, financial problems, bills, unpaid salaries, etc.
Political Issues	Teal	Becoming state-related; Correspondence with City of Philadelphia government;
Student- Specific	Red dotted	Named a specific student (usually combined with another code)
Race	Orange	Responding to inquiries regarding
Religion	Light orange	Religious references, services,
Women's Issues	Pink	Women's curriculum; policies regarding women students, etc.

Once all letters were coded, all documents identified with a particular code were re-read for consistency within the code, and the best examples of each theme were entered in a database established for this purpose for easy analysis and retrieval.

In addition to letters and documents found in the archive, a number of news articles from a variety of sources were also analyzed, these included articles from *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Temple News*, *The Evening Bulletin*, *The Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, and Temple University yearbooks published as *The Record* and later as *Templar*. A complete listing of these primary source articles is listed in Table 4.

Table 4. Primary Source Data

Date of Publication	Periodical	Article Title
1903-12-28	Springfield Daily Republican	Hampden County
1906-06-21	Springfield Daily Republican	Springfield
1908-02-13	The Evening Bulletin	Dr. Laura Carnell, Dean of Deans of Temple University
1908-02-13	Unidentified news clipping	An Unusual Honor
1909-08-05	Springfield Daily Republican	On Worthington Hills
1912-03-31	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Society Folk Pay Tribute
1913-03-16	The Philadelphia Inquirer	To Exhibit Horses in Circus Setting
1914-02-15	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Ample Quarters for Indoor Horse Show Assured This Year
1914-03-15	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Horse Show to Aid 5 Hospitals
1914-03-22	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Judges Named for Horse Show
1914-11-13	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Dr. Laura Carnell Honored
1915-01-31	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Society Equines Will Show Soon
1915-02-14	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Indoor Horse Show Promises to Eclipse those of Past
1915-03-11	Boston Morning Journal	Dr. Laura Carnell
1915-03-14	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Panama-Pacific Exhibition Rivals Southern Resorts in Affections of Society
1915-12-13	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Church Celebrates Women's Day
1916-3-12	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Annual Indoor Horse Show will be Notable Event
1916-4-02	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Indoor Horse Show Will Have Many New Classes This Year
1916-04-09	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Indoor Horse Show Promises to Eclipse Those of Past (note: not a typo, same title as 2/14/15)
1917-03-04	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Indoor Horse Show Promises to Eclipse Those of Past (note: not a typo, same title as 2/14/15 and 4/9/16)
1918-02-04	The Evening Bulletin	Worth-While Philadelphians- An Administrator
1919-03-09	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Mothers Warned to Expect Changes in Men Who Bore Arms
1919-03-28	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Girl Scouts Plan New Headquarters

1920-03-07	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Fashion Show Will Precede Annual Indoor Horse Show
1920-04-30	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Temple Univ Launches Drive for \$2,000,000 Endowment Campaign.
1923-08-06	The Philadelphia Inquirer	Phila Tourists Near Death
1924-11-03	The Evening Bulletin	Dr. Laura Carnell Elected By Deans
1929-01-18	The Evening Bulletin	Woman Educator Award Nominee

Secondary Source Data – Collection and Analysis

In addition to these primary sources, there were several other historical documents that were useful for understanding the historical context in which Laura Carnell operated, as well as some background on her personal life, and personality. Many of these were available in the Special Collections Research Center at Paley Library at Temple University, but others were available through the Ancestry.com database or another research database.

These secondary sources included:

- Butterweck, Joseph *The Story of Teacher Education at Temple University, with emphasis on the period 1893-1963.*
- Conwell, Russell H. *The Angel's Lily*
- Hilty, J. Temple University 125 Years of Service to Philadelphia, the Nation, and the World
- Perry, J. Douglas *Incredible University*
- Tuttle, J. *Life with Grandfather Conwell*

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Themes in Carnell's Writings

A number of significant themes emerged from the primary and secondary data sources examined and analyzed for this project. Initially, this project was focused specifically on how Carnell's written works reflected her role in changing the role of women in higher education as evidenced by her decision-making, management, and hiring practices. In addition to this, several other frequently recurring themes were identified, including information regarding Carnell's relationship with Russell Conwell; her personal characteristics, friends, and hobbies; social issues of the time such as class, race, and religion; and administrative issues such as student discipline, financial management, and academic administration.

Although it was spotty in places, because there is information spanning nearly thirty years of Carnell's career, the data clearly show that Carnell's management style developed and changed somewhat over time, as was expected. Carnell's earliest writings are primarily correspondence regarding Temple University business practices. Laura Carnell's writings and activities suggest that she believed very strongly in the social justice mission of work she was doing at Temple University. Carnell's later writings were primarily articles written for publication or printed sections of her speeches, reflecting her career trajectory moving from Temple-centered to a broader circle of

influence throughout the City of Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania. Laura Carnell also had a national and international reputation as a woman dean and for her role in educating working class men and women.

This chapter focuses on the various texts between Carnell and other Temple officials or students as evidence for the various themes. Care was taken to select the best examples of a particular theme and a more fulsome discussion of Carnell's influence and implication for future research is located in Chapter Five.

Leadership

Laura Carnell was only 19 when she started as a volunteer instructor in 1886 and still quite young (26) when she was appointed Lady Principal in 1893 at Temple College when she was given the very open-ended task-- "do what you think ought to be done" -- by Russell Conwell. And so she had to be willing to work through the prejudice a young woman would surely have experienced during this period. In part, Carnell was able to achieve these professional accomplishments by alternatively masking and emphasizing her gender and its affiliated roles, as the situation necessitated. She adopted several different stereotypical gender roles at various times throughout her work life to bring about a desired effect: the mother, the flirt, the disciplinarian/teacher, and the friend.

In addition, Carnell's writings were analyzed for evidence of the "Five Practices of Exemplary Leadership" put forward by Kouzes and Posner (2003). Their Theory of Exemplary Leadership is based on the idea that leaders essentially demonstrate how to lead, they act in particular ways that transform organizations and their employees. The five themes they identify are "Model the Way" ; "Inspire a Shared Vision" ; "Challenge the Process" ; "Enable Others to Act" ; and "Encourage the Heart"(Kouzes and Posner, 2008, 14). A detailed list of the actions entailed in each of these themes is located in Table 1, Leadership Practices Inventory. While it was somewhat difficult to look back at someone's incomplete written works and make definitive statements, the data does suggest that Carnell exemplified leadership in some of these key areas, (when present, these characteristics are noted in the themes in the section below).

Masking Gender

In her early correspondence, particularly when writing to administrators at other universities or to the various accreditation boards to which Temple was applying, Laura Carnell signed letters as "Dean L. H. Carnell". In most other correspondence, Carnell signed with her full name and title, "Laura H. Carnell, Dean", suggesting that she was trying to mask her gender when applying for entry into the various organizations that she perceived as male dominant, such as accrediting bodies and national associations.

As the young university opted to develop its reputation, Carnell masks her gender even in this short note to the Association of Colleges of the State of Pennsylvania,

“The Temple University wishes to apply for admission to the Association of Colleges of the State of Pennsylvania. Will you kindly consider our application? (Signed L.H. Carnell) Dean (Carnell, L.H. (1910, Date). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to The Association of College of the State of Pennsylvania*. (Box 2, File P), Temple University Paley Library, Special Collections, Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA.)

To which, Carnell received this response,

“Prof L. H. Carnell... Dear Sir: ...In all probability there will be no meeting of the College Presidents until next fall. If Temple College desires to be enrolled, an application must be made to ... the President of Lafayette College.” (Haas, (1910). *Correspondence from R. Haas to Laura H. Carnell*. (Box 1, File H), Temple University Paley Library, Special Collections, Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA.)

Similarly, when Temple University applied for inclusion in the Middle States Association, Carnell received this response, from the President of Lafayette College who was chairing the Middle States Association at that time, addressed to “Professor L.H. Carnell”,

My dear Sir, I beg to acknowledge your application and shall be glad to see that it is laid before the association at the proper time.
(Wanfield, E. D. (1910, April 18). *Correspondence from E.D. Wanfield to L. H. Carnell*. (Box AR6, Carnell Papers, 1903-1910). Temple University, Paley Library Special Collections Research Center (Templana Collection), Philadelphia, PA)

There are several significant other letters that address Carnell as “L. H. Carnell.” It is not particularly surprising that some general inquiries to Temple or to Carnell from those

who didn't know her might carry the salutation "Dear Sir," but it is pretty clear that she signed outside inquiries "L.H. Carnell," so that is how she was addressed in responses such as this one, from the Assistant Superintendent of The Johns Hopkins Hospital.

Apparently, Carnell wrote asking for information on medical supplies, and Rupert Norton responded,

Dr. L.H. Carnall [sic]
The Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Doctor:-

We have no such tables as you speak of. Our food is carried in boxes on trucks from the kitchen...These can be secured from the Kny-Scheerer Co.... (Norton, R. (1911, April 5). *Correspondence from Rupert Norton to LH Carnell*. (Box 2, File Corr N). Temple University, Paley Library, Special Collection- Conwellana-Templana Collection. Philadelphia, PA)

These documents were distinct from most of the rest of the correspondence in the Carnell collection which suggesting that Laura Carnell was concerned that her gender might have an impact on some important issues, and so she hid her gender from those who she thought would not respond to her request for information or assistance. She was likely concerned not only for her own reputation, but that of the fledgling Temple College, teetering on the brink of financial ruin in those early years. If LH Carnell (rather than Laura) could better position Temple University, she would, "do what she thought ought to be done."

Working Relationships: Partnerships and Management

Carnell held a significant management role at Temple, even prior to being named Dean. The documentation after she was named Dean in 1905 shows that she had oversight of the faculty and curriculum at Temple. The language used in some of the correspondence with the first dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (Albert McKinley) and the School of Commerce (Milton Stauffer) reveal friendly and personal relationships, including notes to their children and wives, but she was still clearly in charge of making policies and enforcing rules. They sought her counsel on a whole range of matters, including academic and curricular, faculty hiring, financial difficulties, student discipline, and office management.

In an undated letter to Dean Albert McKinley (likely from early in the summer of 1910, given the context), Carnell gives a rare glimpse into her relationship with Russell Conwell,

I thought the President's letter was rather blind, but the action taken in the board of trustees [sic] was that the extra work they were asking of you was entirely in connection with the Home College scheme. As soon as the President gets settled here we will write you more definitely about the matter. (Carnell, L.H. (~1910, undated). *Correspondence from Laura Carnell to Albert McKinley*. (Box 1 File M). Temple University Paley Library Special Collections –Templana- Philadelphia, PA).

