Inspiration

December 7th, 1941, “a date which will live in infamy,” roared President Franklin D. Roosevelt to American citizens; and he later declared “We will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us God.” ¹ What do you associate with this date in American history? The majority of us may link this date with the entrance of the United States in World War II. Yet for some female citizens, this date and attack on the U.S. Naval base of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, resonates their rise to leadership as respectable workers for a nation whose men had disappeared to fight in a devastating war. Rosie the Riveter became the national symbol for this development of women’s leadership during the war and has remained even to this day an inspiration to women for their persistent push for gender equality in all aspects of their lives.

In the historical movie, The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, we meet a woman, Lola Weixel, from Brooklyn, New York, and she laughs heartily while describing her first job before the war as a teenage employee at a party goods manufacturing plant and illustrates “I was very struck by the bright colors and tinselly things we worked with and the sadness on the faces of the people who were doing it.” ² In this pathetic description of her party goods job we can feel Weixel’s despair and anguish for the limited opportunities that women had not only in the economy, but also in

all levels of their lives. However, all of this changed when the men of the country began
to disappear and the factories grew empty. Suddenly, the government supported
propaganda that persuaded these women to work as shipbuilders, welders, in the oil
fields, and in other factories that produced wartime equipment, and Weixel excitedly
comments that her own job as a welder “was a beautiful kind of work.” ³ Women
learned to carefully balance their new working lives with their domestic responsibilities
and began to establish day cares and nurseries to take care of their children while they
spent long hours at their job sites. They were proud of these jobs and for the first time in
our nation’s history women found “substantial benefits from labor representation.” ⁴
They truly glowed with pride and leadership. Despite these vast gains in the women’s
leadership role in society, “When the war was over, Rosie wanted to stay. But, neither
the structure of the American economy nor the dominant view of women’s place in
society sustained such hope.” ⁵

When I listened to the endless stories of hope and pride in these female wartime
workers, I felt stimulated to study the development of leadership at Duke University.
Their testimonies serve as my inspiration for a research paper that will analyze both the
growth and decline of women’s roles here on campus. Consequently, I will investigate
how national events parallel the waxing and waning of female leadership in The
Woman’s College during the merge of this college with Trinity College to form Duke
University in 1972.

Materials and Methods

³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
I compared and contrasted the development of formal, female leadership at Duke between the periods 1939-1950 and 1968-1970s. I conducted an analysis of the administrators and students who had been involved in certain organizations and held academic honors on campus. This investigation of both administrators and students enabled a deep understanding of the development of organizational and academic leadership at Duke. Organizational leadership is the ability of an individual or a group to effectively coordinate events, programs, and to carry out the collective plans of the association by holding commanding or respectable positions. Academic leadership is the ability of an individual or group to excel in their field of study and to inspire intellectual pursuit and achievement amongst their peers.

I began my research with the year of the Duke’s Centennial Celebration in 1939, because during this celebration some of the most distinguished women in the nation gathered to participate in a symposium on Women and Contemporary Life, which was the fifth and last part of the series of lectures. The Woman’s College proved its value to both the university and the community in this celebration. Interestingly, on Saturday April 1st, 1939, the women’s part of the Symposium focused on the leadership of women and there was a speech on “Women and Leadership: Qualifications and Hindrances.” Therefore, this date provided a firm foundation for the investigation of female involvement on Duke campus in both administration and student organizations because the administrators emphasized the importance of student participation and leadership in

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7 Ibid.
this centennial celebration which “marked the opening of the largest era of service of the University to the region and country.”  

The dean of The Woman’s College at this time was Alice M. Baldwin, and she was well known for her interest in developing leadership amongst the students at Duke. However, she retired in 1947, and I analyzed the administration after her departure, especially because this was also the same era of the end of World War II and the subsequent return to domesticity in the nation. As I began reading the paper “The Woman’s College as I Remember It,” by Alice Baldwin, I observed that she encouraged the formation of close relationships between the administration and not only the female organizations, but also these women as individuals. Therefore, I began to use the Alice Mary Baldwin Papers as a valuable source to gain knowledge on the development of not only the coordinate college at Duke, but also of the development of the relationship between administration and students on campus. Her papers and correspondence were a very detailed, adequate account of her time spent on East campus as the first dean of The Woman’s College. These documents clearly illustrated her role in the administration and her involvement with many of the student activities on campus.

In addition to the Alice Baldwin papers, I began to study the Roberta Florence Brinkley papers because she became Baldwin’s successor as the Dean of The Woman’s College. Unfortunately, I have noticed that Baldwin was rare for her ability to adequately record her involvement on campus, because it was much more difficult to find information in Brinkley’s records, correspondence, and papers. Alice Baldwin was a true

8 Ibid. 29.
historian! Likewise, I investigated the Ellen Huckabee Papers (1924-1979) because she held numerous positions in the administration of The Woman’s College, with her last position being Dean of Undergraduate Instruction (1951-1967). Huckabee immediately struck me as an important figure for study of organizational leadership because not only was she involved in the administration, but she also was a former Woman’s College student and participated in a World War II service program for women called WAVES. In reference to the development of leadership during World War II, I also analyzed The Women’s College Records (1928-1972), especially the Women’s Student Government (WSGA) minutes which provided information about the emphasis on the participation of women in war related programs.

In reference to the female student’s organization leadership, I studied the book *The Front Line: Materials for a Study of Leadership in College and After*, by Ben M. Patrick. This book was a collection of descriptions of the various men and women’s organizations on campus, including the history of their establishment and the purpose of these particular groups. Also, I specifically investigated the Women’s Student Government Association (WSGA), Sandals, and the White Duchy. I was able to use the records of the White Duchy (1925-1968). In addition, The Women’s College Records were a valuable tool for investigating academic leadership. In particular, the WSGA minutes revealed the emphasis The Woman’s College placed on academic honors and organizations, including the Gold D’s, the Ivy, and the Alice M. Baldwin Scholarship.

In the book *The Launching of Duke University 1924-1949*, by Robert F. Durden, we learn that with the departure of Alice Baldwin in 1947, from the truly flourishing

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coordinate college, the autonomy of The Woman’s College and the relationship between the administrators and the students gradually began to diminish\textsuperscript{11}. “She had also helped prove that in the case of The Woman’s College separate could indeed be equal,” yet as time moved on, women began to question the value of separate but equal in the 1960s, and this ultimately caused the destruction of the coordinate college in 1972. \textsuperscript{12} As a result of this book, I was motivated to investigate not only the deterioration of the relations between the administrators and the students, but also the organizational and academic leadership right before and during the merge of these separate colleges.

Thus, I decided to begin my research for the second time period in 1968 because this is the year that the Silent Vigil was held on campus after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and also around this time there was a high participation from both male and female students in civil rights demonstrations. This “wave of student activism,” as the alumnae Patti Riesser described these years, extended to women students and was an early sign of the female students push for equality of not just blacks and whites, but also men and women.\textsuperscript{13} Thus, this female empowerment, stemming from the Women’s Liberation Movement ultimately caused the university to question the importance and identity of The Woman’s College.

As a result, The Woman’s College Records, especially the notes and reviews from the Board of