Laura Carnell's correspondence included only a handful of letters with any suggestion that she might hold a different opinion on a given issue from that of Russell Conwell. Perhaps this break in typical protocol was a function of her relationship with

McKinley; they were either closer friends or he had already confided a concern about the issue of his summer work to Carnell so they could speak more freely without concern that the other would divulge their own dissent. The line, “we will write you more definitely” in this letter also suggested that Laura Carnell knew she could sway Russell Conwell to her position, closer in line with that of Albert McKinley.

Later in this letter, Carnell detailed a long list of work related items that the two Deans must handle during the summer break while she traveled with the Conwell family to Massachusetts. She closes the letter with these friendly remarks,

Remember me to Mrs. McKinley and Albert. Tell him I caught a big fish the other day. I wish he had been with me to see it wriggle. (Carnell, L.H. (1910, undated). *Correspondence from Laura Carnell to Albert McKinley*. (Box 1 File M). Temple University Paley Library Special Collections – Templana- Philadelphia, PA).

This passage indicates that not only did Carnell know that McKinley had a son, but that she probably knew Albert personally. The McKinley family lived in the Holmsburg section of Philadelphia, so for Laura Carnell to have met Albert, he must have either traveled to Temple University with his father, or Carnell may have socialized with the McKinley family outside of work hours, suggesting a close relationship between Carnell and Albert McKinley and his family.

Another letter from McKinley to Carnell later that summer reveals the kind of working relationship they had as close friends and colleagues,

Professor Stauffer tells me you want to know if I am in the land of the living. Yes, alive and ----- [sic] you know the rest. ... Our [new] baby has given us more anxiety since the middle of July. Otherwise, we have been very well and are spending a quiet, happy summer. (McKinley, A. (1910, August). *Correspondence from Albert McKinley to Laura Carnell*. (Box 1 File M). Temple University Samuel Paley Library Special Collections Research Center –Conwellana-Templana Collection-Philadelphia, PA).

Laura Carnell and Albert McKinley and Milton Stauffer appear to be close colleagues and friends in their correspondence. The same cannot be said of Carnell's correspondence with some other senior level administrators. Particularly, to the deans and administrators at other campus locations, Carnell wrote short, direct messages requesting particular changes or work done by specific (advanced) deadlines; she was clearly the supervisor of most things that happened at the University even during this early stage.

Carnell's correspondence with the Dean of the School of Pharmacy makes clear her role in relation to his,

I must have your catalogue material at once, otherwise I cannot possibly get my catalogue out by the June Commencement. Are your students taking their seats for Founders' Day? I feel that we must push this this [sic] week so as to be sure of a good audience. Carnell, L. H. (1910, March 2). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Dr. John R. Minehart*. Box 2 File M. Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection – Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

It was clear from their correspondence that Laura Carnell set administrative and academic policies for the Pharmacy School, too, not the Dean of that school.

A great many of your students have not yet paid their tuition fees for the present school year. The finance Committee would like you to take up this matter with Mr. McClain and do all that you can to assist him in getting these fees adjusted and to have it distinctly understood that they cannot take their final examinations unless every charge against them has been cleared off. Carnell, L. H. (1910, March 24). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Dr. John R. Minehart*. Box 2 File M. Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection – Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

It was not surprising to see that some administrators and faculty were closer to (or more removed from) Carnell and her work. With some, she obviously maintained a professional distance, particularly with the administration and staff of the various medical and health programs. This could be explained, simply by the distance between the Main Campus and the 18th and Buttonwood Campus for Pharmacy, or it could be some other reason that was not clear from the archives.

Working Relationships and Playing the Role of “The Flirt”

Carnell also openly flirted with a few men in her correspondence in order to get a speedy reply to her request for information (or gently decline a request for information she was not willing to share).

In 1911, Carnell was in the process of gathering biographical statements from the faculty in preparation for Temple University’s application to the Pennsylvania State Senate for the new status as a state-related institution. Most of these requests were met with straightforward responses regarding education and appointments and publications, but one faculty member responded to this request in a most curious way,

Dr. Laura H. Carnell, Big Dean of Temple University ...
 You have written me so often about the secrets of my private life that I am going to break from my absolutely justifiable silence to say that I was born of poor but respectable parents in St. Louis, Mo., the 4th of April, 1866... (Reber, W. (1911, April 7). *Correspondence from Wendell Reber to Laura H. Carnell*. (Box 2 Carnell Papers, File Corr R). Temple University, Paley Library Special Collections Research Center (Templana Collection), Philadelphia, PA)

Laura Carnell’s response is even more interesting,

Thank you very much for breaking [the] silence after so long a fast. Had you been of the other sex, your silence would have been even more justifiable, but, under the circumstances, when a lady shows so much interest in your personal affairs, one would have thought you would have felt flattered and that your chivalry would have led you to reply at once. But, in these days when women are trying for a new place, I suppose they must temporarily at least suspend their claims upon the older order of things. (Carnell, L. H. (1911, April 8). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Wendell Reber*. (Box 2 Carnell Papers, File Corr R). Temple

University, Paley Library Special Collections Research Center (Templana Collection), Philadelphia, PA.)

It is unclear if this flirtatious exchange reveals a romantic relationship that did not work out with Dr. Reber, or if Laura Carnell was making reference to some inside joke, as we perhaps see in this exchange with Albert McKinley, Dean of Liberal Arts and Sciences,

Dr. McKinnis would like to register in the College Department for Psychology and German... He would like this in the morning, not Saturday if it can be helped, and would like to take these two subjects in the same day. If he cannot take both subjects, he will be content to take the German. Will there be any afternoon class in German for beginners, meeting two consecutive hours? I gave him the circular. He is a very *fine looking young fellow and would be quite an acquisition, I think.* [Emphasis mine.] I told him you would write him what text books we use in German. ... (Carnell, L. H. (1909, September 2). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Albert McKinley.* (Box 1 Carnell Papers, File Corr M). Temple University, Paley Library Special Collections Research Center (Templana Collection), Philadelphia, PA)

Both letters are out of character in Carnell's correspondence. "The Flirt" was not Laura Carnell's go-to gender role; she was much more of a strictly disciplined decision maker, a bit more formal than familiar in her writing except with very few colleagues as mentioned early on in this chapter.

Despite an offer of marriage in her early thirties, Carnell opted to remain single so she could continue her life's work. She told Milton Stauffer that she had rejected a marriage proposal because she didn't think it would be possible to raise a family and also devote herself fully to Temple. Stauffer included Carnell's difficulties in making this decision in an article he wrote about her after her death, recounting Carnell describing, this decision,

In 1900 I found myself falling deeply in love with a fine man who was anxious to marry me. He had a brilliant future and has done well in life. Like every normal woman, it was my ambition to have a happy home and children. This woman with common sense might just as well admit.

But at that time, marriage meant giving up a career. I thought and prayed over it long and earnestly. I finally decided that I would give all that was in me to the founding with Dr. Conwell of a university that would open its doors wider and wider for the poor as well as for the rich to get a higher education. And I confess to you tonight that I am the happiest woman on earth because I did cast in my lot with Dr. Conwell and his great humanitarian enterprise. (Carnell, as quoted in Stauffer M. "The Most Unforgettable Character I've Ever Met." Carnell: VF. Temple University Samuel Paley Library Special Collections Research Center, Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia PA.)

There was no hint in Stauffer's article as to Carnell's unnamed suitor. There are no clear hints in the archives and no personal correspondence files dated before 1900 to consult further. This quote, attributed to Carnell some years after her death, was not only about a girl's fascination with Russell Conwell, but this grown woman had made a conscious decision to adopt Conwell's dreams as her own.

Working Relationships: Relationship with Russell Conwell

There was no surviving correspondence between Laura Carnell and Russell Conwell in the Templana Collection. In a few letters to various people, Carnell makes mention of discussing certain decisions with Dr. Conwell, or his illness, or the recent death of Mrs. Conwell, but nothing between the two. The 1910 Census notes that Laura Carnell resided in the Conwell home at that time. Conwell was noted as ill from 1910-1911, and Mrs. Conwell died in late 1910. In *Life with Grandfather Conwell*, Jane Conwell Tuttle notes that the regulars at breakfast were, “my Grandmother, Aunt Agnes, Laura Carnell, and Grandfather” (Tuttle, 1956, 12) Perhaps Laura Carnell moved in to help care for the ailing Conwells and living in their residence helped facilitate her management of the University business during this period.

Although she didn't always agree with Conwell's position, as noted in the letter to Albert McKinley referenced above, Carnell had a deep respect for Russell Conwell and believed in the work he set out to do.

Laura Carnell wrote an essay on the life of Russell Conwell that was published in *Touchstones of Success* (1920) a compilation consisting primarily of short autobiographies of 160 influential men of that era. It is interesting to note that the essay on Russell Conwell is one of only a few written as a biography by another person familiar with his work. In this essay, Carnell notes several personal characteristics that were the cornerstone of the success Conwell enjoyed. His focus was on working immediately to follow through on an idea and his interest in his work, not seeing it as work.

Another characteristic that has made it possible for him to accomplish so much has been his insistence that those working with him, as well as himself, shall do a thing NOW. As soon as he has made up his mind that a thing is worth doing, he is unwilling a single hour shall go by until a beginning at least is made. (Carnell, in *Touchstones of Success*, 1920, 149).

He has always regarded each day's work as the most interesting game that could be played. To do the next thing with his undivided attention as if it were the only thing in the world to do, gives every hour of his life the zest of a happy holiday. With each day filled to the utmost he goes on to the next, unafraid.

Near the end of her life, Laura Carnell was nominated for the Woman Educator Award in 1929, and she had this to say about her relationship with Conwell,

When in my teens, I met a remarkable educator who has been the inspiration of my life and whose work I have tried to carry on. (1929, January 18 "Woman Educator Award Nominee." Laura H. Carnell Vertical File Clippings, Temple University, Paley Library Special Collections. Philadelphia, PA).

In 1927, Laura Carnell wrote an article for the *Ladies' Home Journal* about women entering the workforce and how women should support the men in the workplace as a helper and not boss him around and allow him to linger at his club, and board meetings (Carnell, April 1927, page 70). Most of the article is very general advice typical of the *Ladies' Home Journal* in that period (Scanlon, 1995) which supported the idea of working single women, but working married women were still frowned upon. Near the end of the article, Carnell writes this about her working relationship with Conwell,

The great founder of Temple University, Dr. Russell H. Conwell had a longer vision than most of his contemporaries. From the very first he opened the doors of the new university to both men and women. He trained women to share in his responsibilities, but his shoulders were so broad that they were largely obscured, yet they worked quietly and contentedly in his shadow.

When he was taken away, some had been trained who could perhaps have carried on the work he had begun had he not given them a truer vision. They knew they could be loyal helpers to a new leader; that it was better for the university and better for the woman to share its great responsibilities with a man who would be the acknowledged head of the house. She would not run counter to any of the prejudices of men that have not yet been fully overcome and thus handicap the great work in which she was so deeply interested. (Carnell, L. H. 1927 "Woman Must Understand Her Job," *Ladies Home Journal* page 70.)

Written about two years after Conwell's death and after Carnell's refusal to be considered for the role of President of Temple University, her perspective is unusual for someone who played such an important role for over thirty years. Not only did she see Conwell as the clear leader of Temple University, she could not see herself in that same role.

It seems quite clear that Carnell needed to justify not taking on the role herself and also to justify her working for Charles Beury. Carnell suggests that the work of the growing university was getting to be too much for her to manage, and she knew that with a man at the helm, "She would not run counter to any of the prejudices...that have not yet been fully overcome." Carnell knew that there was a strong possibility that Temple University would suffer if she were president of the university. Ultimately, Carnell saw the work of the university as too important, again, more important than her own personal career or happiness. Conwell called Carnell a martyr for the Temple Idea,

She has given close, never-ceasing attention to the University every day and every evening for a quarter of a century; always at work the first in the morning, the last to leave at night, and her place at the dining –table often left vacant. Everyone from the coal-heaver to the president went to her for trustworthy information. Workers around her have felt a superstitious awe as they marveled at the frictionless machinery of her system running at highest speed year after year, sixteen hours a day. Without praise, with small pay, no recreation and no recognition... (Conwell,1920, 110)

*Working Relationships: Relationship with Charles Beury,
Second President of Temple University*

Charles Beury was a member of the Board of Trustees of Temple University and quite close to Russell Conwell in his later years. A few days prior to Conwell's death, he realized that there was no clear succession plan in place. The Board of Trustee Minutes of December 4, 1925 note,

Mr. Beury spoke to the Board of the very serious illness of President Conwell, and asked whether it would not be advisable to give Dean Carnell a position with greater authority since it was necessary for her to assume so many of the responsibilities of the President of the University. After a full discussion, on motion of Mr. Beury, seconded by Mr. Lafferty, Dean Carnell was elected Associate President and Dean of the Corporation. Conwell died two days later. (Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Temple University, December 4 1925 Volume 9, page 1763. (VF: Carnell, Laura Horner.) Conwellana-Templana Collection, Samuel Paley Library, Temple University.)

On the day that Charles Beury was elected by the Board of Trustees to serve as president, Carnell wrote him a sincere and lovely note of congratulations that was found in the archive of his correspondence. In his inaugural speech, Beury cited Carnell's contributions to Temple,

Dr. Carnell, Associate President of this University, has been one of its strongest and most faithful workers. By right of tenure of office; by right of faithful service, by right of splendid administrative ability, Dr. Carnell should, today, be receiving the honor which has been conferred upon me. But she has realized that Temple University, in its emergency, needed a man to be President; and so, in her self-sacrificing way, refused to be considered, and is giving her time and talents to further development of this institution. (Source unknown. (VF: Carnell, Laura Horner.) Conwellana-Templana Collection, Samuel Paley Library, Temple University.)

What might have been an awkward transition from founder to Carnell to Beury soon thereafter seems to have gone rather smoothly. About his friend and colleague, Charles Beury said,

Words cannot completely measure her usefulness. In attempting to provide for her many duties at Temple it would seem as though at least three people will be required to meet the need, such was the quality and quantity of her work. Her mastery of Temple University affairs, her infinite knowledge of details, her keen memory and her kindly, broad-minded attitude toward countless perplexing problems were matters of common acclaim. There was never any friction or misunderstanding between us. We worked together—played together sometimes, including many trips abroad and elsewhere with my family. But whether it was work or play, there was ever such good fellowship that one was as much fun as the other. (Unidentified newspaper clipping. (VF: Carnell, Laura Horner.) Conwellana-Templana Collection, Samuel Paley Library, Temple University.)

Laura Carnell and Charles Beury socialized together outside Temple University. She traveled to Europe with Beury and his wife and family in 1923 on a Mediterranean tour. While on the trip visiting an exhibit on the Near East in Constantinople, the floor collapsed and several people were injured. Neither Carnell nor the Beurys were seriously injured in this incident. (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 6 1923).

It is interesting that Beury remembered Carnell for the same characteristic that she lauded in Russell Conwell in the piece in *Touchstones of Leadership*, namely that work and play were “equally fun.” This suggests that Carnell not only found her work meaningful, but the people she worked with interesting and friendly.

*Working Relationships: Carnell as a Mentor to Gertrude Peabody,
Temple's First Dean of Women*

In 1923, Gertrude Peabody completed her Master's degree at the Teacher's College of Columbia University and began looking for a job. Peabody's advisor at Columbia, Miss Winchell, told her to strongly consider an opening at Temple University. Miss Winchell was, “deeply impressed by the people whom she had met—especially by Dr. Carnell” and told the young Miss Peabody that Temple University “is going to grow rapidly and the period of growth will be stimulating. Furthermore, I feel that it is the

kind of place where a person with an idea will get a respectful hearing” (Peabody, G. (1964, December). *Correspondence from Gertrude Peabody to Arthur Cook*. VF: Gertrude Peabody. Special Collections, Templana Collection Samuel Paley Library, Philadelphia, PA).

Miss Winchell told Gertrude Peabody to talk with Dean Carnell before making her decision. Peabody recalled in a letter many years later, “I did [meet Carnell] and found her tale to be fascinating.” (Peabody, G. (1964, December) *Correspondence from Gertrude Peabody to Arthur Cook*. Gertrude Peabody Vertical File, Templana Collection, Paley Library Philadelphia, PA).

Dean Carnell hired Peabody as an instructor in Home Economics and took on mentoring Peabody immediately. Some months later she arranged for her to meet Dr. Conwell to discuss his interest in Nursing Education and connecting the educational mission of the university with the hospital. Carnell also introduced the young woman to various groups of women academics so she could expand her network of contacts at other universities and within Temple,

She took me with her to state and national deans meetings and to the biennial meetings of the American Association of University Women. Because she was prominent in all these groups, I had the opportunity of coming to know the leaders among women educators. This was of great value to me a little later.

Also, she urged me to work with organized groups of the women students at Temple. It was, therefore, not a great surprise when I was asked to be the Dean of Women, a position never appointed at Temple University until that time. (Peabody, G. (December, 1964) *Correspondence from Gertrude Peabody to Arthur Cook*. (Gertrude Peabody Vertical File, Templana Collection, Paley Library)

Carnell's investment in Gertrude Peabody was a clear example of both the **Model the Way** and the **Enable Others to Act** concepts from Kouzes and Posner's (2003) research. In setting a personal example, Carnell helped the young Peabody adjust to her work at Temple and involved her in many opportunities that she might not have had elsewhere. Almost from the start, Peabody was given opportunities to grow and develop as a professional. Carnell gave Peabody opportunities to expand her professional network and also suggested ways she could be given greater challenges at Temple. It is not at all surprising that a year after Carnell's death, President Beury named Peabody Dean of Women. Gertrude Peabody served Temple University for 37 years from 1923 to 1960 and was Dean of Women from 1930 until her retirement in 1960. A residence hall built in 1957 on the site of Russell Conwell's first home in Philadelphia (Hilty, 2010) was named for her.

Working Relationships- Colleagues and Collaborators

Laura Carnell worked with faculty and staff at all levels, and there are many references to various needs and events. She often wrote personal messages to staff members making requests for certain rooms to be lit or set up in a particular way. Carnell also wrote thank you notes such as this one, on the stationery of the Office of the Dean of the University Corporation

My dear Mr. Cochran:

Because you so modestly hide, do not imagine that we do not appreciate all the good work you do. I want to thank you for the splendid way in which you took care of the Alumni invitations for the Laying of the Corner Stone. It was a successful affair, but only successful because several people like yourself, who received no public notice whatever did so well their part of the work.

Some of us will have to wait for that crown of glory that we've heard so much about. Cordially yours, (Carnell, L. (1922, October 14).

Correspondence from Laura Carnell to Mr. Cochran (Box 1, File C).

Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collections Research Center- Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA)

This note was unique, because although Temple University was begun as an off-shoot of the Grace Baptist Church and Conwell and Carnell were both still regularly involved in Church activities, Carnell makes very few religious references in her writing.

This suggests that there was a very clear division between church matters and educational ones, which is somewhat unusual for schools affiliated with an organized religion, particularly during this era.

This note is also an interesting example of two concepts from Kouzes and Posner (2003) **Encourage the Heart** includes the practice of encouraging and thanking employees and the reference to the “crown of glory” was clearly a tug at the belief both Carnell and Mr. Cochran likely shared that they will be rewarded for their work for Temple in heaven.

Carnell’s work at Temple included working with the Women’s Auxiliary on various fund raising and charity events. This note of thanks to Mrs. August Ketterer, President of the Women’s Auxiliary is another example of “Encourage the Heart” in action.

Dear Mrs. Ketterer:

We had a very fine meeting yesterday and we surely accomplished a lot. ... I am sure we all enjoyed being together again. The little party into which you turned our business meeting was so dainty it added another pleasant day to the storehouse of memory. Cordially yours, (Carnell, L. (1922, August 8). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Mrs. August Ketterer*. (Women’s Auxiliary files Box 1, Folder K) Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collections Research Center- Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA)

*Modeling the Way: Carnell's Leadership in Fiscal Management
and the Crisis of 1910-11*

During 1910 and 1911, Temple University was in a very difficult financial position. Russell Conwell had serious health issues and was not able to raise funds to pay for the work of Temple University (Bjork, 1978). Laura Carnell and Milton Stauffer corresponded regularly about these issues while she vacationed with the Conwell family in Massachusetts in the summer of 1910.

Laura Carnell did not make much mention of discussing issues with President Conwell in her letters, but she did make numerous recommendations for actions that could be taken to make it through this tight period with no summer income since the college was closed. Carnell advised Stauffer from afar as to how to handle financial matters, including salaries, determined which bills Temple should pay or defer and selected which banks could be contacted for bridge loans through this crisis, one of many in Temple's history (Hilty, 2010).

Stauffer wrote Carnell in early July, 1910 that they were behind in paying people their June salaries, and didn't have enough to pay them off or to pay summer salaries,

I find that about \$5,000.00 is still needed to pay off the June salaries. The only salaries that have been paid for June are the Expense salaries and the Business Department with the exception of mine. There will be over \$2,000 needed to pay the July salaries. There is only \$2,000 cash in hand. This amount must be used for such bills that cannot be held off any longer and for salaries of those who are on duty during the summer. I have asked Mr. Boddy to try his level best to give Miss Vlachos her check when her vacation starts. (Stauffer, M. (1910, July 1). *Correspondence from Milton Stauffer to Laura H. Carnell*. Box 2, File S. Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection – Templana- Philadelphia, PA).

A few days later, Stauffer wrote again to Carnell (who was still in Massachusetts with the Conwell family), because bills were coming in but with only a small amount of reserves were available; he was unsure as to how to prioritize them. Stauffer sought Carnell's advice on these important financial matters,

How important is the payment of the rent of the "Little Church around the Corner"? Mr. Horrocks has been here a number of times insisting upon the payment of rent which, of course, is long past due. If there is any danger of the privilege of renting this building being withdrawn, we had probably better pay it.

Dr. Brown just 'phoned me and said that the first payment on the advertising must be made at once. He also said that I shall see Mr. Wilson in regard to making a loan of \$5,000.00. I spoke to Mr. Wilson about it yesterday morning, but he was so busy that he did not have time to consider it. I shall take it up again tomorrow morning. Nowadays, I am a familiar face in his office. (Stauffer, M. (1910, July 6). *Correspondence from Milton Stauffer to Laura H. Carnell*. Box 2, File S. Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection – Templana- Philadelphia, PA).

Later that month, Stauffer again raised his concerns about how the bills have been handled in the past and makes suggestions as to how they could handle them in the future,

I still feel that we are not very systematic about this whole matter of paying bills. ... I think this fall there ought to be a very definite system of O.K.'ing all bills and that at certain intervals all the outstanding accounts ought to be gone over carefully and whatever moneys we can apply to the paying of such bills ought to be divided as equitably as possible. The whole thing in the past has been very slipshod. (Stauffer, M. (1910, July 6). Correspondence from Milton Stauffer to Laura H. Carnell. Box 2, File M. Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection – Templana-Philadelphia, PA).

This data suggests that Stauffer was learning to act as his own agent while Carnell was out of town, recommending a new course of action for them to consider adopting in the next academic year.

With bills still looming and the new term about to start, Stauffer again raised a concern that there was no money for salaries, and so Carnell suggested that he negotiate loans from two different banks for coverage and, in response Stauffer wrote,

The Tenth National Bank accepted our note for \$2500.00 this morning and the Southwark note for \$2500.00 will be finally accepted tomorrow. This will not pay off all of the salaries but it will enable us to get along until our fall income, if no more can be secured. (Stauffer, M. (1910, August 1). Correspondence from Milton Stauffer to Laura H. Carnell. Box 2, File M. Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection – Templana-Philadelphia, PA).

Carnell, Stauffer, and McKinley worked together to consider ways out of the serious financial situation the University was in and she helped Conwell write the draft of the petition to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania which ultimately led to Temple's budgetary appropriation from the state. The final version of these documents is signed in Conwell's hand, but early drafts have her handwritten edits covering the pages.

Carnell's fiscal oversight and political savvy played a very important part in keeping Temple's doors open during this period. Her leadership during this period of financial crisis, at a time when President Conwell was not fully able to manage the fiscal affairs of Temple University was one of the most interesting outcomes of this study. She was able to, in Kouzes and Posner (2003) language successfully **Model the Way** and **Enable others to Act** through this crisis period.

*Carnell's Transactional Leadership Role in Curriculum Design
And the Creation of Academic Policies*

Ideas for new curricula seem to have been generated from several sources: conversations President Conwell had with a variety of business leaders, discussions of the faculty, requests made by students and Laura Carnell herself. Russell Conwell often got an idea to create a new school or college or to expand/revise a program and charged Laura Carnell with investigating how other universities conducted the courses and she

began implementing the program at Temple. It is not clear where Conwell got these ideas, but it is possible that he was following his own advice taken from the lesser known part of the “Acres of Diamonds” speech, where he encouraged listeners to “see a need and fill it.” In this sense, Conwell was a true visionary. He saw (because people asked for help) a need to educate working people in the evening, and set about meeting that need. He charged Laura Carnell with offering a course whenever six (or sometimes 15) students had an interest in a subject (Butterweck, 1968).

When Conwell decided that Temple College should offer a new curriculum, Laura Carnell had a set of tasks that needed to be done to organize it. In several cases, Carnell wrote to colleagues at other universities, requesting their bulletin for their program. Several similar examples such as this one for Nursing, were on file for Physical Education, Nutrition and Home Economics,

New York Hospital

Gentlemen: Will you kindly send us a copy of your prospectus showing your course for the Training School for Nurses? Thanking you in advance for this, we remain, Very truly yours, /signed/ Dean. (Carnell, L. H. (1911, April 4). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to New York Hospital*. (Box 2, File N). Temple University, Paley Library Special Collections Research Center, Conwellana-Templana. Philadelphia, PA.)

Carnell typically wrote to colleagues at other well established institutions at enough of a distance away that there would be little fear of competition. Often, she wrote not just for information on program requirements but for recommendations for faculty to

develop the courses for the new program and for information on the facilities needed to house such a program. Carnell negotiated start dates, salaries, and made housing recommendations for prospective faculty. Her correspondence reveals that in some cases she merely reported an offer from Dr. Conwell, but in other cases it is clear that she was the one with the negotiating power.

Milton Stauffer recounted being offended at having to apply to a woman—Carnell-- for a teaching position at Temple in 1899, as that was atypical for the time and he was from conservative Lancaster County where women didn't work or speak in public (Stauffer, M., undated typescript) *The Most Unforgettable .Character I've Ever Met*. VF: Carnell, Laura Horner. Temple University, Samuel L. Paley Library Special Collections, Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA.)

Stauffer also details Laura Carnell's role in the organization of the College of Education in an article about Carnell's life,

In 1901, Dr. Henry Gideon, Head of the Department of Compulsory School Attendance of Philadelphia for many years, came to Dean Carnell as a young public school teacher and asked to have classes organized from 4 to 6 PM and on Saturday mornings, so that public schoolteachers could earn their degrees while teaching. He was told that it would be done.

Without money except for small tuition fees, the work was started. Given an idea, this creative administrator grasped its importance at once, and translated it with miraculous swiftness into a living concrete result. The large Teacher's College of Temple University with an annual enrollment of thirty-five hundred students, is blessing thousands because an intrepid woman said, "It can be done." (Stauffer, M. (Undated typescript *The Most Unforgettable Character I've Ever Met*.) (VF: Carnell, Laura Horner) Samuel Paley Library Special Collections Research Center- Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA.)

Curricula for Women

Russell Conwell and Laura Carnell were committed to providing educational opportunities for men and women from the very early days of Temple College. However, this was not accomplished without conflict. Popular writings at that time still encouraged only single women to work and even Conwell's writings are conflicted about women's roles. In *Increasing Personal Efficiency* (1917), Conwell argued,

Men will mainly be what women make them, and there can never be entirely free men until there are entirely free women with no special privileges, but with all her rights. The wife makes the home, the mother makes the man, and she is the creator of joyous boyhood and heroic manhood (Conwell, page 120)

But a few paragraphs later Conwell discusses the importance of women's domestic work and how men would not be able to conduct this work: "Think of the thousands upon thousands in this land whose work with the smaller children of the school could never be so well done by men!" (Conwell, 1917, 125). Although she does not claim to write a firsthand account of her experience, Carnell's conflict about her role as a woman in a leadership position at Temple University is apparent in her piece in the *Ladies' Home Journal* where she writes of the importance of being a helpmate to the male leader.

It is somewhat surprising that even with this ambivalence at the individual level, the pair still created college level programs designed to improve work opportunities specifically for women. Laura Carnell began her career as Lady Principal of the Woman's Department [sic]. An early advertisement for Temple College courses shows the variety of coursework available to men and women,

The Temple College – Broad and Berks Streets, Philadelphia, PA – Russell H. Conwell, President -- Day and Evening Sections for both Sexes – Send for Prospectus. . . . Normal Courses for Kindergartners, Elementary Teachers, Household Science, Physical Training, Music, Millinery, Dressmaking, Elocution and Oratory. Grammar, Primary, and Kindergarten Schools. Write for Catalogue.—Special Courses in Elocution, Oratory, Painting, Drawing, Physical Training, Dressmaking, Millinery, Cookery, Embroidery, etc. (The Temple College, 1904, Unidentified Newspaper Clipping, Carnell Vertical File, Templana Collection, Paley Library).

Carnell was in part responsible for the creation of the Teacher's College and the kindergarten lab, as well as the Home Economics program, which were both very well regarded for decades after Carnell's death (Butterweck,)

She responded to many requests from women, who sought out higher education,

I am enclosing one of our regular blanks with your credentials during the four years that you were with us. I shall be very glad to hear that you have begun work in a university, as I always felt that you ought to go into College work, and was much disappointed when you turned aside in your preparation. If we can do anything else to help you in this matter, we shall be very glad to do so. (Carnell, LH (1911 April 18). *Correspondence from Laura Carnell to Mary Oates*. Box 2 File M-O.) Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection- Templana Philadelphia, PA.)

And,

Every department of the Temple University is co-educational. We are sending you our circular under separate cover. (Carnell, 1909
Correspondence from Laura Carnell to Miss Emery (Box1 File E.)
Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection- Templana
Philadelphia, PA).

Laura Carnell had an interest in providing better work opportunities for women, and designed curricula specifically to address this issue in 1910. Albert McKinley, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, responded to her request that he consider creating new programs to attract women students to Temple University,

Stauffer and I have talked over the secretarial course... It appears to me to be an excellent opening for our girl graduates of the college- who now are limited to the teaching profession. ... Students can be admitted to his classes in stenography, bookkeeping, and typewriting at any hour of the day, so that it remains for us to arrange the roster of the cultural subjects.

I have myself changed my Saturday AM class from Civil Government to Historical Methods including a study of libraries and cataloguing systems, historical bibliographies, historical criticism, etc. This will be much in the line of work desired by library and secretarial students as well as those wishing to teach history. If we can open up the field of library work and secretarial work as well as that of teaching, to our students, we should be able to increase our enrollment materially. I am delighted to have you suggest a line of work which I had neglected. (McKinley, A, 1910
Correspondence from Albert McKinley to Laura Carnell. Box 2 File M-O.) Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection- Templana
Philadelphia, PA.)

Laura Carnell seems to have also contacted Milton Stauffer, Dean of the School of Commerce with a similar idea that same week,

Dr. McKinley is still anxious to have his college students take shorthand and typewriting and bookkeeping. He complains that they cannot get anything to do after they have finished the college course. It might be a very good idea. I have not made much progress on the course for salesmanship for women except that everybody that I interviewed seems to feel that there is a need for the course, but do not know just what should be included in it. (Stauffer, M., 1910 Correspondence *from Milton Stauffer to Laura Carnell* Box 2 File M-O.) Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection- Templana Philadelphia, PA.)

Carnell understood that higher education was in a period of extreme expansion to meet the demands of a free populace that needed information in order to vote. Her interest in expanding higher education was, in part, related to her personal interest in providing opportunities to the working class but also related to her understanding that public education was necessary to provide potential voters with the critical skills they would need to make decisions at election time.

Academic Policies

Carnell was responsible for enforcement of academic policies and procedures. She established common practices and required all faculty members to follow them.

She hired and terminated faculty and wrote them regularly about a variety of issues, including this list of policies from 1906:

The lists, on which the monthly averages are to be inserted, must be arranged alphabetically; the last name first, preceded [sic] by matriculation number; also under the name of each the address should be written. These blanks will be returned to the professors and instructors not later than the last Friday in the month. The averages should be inserted and the same returned the following Monday. Give the first name in full.

Students who have been absent from a classroom must present the proper blank from the Dean before returning to that class.

In order to insure promptness, a student more than three minutes late in entering a classroom must present a signed excuse before taking his place.

Each professor and instructor must leave daily in the Dean's office a list of the names of those absent from his respective classes that day.

Upon the ringing of the bells for change of classes each class should be dismissed promptly, that there may be no delay in reaching the next classroom.

The regular Faculty meeting is held the second Monday of each month at 2 o'clock. In the Dean's office. (Carnell, L.H. (1906, September 3). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to the Faculty of Temple University*. (Box 1, File F). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana-Philadelphia, PA)

She established the appropriate grading schema,

I see on your reports that you have made sixty-five the passing mark in Caesar and Latin. If the students understand this, we shall have to let it go this year, but seventy is our regular passing mark. (Carnell, L.H. (1911 January 9). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Julius Markheim* . (Box 2, File M). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

When classes could be dismissed,

We have noticed several times that your elocution class has been dismissed before the two o'clock bell rang. This has caused considerable confusion in the building. Will you kindly not dismiss them until the bell has rung? (Carnell, 1909). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana-Philadelphia, PA

Hiring of faculty,

My dear Miss Nathan:

We hope nothing will prevent your being present tomorrow afternoon at four o'clock to organize your class. The class meets, as you know, on Tuesday and Thursday from October to June. (Carnell, L. H. (1910, October 3). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Stella Nathan*. Box AR6-2, File N). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

Termination of faculty,

Your letter of the 21st received. After due consideration of its contents, of your failure to meet your classes, or to provide a suitable substitute, and the delay in beginning work, we deem it advisable to provide another teacher for our Spanish classes. It will not be necessary for you to meet the classes this week, or thereafter. (Carnell, L.H. (1910, February 24). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to P.M. Sagera*. (Box 2, File S). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

It is clear from these examples of her responsibilities that Laura Carnell had quite a lot of responsibility for developing and upholding not only the curricular standards at Temple University but also the various administrative policies and practices. She was **Modeling**

the Way by expressing the expectations and standards of the university and living up to them herself.

Carnell's Relationships with Students

Despite being a high level administrator for much of her time at Temple, Laura Carnell's correspondence files are replete with letters to individual students or their parents, discussing all manner of issues. .

Your daughter seems to be very happy and contented in her work. She is, of course, under the direct care of Miss Mackenzie, the Principal of that Department, who says she is doing very good work although she does not always apply herself quite as earnestly as she might. Whenever it seems fitting, I will give her whatever help I can. (Carnell, L. H. (1906, May 18). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Mrs. John F. Berkholz*. Box 1, File B. Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

Many of these letters were responses to requests for information about making an application to the University,

Recalling my recent visit to your school, I wish to ask whether colored persons are admitted to the classes in dressmaking and millinery, and to other classes of the University. (Sanders, V. (1910, November 17). *Correspondence from Vergil Sanders to Laura H. Carnell*. Box 2, File S. Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

Carnell responded the following day in the affirmative, confirming that students of color were admitted to Temple University programs,

Colored students are admitted to all departments of Temple University if they are thoroughly prepared for the course. We have them both in dressmaking and millinery. (Carnell, L.H. (1910, Nov 18). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Vergil Sanders*. Box 2, File S. Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA

Most of the correspondence written to parents regarded behavior problems or serious academic issues that needed to be rectified in order for the student to be permitted to continue at Temple University

Your son Charles was so utterly defiant of all the authorities of the College that President Conwell and the faculty agreed that it was not for the best good of the institution to allow your son to return and he was so notified on Tuesday morning, since which time he has again seen fit to put himself in defiance of our orders and enters the building to hold conversations with the young ladies, and has been openly insulting to one of the Professors and to myself. We must request that he shall not again enter the college building or we shall be compelled to adopt stringent methods to prevent his troubling us further. (Carnell, L.H. (1906, April 25). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Andrew Elliott*. (Carnell Letter book, page 192) Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA).

Though she was typically stern in the letters to students with discipline issues, Carnell's tone softens in some of these letters. Laura Carnell writes to one parent,

I wrote to you some days ago concerning Charles' absence, but have not heard from you. I fear that in some way the letter went astray. Charles is still absent from school and we feel quite anxious that he should be losing so much time. Will you kindly let me know as soon as possible the cause of his absence? (Carnell, L.H. (1910, December 1). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Charles Martel*. Box 2, File M. Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

Carnell wrote to the son (also named Charles) a few days later in the most curious, overly conciliatory tone, trying to entice young Charles Martel to return to the school and what fun he can anticipate, with the double closing, emphasizing both kindness and friendship.

We had the pleasure of a call from your Father [sic] the other day and he told us that you would return to the University yesterday. Perhaps you knew that there was a big snowstorm coming and you wanted to enjoy the sleighing, etc., but I am afraid that you are missing all the interesting things here, too. Today we expect Professor Garner to be with us; perhaps you remember that this professor trained a young chimpanzee, called Suzie, and today he is coming to show the students what this wonder Suzie can do and say. Then, of course, there are preparations being made for Christmas entertainments, etc.

I shall most surely look for you this week—say Thursday—because you will probably not receive this note until tomorrow, and when you come I want you to meet some of the new boys that have come in this year. So do not keep me waiting and looking for you. With kind regards I remain always, Sincerely your friend, (Carnell, L.H. (1910, December 5). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Master Charles Martel*. (Box 2, File M.) Temple University, Paley Library Special Collection – Templana- Philadelphia, PA).

It isn't clear why Carnell writes at this noticeably different level, trying to directly engage him in the activities of the university. There were several examples of letters signed "Your Friend, Dean Carnell" which seemed a bit out of character from the other letters sent to students. Perhaps she participated in organizations or had friendly relationship with the parents of some Temple students, or knew some students better than

others and so she wrote to coax them to return to the classroom and signed them “Your Friend, Dean Carnell.”

Other students and their parents received very different kinds of notes regarding disciplinary issues. Although this one is not clear on what the exact offending behaviors were, it is clear what the outcome will be,

It was with regret that we had to suspend your son August until November 1 for disobedience and disorderly conduct in his evening classes. It is a very unusual thing for an evening student to cause any trouble, but your don has been quite disorderly. (Carnell, L.H. (1910, October 20). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Mr. Ryne.* (Box 2, File R). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA.)

Carnell also gave general academic advice in her letters to students,

My dear Miss Mercer:

Your note has been received, but as you do not make it clear to us how much English work you wish to take, or which classes you are prepared to enter, it is rather difficult for us to give you a definite reply. You could probably enter the English and American Literature classes, the class in College Readings, Spelling and History. The tuition fee for these classes would be \$7.50 beginning February 1st.

It would be more satisfactory, however, if you should call to see us personally so that we could talk matters over with you. The offices are open every evening excepting Saturday. (Carnell, LH (1911, January 17) *Correspondence from Laura Carnell to Ethel Mercer.* (Box 2 File M). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection Research Center – Conwellana-Templana- Philadelphia, PA)

Carnell's interest and willingness to give academic advice to potential students is a compelling example of Kouzes and Posner's practice of **Challenging the Process**. Carnell is working with a student who is at the inquiry stage of decision-making, but, perhaps because it is only a few weeks prior to the start of the spring term, Carnell immediately moves her response toward full enrollment at the University. By inviting Miss Mercer to Temple to discuss her academic future, she was prepared to set concrete plans for her future academic planning.

During World War I, Carnell wrote to former students stationed abroad and they wrote back to her. Although copies of Carnell's letters are not part of the archive, a set of some sixty letters from the battlefields of the war are on file. Their content suggests that Carnell wrote them lengthy letters filled with lots of happenings around Temple and the City of Philadelphia. A brief excerpt from a five page note from a Temple alumni gives a sense of the variety of topics discussed,

I was very much pleased day before yesterday to receive your very interesting letter of March 11th and I thank you very much for writing me as I know you must be very busy with your work at the university and when you receive letters from friends at home it always makes you feel a lot better when you are so many miles away from a real country. ...

You are right about charity belonging at home and the sooner the American Army is gotten out of France the better it will be for us as we have to pay from two to five times what things are worth over here... I don't blame you for not caring to sit around a few hours waiting for your turn and I am going to try and reform [father] when I get back... Hoping you are well and I may see you soon... (Myckoff, J. (1919, March 30). Correspondence from J. Myckoff to Laura H. Carnell. AR 6-0-1 Box 2 Folder 2 Personal Correspondence Letters (1917-1919) to L. Carnell from Students in WWI Temple University, Samuel L. Paley Library Special Collections, Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA)

This letter is another prime example of Carnell **Encouraging the Heart**, a leadership practice noted by Kouzes and Posner (2003). Carnell's letter is not available, but her commitment to writing to Temple alums and students during World War I was her way of "recognizing people who exemplify commitment to shared values" and "praising people for a job well done" – both of these are leadership practices within that category.

The Progressive Politics of Laura Carnell

Carnell, the Civic Leader

Carnell was active in a number of local and national organizations. Carnell was elected to the Board of Education in Philadelphia in 1923, possibly in part a result of the many other civic and educational causes that she participated in, including the Temple University Women's Auxiliary, the Women's Auxiliary of Samaritan Hospital, the New Century Club, the Sesquicentennial Exposition of 1926. Carnell also participated in the College Art Association, the National Association of Deans of Women, and the National Association of Women in Education.

Information regarding Carnell's club work was found in numerous newspaper articles from the period of 1908-1929 retrieved from the America's Historical Newspapers database. From this information, we know, that Laura Carnell chaired a meeting of the Civic Club's Education Committee in November, 1922, where the subjects

were “The New Programme [sic] for the High Schools” and “The Junior High School”.
(*Guild Fair Feature of Women’s Clubs*. Philadelphia Public Ledger 1922 November 19.)
The Civic Club at their meeting in December, 1922 urged Carnell to run for the Board of
Education to replace the recently deceased John Wanamaker. (*Urge Woman for Post:
Clubs Suggest Member of Fair Sex for School Board* Philadelphia Public Ledger, 1922,
December 22).

During the Philadelphia Sesquicentennial Celebration in 1926, Laura Carnell and
Jessie Gray of the Philadelphia Normal School at Girls’ High School planned an
exhibition representing the contributions of teachers in the City of Philadelphia: a one-
room schoolhouse was erected to honor this population (Freedman, 1988). The
committee of people who Laura Carnell worked with on this exhibit included many
famous last names in Philadelphia (e.g. Cassatt, Biddle, and Wanamaker). Although the
event itself was not particularly successful, this exhibit honored the Philadelphia
Teachers Association and its membership of nearly 52,000 teachers in Pennsylvania
(Freeman, 1988, page 60). Carnell certainly exemplified several Leadership Practices
from Kouzes and Posner (2003), particularly, Inspiring a Shared Vision, Challenging the
Process, and Enabling Others to Act.

Carnell’s significant service to the City of Philadelphia was honored by naming
an elementary school built in Northeast Philadelphia in 1930 for her. It is still in use
today and in 1988 was added to the National Register of Historic Places
(<http://www.phila.gov/historical/registry/Pages/landmarks.aspx>).

*Higher Education in the Progressive Era-
Educating African Americans and Working Class Americans*

In 1903, Carnell received a questionnaire from W. E. B. Du Bois, who was continuing his study of African Americans in Philadelphia. She wrote him a separate response to his questions about the moral character of the African American students:

The blank sent us was referred to the Dean of the Theological School. We scarcely know how to fill it out as we have never had a colored student graduate from the Theological Course, though we have had many take the course in part. The difficulty has always been that they come to the course unprepared, and have fallen by the way-side. We had one colored student who very successfully completed our Law Course, but he was better prepared to begin the work.

It is difficult to make the colored students realize that they must have a good foundation before beginning the study of Theology. They desire to study Theology before they know how to spell or before they have any knowledge of English Grammar. So far as our observations have gone, we have never had any complaint to make of them morally and they are generally very earnest. (Carnell, 1903) Letter from Laura H. Carnell to W. E. B. DuBois. (Carnell Letter book). Temple University, Samuel L. Paley Library Special Collections, Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA)

The section of Carnell's letter that is *marked in italics above* was included on pages 201 and 202 of W. E. B. DuBois' study "The Negro Church. Report of a Social Study Made under the Direction of Atlanta University; Together with the Proceedings of the Eighth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, May 26th, 1903. (DuBois, W. E. B., 1903 Electronic Edition:

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/negrochurch/dubois.html>). This document is a

compilation of the history of religion in Africa and what happened to slaves brought from Africa to the United States. It was the first comprehensive sociological study of religion in America.

Carnell traveled to Europe in 1908 with Mrs. Wilmer Krusen (whose husband was Vice President of Temple University and Director of Public Health in Philadelphia at the time),

Dr. Laura H. Carnell, dean of deans of The Temple University, will sail for Europe at an early date, accompanied by Mrs. Wilmer Krusen, a member of the Board of Lady Managers of the Samaritan Hospital. Dr. Carnell goes abroad to study the great universities and to rest while Mrs. Krusen will interest herself with an inspection of the more advanced hospitals in European capitals. (*Dr. Carnell Going Abroad* in VF: Carnell, Laura H. Temple University, Samuel L. Paley Library Special Collections, Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA.)

Laura Carnell's interest in studying the practices of other universities is evidence of several of her leadership practices: she was interested in future trends and making Temple University a world-class institution. This practice is one seen as **Inspiring a Shared Vision**. Although we do not know what may have changed at Temple after this trip, just Carnell's willingness to seek other models for success was her way of **Challenging the Process**.

There are a number of pieces of personal correspondence with Ellen Betton, a friend she met during a summer course at Cambridge University in England, and with whom she regularly corresponded for several years. A few years after they met, Betton became the second-in-command of The Workers' Education Association. For several years, Carnell continued to maintain contact with Betton and they exchanged long letters with some regularity. The two women traveled together in Europe at least twice and their personal friendship was based, at least in part, on the common grounds of their work of providing educational opportunities for working men and women. On Temple's 25th Anniversary, Betton wrote,

We are very interested in hearing all about your educational work in Philadelphia, and hope you will make as much progress in the next 25 years as you have in the past 25 years. (Betton, E.(1909) *Correspondence from Ellen Betton to Laura Carnell*. Box AR6—1, File B). Temple University, Samuel L. Paley Library Special Collections Research Center, Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA.)

My work here at present is decidedly onerous, but always interesting and I do not mind how hard I work if it is finally justified by results. I have to assist Mr. Mansbridge in secretarial work- to manage the office & staff & to develop the women's section of the work. The latter has been almost entirely neglected & it is being borne upon and that whatever benefits women will have to be got by women ... There is a vast amount of inherent prejudice in men, however enlightened & many men think a few sympathetic phrases will be all-sufficing & they are content to let the matter rest at that. Women, however, are beginning to realize that they must work together and if they want anything which will broaden their lives they must get it for themselves. (Betton, E. (1909) *Correspondence from Ellen Betton to Laura Carnell*. Box AR6—1, File B). Temple University, Samuel L. Paley Library Special Collections Research Center Conwellana-Templana Collection, Philadelphia, PA.)

It is not clear if Laura Carnell and Ellen Betton maintained their friendship or ever saw one another again after these letters. The Workers Education Association did continue in England and is still active at present. Betton's interest in women's issues perhaps influenced Carnell's own thoughts about women's rights. Betton said, "Whatever benefits women will have to be got by women" in her 1909 letter. Several years later, Carnell used nearly identical language to discuss women's roles in solving housing problems (*Urges Women to Take Up Civic Work Again*, Philadelphia Public Ledger, 1919) and the need to prepare women candidates for the Board of Education (*Says women are not ready for Public Work, Dr. Carnell Declares Unpreparedness Keeps Them from Board of Education*, Philadelphia Public Ledger, 1919).

Laura Carnell's Interest in Socialism

Laura Carnell was a typical Progressive of this period in that she was involved in a variety of civic causes, activities, and clubs. Much of her work on the part of Temple University shows her interest in helping people better their lives. At some point Carnell became interested in socialism and was tasked by a member of the Board of Trustees to investigate the number of socialists in the United States and Europe. She wrote to Scott Nearing, a former Temple student, now a faculty member at the University of Pennsylvania, who was to become the subject of a notorious case involving the denial of academic freedom in 1914-15:

Yesterday I was appealed to by one of our Trustees for some data concerning socialism, and while I have a fair library on socialism, I could not give the recent figures wanted. If you can put me in touch with this information, I shall be very grateful to you for the same. I would like to know the computed number of socialists in the United States and in the leading countries of Europe, with the number of legislators representing them in the various countries.

I read with a great deal of interest the article you sent President Conwell at Christmas. Parts of it I had also seen in the daily paper. Dr. C also read it with a great deal of interest and appreciation, but has probably written you concerning it himself.

Thanking you in advance for any assistance you can give me ... (Carnell, L. H. (1910, December 30). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to Scott Nearing* (Box 2, File N). Temple University, Paley Library. Special Collection- Templana Philadelphia, PA)

Nearing responded the following day

In reply to your note regarding the Socialist vote in the United States, I would suggest that you write to Morris Hillquit... [He] has a book on "The History of Socialism" and he can give you the latest material on the subject. You might also write to John Spargo, Yonkers, NY in case Mr. Hillquit fails to furnish the material which you desire. These two men are the most prominent authors on Socialism in the United States. (Nearing, S. (1911, January 3). *Correspondence from Scott Nearing to Laura Carnell* (Box 2, File N). Temple University, Paley Library. Special Collection- Templana Philadelphia, PA)

Carnell then wrote to John Spargo, a founding member of the Socialist Party of America,

I would like at this time to express to you my appreciation of the enlightenment and instruction that I have received from your books, and to hope that we may live to see many of the great principles for which you stand in active operation. (Carnell, L. H. (1910, January 4). *Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to John Spargo*. (Box 2, File S). Samuel Paley Library. Special Collection- Templana Philadelphia, PA)

Carnell's interest in Socialism is closely aligned with her work at Temple. Her commitment to educating anyone who wished to receive it and to educating populations that had been previously underserved—women, the working poor, African Americans, and immigrants—and in ways that were unique and innovative was left-leaning, if not actually socialistic.

Laura Carnell in Philadelphia Society

Laura Carnell was an active participant in a number of civic clubs such as the New Century Club and she helped to organize aspects of Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial fair, particularly those involving children and education themes. She was a member of the Women's Auxiliary of Temple University and the Board of Lady Managers of Samaritan Hospital. Carnell was also interested in several progressive causes. She was noted as having attended a meeting of Collegiate Suffragettes, and was known for her strong opinions on the education and work of women and childhood development, and related issues such as public housing.

In 1910, Mayor of Philadelphia, John E. Reyburn asked Carnell to participate in the Hospitality Committee for a national conference that would meet in Philadelphia

The National Conference on City Planning will meet in Philadelphia on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, and at that time the City will have the pleasure of entertaining, as her guests, a great many distinguished architects, engineers, sociologists and experts in municipal planning and administration. The Committee in charge of their entertainment has decided that women should be invited to attend the Conference and take part in the official banquet on the 17th, which is expected to be a notable one. It is desired, therefore, that the City be represented on the Committee on Hospitality, by a number of prominent women, and I have the honor and pleasure to invite you to become a member of this Committee. I sincerely trust that the City and the National Conference on City Planning will be honored by your acceptance and service on this Committee. (Reyburn, J. E. (1911, April 10). Correspondence from Mayor John E. Reyburn to Laura H. Carnell. Box AR6-02, File R. Temple University Samuel Paley Library Special Collection- Conwellana-Templana, Philadelphia, PA.)

The next day, Carnell noted her love for her “City Beautiful” and the Carnell family’s long history in Philadelphia in her acceptance of this task.

Carnell’s participation in a variety of social and civic clubs in Philadelphia landed her name on the society pages of various charity events including Indoor Horse Shows (March, 1915 and April, 1922, *Philadelphia Inquirer*), a banquet launching a campaign for Temple University’s Endowment (April 30 1920, *Philadelphia Inquirer*) and a rummage sale to benefit the Samaritan Hospital (1922).

Even before she had a seat on the Board of Education, Laura Carnell was frequently called upon to discuss the state of Education in Philadelphia, or what was new in public education. In 1920, during a meeting of the City Club,

Dr. Laura Carnell, Dean of Temple University... said there is no reason why public school teachers should feel discouraged since there is enough money in the treasury of Philadelphia to finance any project that would serve to give them a living wage.” (Urge Teachers to Stick Better Representation on Board of Education Plea of Joseph H. Hagedorn. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. October 8, 1920. Volume 183; Issue 1001; Page 2 Philadelphia, PA.)

Carnell was invited to speak at clubs that she wasn't affiliated with like a banquet held by the Business Science Club in 1913, where she spoke on “the educational side of business science.” (Taylor Advises Employer, November 8, 1913; *Philadelphia Inquirer* Vol. 169, Issue 131, Page 7; Philadelphia, PA.)

In 1919, Carnell was quoted as saying, “Unpreparedness is the real reason why women are not on the Board of Education... A candidate should be prepared so that the board would have no excuse for not giving a woman an appointment.” (Says Women are not ready for Public Work, December 17, 1919; *Philadelphia Inquirer* Vol. 181; Issue 170; Page 12.)

Carnell, of course, also had an interest in worker education, and was on the Board of the Midvale Steel Company with Frederick Taylor (the developer of the Scientific Management theory, Taylorism). She was also elected as Director of the Pennsylvania Branch of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education,

Your letter notifying me of my election as a director of the Pennsylvania Branch of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education has been received, and I wish to thank the Pennsylvania Branch for the honor they have conferred upon me. I feel that I have not been of very much assistance during the past year, but I am at least interested in the work that is being done. (Carnell, L (1910, November 16).

Correspondence from Laura H. Carnell to William A. Mason. (Box AR6-2, File M). Temple University, Samuel Paley Library Special Collection-Templana-Conwellana, Philadelphia, PA)

A local public figure, Laura Carnell was often quoted in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on issues tangentially related to her work --on education, marriage, on girls wearing makeup, and on the role of women in the workplace.

That the Wisconsin idea in government and education is practically the Pennsylvania idea enlarged upon was the statement made by speakers at the informal reception given to the Wisconsin delegates by the City Club, the Civic Club, the Public Education Association and the New Century Club, yesterday afternoon in the botanical gardens, University of Pennsylvania. ... The speakers, who were among those who made the trip from this city to Madison, were Professor John Price Jackson, dean of State College... President Joseph Swain of Swarthmore, and Dr. Laura H. Carnell, dean of Temple University...

Dr. Carnell said that the Wisconsin idea is merely the Pennsylvania idea transplanted, except that it has been enlarged upon there. (Assert Wisconsin Idea Began Here June 18, 1913 The Philadelphia Inquirer. Vol. 168, Issue 169, page 6, Philadelphia, PA.)

At a meeting of the Civic Club in 1919, Carnell spoke on the topic “How to Transfer the Interest of the Women of the Central Wards from War Work to Civic Work.” During this speech, Carnell said,

We have the whole city in miniature, right in these wards. We have every problem that confronts all the other wards collectively, City Hall, tenements, factories, churches, waste conditions, sewerage, inefficient fire apparatus, schools, lodging houses, and every single phase of city life. And we can help in the adjustment of the conditions that need to be adjusted. We can take an active part in the reconstruction that must come before the world is made absolutely safe to live in. Our influence is a potent factor in the affairs of the day. One of our very serious problems, which is the problem of all women, is the housing problem. There should be the co-operation of women in this work. There are enough women in these three wards to solve the housing problem for all the lonesome working girls in this community. (Carnell, 1919 Quoted in “Urges Women to Take Up Civic Work Again” in *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*)

In another article that year,

Fifty women of the Church Women’s Association of the Diocese of Pennsylvania on Thursday pledged themselves to investigate bad housing conditions in Philadelphia. They are to work with the Philadelphia Housing Association... Steps will be taken against bad sanitation as well. Dr. Laura Carnell, of Temple College, recently told to a body of clubwomen of houses in the congested districts where a ray of sunshine never penetrated and where cesspools formed miniature lakes in the dirty streets. She said that the children were anemic and apathetic and could hardly be expected to develop into desirable citizens. (“To Make Housing Investigation,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 9, 1919. Volume 180; Issue 68, Page 13; Philadelphia, PA.)

Carnell saw education as a ladder out of poverty. This advocacy on behalf of working women who lived in public housing very closely aligned with her work at the University. Carnell believed that working people deserved opportunities that improved their lives (unidentified newspaper article, 1919).

Laura Carnell's Involvement in Education Associations

In 1918, she was interviewed during the College Art Association's annual meetings about the impact that soldiers returning from World War I were having on the popularization of modern art in America. She remarked on the need for the Federal Government to establish a Department of Education and the positive impact national standards would have on the quality of public education in the United States.

Miss Carnell was asked if she favored creation of the Department of the Fine Arts, with the representative in the Cabinet, as is the case and France.

"Why not a Department of Education first?" Miss Carnell responded. "Education is the biggest and most vital thing in the life of the Nation. The other day I went looking for Dr. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education. Where did I find him? Tucked off in one corner of the U.S. Bureau of Pensions.

"Surely," Miss Carnell continued "the United States government should pay more attention to this great factor for progress than it is done in the past. It is a matter which should have the careful attention of the Federal Department. I do not fear the invasion of the rights of states by the creation of such a department in the executive branch of government, education would be standardized and would receive a healthy and impetus from such regulation. In my opinion that Smith – Towner bill would have

passed at the session of Congress just closed, had it not been for the opposition aroused by the various riders attached to the bill." (FWG "Art Leader Says Yanks Brought New Ideas Home" *The Washington Herald*, March 26, 1921 Page 6 Washington DC)

Beyond Philadelphia, Laura Carnell was sought for comment on a national issue—creating a federal Department of Education. Near the end of her career – 1919-1929, the articles that quote Carnell are focused more on the future of Education and issues that are much broader than Temple University.

Carnell was involved in a number of other professional organizations focused on women in higher education, and higher education more generally. She helped to form the Pennsylvania Association for Women Deans and was an early member of the National Association of Women in Education and the National Association of Deans of Women, both formed in 1916. (Referenced in the 1964 correspondence from Gertrude Peabody to Arthur Cook).

There was some evidence of Carnell's participation in several early groups for women administrators in higher education and her opinion was sought on all manner of education-related subjects, but only a few short articles mention Carnell's work in these groups.

In October, 1923, Laura Carnell took second billing at the third annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Association of Deans of Women. The subject of her talk was "Status of

Deans of Women and Girls in High Schools, Normal Schools and Colleges of Pennsylvania” (Harrisburg Telegraph, October 25, 1923, page 7). At the end of this meeting, Laura Carnell was elected president for the following year.

CHAPTER 5

REVIEW OF FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Context of the Study

This research adds to the growing body of literature regarding the work of women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the United States. This project also adds to the historiography of higher educational institutions, particularly coeducational public institutions of this time period. Laura Carnell's work at Temple was significant. She played many roles in her 43 year career at Temple University, and in the City of Philadelphia. She both operated within traditional gender lines and blurred the lines when she masked her gender. Carnell was also responsible for expanding educational and professional opportunities for women and was involved in various social causes that helped women better their lives.

As a young child, Laura Carnell dreamed of becoming a teacher, and she did that and so much more. She was inspired by Russell Conwell to work from dawn, late into the evenings for Temple University. Carnell gave up many aspects of a traditional life to be able to participate in this important work. She did so fully cognizant of what she would be giving up, but was certain that this path—the work of Temple University—was the fulfillment of her life's ambition. It was still rare for women to be students in many public universities, let alone rise to the rank of Associate President, Carnell's work was integral to the success of Temple University.

Summary of Findings

In addition to Laura Carnell's 43 years of service to Temple University, she participated in a number of social clubs in the Philadelphia and had an interest in the betterment of society. Carnell was born and raised in Philadelphia and felt a deep attachment to the people of her hometown. She earned her teaching certificate and worked in the public school system during the days and at Temple College in the evenings until 1893 when the Board of Trustees appointed her "Lady Principal" of the Woman's Department.

She worked closely with Russell Conwell until his death in 1925. While he was raising money for Temple University, Carnell managed many aspects of the University, including setting curriculum, academic policies, financial oversight, hiring and termination of personnel, facilities management, and more. Carnell's work was complex and upon her death, Temple's second president Charles E. Beury said he had to hire three people to replace her.

Laura Carnell's writings suggest that she was a warm and caring administrator, who worked hard to make Russell Conwell's dream a success, who adopted his dream as her own. The writings of her colleagues to Dr. Carnell also suggest that she had friendly relationships with many of them. This was not universally true, of course. There are several letters between Laura Carnell and various faculty members and administrators

that reveal a sterner relationship, particularly when Carnell is in the position of policy enforcer.

Similarly, Carnell's writings to students and their parents reveal an administrator who is typically trying hard to maintain professional relationships, praising students for a job well done, and scolding students whose behavior is deserving of it. The consummate professional, Carnell's early writings especially are filled with notes to students and their parents regarding behavioral issues. She typically informs the parent of behaviors that will not be tolerated (for example, teasing other students, leaving campus, smoking, missing chapel) and leaves the disciplinary actions up to the parents for handling.

There are long gaps in the materials available at the Special Collections Research Center, preventing longitudinal analysis of some of the data, particularly regarding Carnell's writings to students. The latest letters to students on file are from 1919, to students and alumni who were stationed abroad during World War I. After this point, the writings that were examined are almost all articles written by Carnell (or quote her) that appeared in Philadelphia newspapers and magazines and some national press as well.

It was surprising to find so many references to Laura Carnell in print media in general and particularly to see references to her outside Philadelphia-area publications. In addition to being listed on the society pages for numerous charity fund raising events, Laura Carnell was quoted on many local education-related issues, public housing, progressive politics in Wisconsin, marriage "a la carte," girls wearing too much makeup, art trends in the post-World War I era, and the need for a federal department of

Education. Carnell was quoted suggesting that women should prepare themselves to be elected to the Board of Education in Philadelphia. Carnell was reported present at a meeting of the Collegiate Suffragettes. Carnell also wrote an article for the *Ladies' Home Journal* on women's place in the workplace, and several articles for other publications on the life and work of Russell Conwell. She was a notable public figure in her time.

Discussion- Research Questions

How was Carnell able to succeed as an educational leader during a time when few women were even permitted to go to college?

Laura Carnell used her gender to her advantage and masked it when she thought it might be a disadvantage. Early on, when writing to men at other colleges for information or to gain entry into an association, Carnell signed her letters L.H. Carnell, rather than Laura H. Carnell. Since nearly all of her other correspondence was signed with her full name, the researcher assumes that this was done on purpose to hide her gender from the recipient.

Carnell also utilized various traditional gender roles to get what she needed from the recipient. She wrote long, friendly letters to her closest colleagues, Milton Stauffer and Albert McKinley, during the period around 1910. She needed their support to help keep things together financially and to grow the institution at a time when Russell Conwell was incapacitated. When she wrote to other colleagues, it is clear that she had a strict “disciplinarian” or “school teacher” voice that was very directive and clear about what was needed. Carnell’s “maternal” side often came out in her writings to students and their parents. Both her apparent pride at students who were performing well, and disappointment in students who weren’t taking their educational opportunities seriously are evident in her letters.

Laura Carnell was able to develop a very effective partnership with Russell Conwell. She fully believed in the work he was doing, and committed herself to making

his vision of Temple University (and Samaritan Hospital) a reality. He, in turn, trusted her to manage the affairs of the university and it is likely that his charismatic personality led others at the university to trust her work.

Carnell was, to some extent, involved in the life of the Conwell family. She lived with the family for about two years, traveled with them to Massachusetts in the summers, and was frequently a face at the breakfast table with the Conwell grandchildren. She was close to Mrs. Conwell and to the extended Conwell family.

How extensive was Laura Carnell's influence over the development of Temple University and public education in Philadelphia?

It is clear from the early materials in the Conwellana-Templana collection that Laura Carnell was involved in many key aspects of Temple University, more than other researchers had previously identified. Interestingly, the Russell Conwell files include very few documents, nearly all of which is personal correspondence. In addition to her personal correspondence, the Laura Carnell files include nearly all the surviving early historical documents of the university in general (other than the Board of Trustee records and the Ladies Auxiliary, which are kept separately). Carnell's file includes correspondence between the various deans and Dean Carnell, correspondence with students, parents, correspondence with various vendors, faculty and staff of Temple University, and people writing to find out more about Temple University's structure, curriculum, and policies of inclusion.

The newspaper clippings files on Laura Carnell, particularly those written at the time of her nomination for the “Educator of the Year” prize, her obituary (just two months later) and longer pieces written by Russell Conwell, describe her as a dedicated educator who gave up her personal life for Temple. In addition, many articles discuss her interest in getting a woman elected to the Board of Education (she would eventually become this board member) and public education in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Carnell’s work at Temple was lauded in the Philadelphia press on numerous occasions and she was quoted on a number of different topics tangentially related to education and youth development. Carnell gave numerous talks on the importance of public education, morality education, and training students for careers according to their interest in particular subjects, not a singular curriculum.

*In addition to public education, what other political causes
did Laura Carnell participate in?*

Laura Carnell was interested in socialist politics, and contacted several scholars of socialist history and socialist politicians for information on this. It is clear from at least one letter that Carnell is conducting this research at the behest of a member of the Board of Trustees, but Carnell also reveals to John Spargo that she read his book, though it isn't clear which one, but his books were all related to socialism until some years after her death when his writing turned to ceramics.

Carnell was involved in a number of social clubs in the period of 1910-1929. In 1919 she was involved in a movement to have church women inspect public housing complexes to ensure they were well maintained. (Urges Women to Take Up Civic Work Again: Dr. Laura H. Carnell Declares Philadelphia Faces Serious Housing Problems” *Philadelphia Inquirer*

Carnell attended a meeting of Collegiate Suffragettes in 1914 (unidentified newspaper article). This is the closest the researcher has found to evidence that Carnell may have been a suffragette. There are writings throughout the years where Carnell makes reference to women working to change various aspects of their social standing, but none of these is particularly clear.

Conclusions and Relationship to Literature

This study examined the role that Laura Carnell played in the development of Temple University. Temple has played a key role in advancing public education for men and women, regardless of race or class, in Philadelphia at a time when few people achieved higher education, and those who did were typically affluent white men. Typically, women who received a university education during this period were from very wealthy families and were sent to private academies or single-sex colleges. Carnell's own path to higher education through the Temple College evening program and her 43 year professional career was highly unusual in this context.

Laura Carnell was a talented leader whose writings suggest that she understood the importance of the personal relationships she had with her colleagues. Her writings to the children of the faculty and staff display key characteristics that Kouzes and Posner (2006) call "Encourage the Heart" in their five-part model of leadership. Carnell's leadership role at Temple was significant, in part, because she was a woman whose domain moved from the Woman's Department to the University as a whole. Most universities that had a woman in a cabinet position had a Dean of Women who was responsible only for the advising and discipline issues of women students. Carnell became Acting Dean in 1897 and by 1910, when the bulk of her early writings were preserved, it is clear that she acts with authority over men and women students, staff, and faculty.

Temple College was formed during a time when higher education was experiencing rapid growth. The Progressive Era (1910-1930) in particular was period of expansion and a time when various professions began to grow, establish common standards and practices, and policies. There is evidence in Carnell's files that the format of the transcript "blanks" she used at Temple College were then adopted by other schools and colleges. Many colleges were finding their way through these processes. One writer, recently appointed Registrar of an unnamed university in Texas asks Carnell for advice on how to structure the new university.

In a letter to the Board of Education in Philadelphia (when Conwell offered up Temple to be the public university of the city) Conwell stated that he wanted Philadelphia to be the best educated city in the United States. In many ways, Philadelphia was well poised to play this role. Prior to the formation of Temple College, there were several other colleges and universities in place. Temple University played a unique role in the educational history of Philadelphia in several ways. First, Temple University was the only college focused on offering a full college course in an evening program. The higher education opportunity at Temple also came at very low tuition rates and was available to men and women of all races and classes. This has also set Temple apart from most of the other colleges in Philadelphia. Laura Carnell's training as a public school teacher and her interest in training future teachers was an area that set Temple apart from other higher education institutions. Carnell worked on developing the teacher training programs that would ultimately become the College of Education and distinguished Temple from the Philadelphia area schools.

Limitations

The data analyzed for this project was necessarily circumscribed to the information in the Conwellana-Templana archives at Temple University and the newspaper files that were available through a database of historical newspapers because of the logistical needs of the researcher. The results of this study are not generalizable to other women who were in higher education during this period (1886-1929) or other leadership roles in other types of industries during this time period. This study could provide the groundwork for more extensive research on other women leaders in higher education during this period, but the findings of this research cannot be extrapolated onto the lives of others.

Recommendations and Implications for Future Research

This research project was an interesting opportunity to read the writings of Laura Carnell and Russell Conwell and their contemporaries at Temple University and in Philadelphia, but this kind of research will likely not be possible on actors within the University from about 2000-on, because of the popularity of email usage for day-to-day communications with colleagues, students, and outside participants in the life of the University. Temple University's current email retention policy was set in 2006, and

allows receivers to determine what is of lasting value and should be retained outside a personal email account. (<http://www.temple.edu/cs/security/emailretention.pdf>)

Although “lasting value” has always been judged by the receiver of information, the lack of a physical file of letters and the strong sense of privacy and security with which email is guarded makes it considerably more difficult to access the correspondence of 10 years ago than of 100 years ago. In his 2010 book on the history of Temple University, James Hilty also notes the lack of a records retention policy at Temple made researching parts of the only full length published history of Temple University impossible.

Although the Templana Collection is the official location of some university-wide records such as minutes of the Board of Trustees, University Committees and the Temple News, it does not seem to be the case that individual schools and colleges are either sending information to the Special Collections office or maintaining separate archives of significant decisions and other events of enduring value. It would be useful for future researchers if some clear guidelines could be established about what should be maintained either in hard-copy or in a digital archive that faculty and staff could contribute to on a periodic basis. Many other universities have such policies (e.g. American University, Boston University, and University of Michigan).

Areas for Future Research

It would be useful to extend this study to include either other women in leadership positions at other universities or colleges to see if some of Carnell’s experiences were

universal, if other women masked or used their gender in similar ways to get their work done.

It would be interesting to investigate archives of other women who played key roles, particularly long-term roles at other public institutions and make comparisons among them with regard to various factors such as how did the subject use gender roles to effectuate changes? Was the subject involved primarily with their employer, or did she participate in other opportunities for civic engagement? Gerda (2004) lists a number of women administrators (including Laura Carnell) with long-term service to their institution as well as participants at the Dean of Women national conferences, which would be an excellent resource with which to start.

Conclusions and Reflections

This study examined the role that Laura Carnell played in the leadership and management of Temple University during her 43 year career. Carnell's work was imperative to the success of Temple University. She steered the university through potentially perilous periods of financial uncertainty in 1910 and 1911 while Russell Conwell was incapacitated.

Carnell's work included the successful organization of several schools and colleges, including the School of Nursing, the College of Education, and the School of Pharmacy. Carnell's early work was mostly unseen labor in the background, but as her circle of influence grew in the City of Philadelphia, Carnell's work moved to the public sphere, and details of her work were published in the Philadelphia newspapers and national magazines. Carnell's work with Russell Conwell was legendary within Philadelphia, but also fairly well known throughout the United States.

This project was an excellent opportunity for the researcher to learn more about the early history of this university that has meant so much to me personally and to tens of thousands of other students, alumni, faculty, and staff members.

Table 4. Comparison- National Issues/Temple University/Laura Carnell's Career

	<u>National Issues</u>	<u>Temple University</u>	<u>Laura Carnell</u>
1882			
1883			
1884		Russell Conwell begins teaching students in the evenings.	Carnell, who had been running a youth program at Grace Baptist Church, volunteers to assist him; he declines, thinking she is too young.
1885			Carnell graduates from high school, begins teaching in Philadelphia School System.
1886			Laura Carnell continues teaching during the day and becomes an evening instructor (until 1893).
1887			
1888		Temple College is incorporated.	
1889			
1890			
1891		The Temple opens as the home of Grace Baptist Church.	
1892			
1893		200 students in day program.	Conwell names Carnell Principal of the Woman's Department
1894		College Hall opens.	
1895			
1896			
1897			Named Acting Dean
1898			Earns baccalaureate degree at

			Temple University.
1899			
1900			
1901		Temple University Medical School opens.	
1902		3046 students enrolled.	Given an honorary doctorate by Temple University.
1903			
1904			
1905			Carnell named Dean and Art History Instructor
1906			
1907		Temple College becomes Temple University.	
1908			
1909			
1910			
1911			
1912			
1913			
1914			
1915			
1916	National Association of Deans of Women formed. National Association of Women in Education formed.		
1917		4616 students enrolled	
1918			
1919	National Association for Student Personnel Administrators		

	is founded at the University of Wisconsin.		
1920	Nineteenth Amendment		
1921		8420 students enrolled	
1922			
1923			Named to the Board of Education in Philadelphia
1924			
1925			Carnell named Associate President of Temple University; Russell Conwell dies; Charles Beury named President.
1926			
1927		9000 students enrolled	
1928			
1929			Nominated for Educator of the Year Award Laura Carnell dies.
1930			Carnell Hall named in her honor

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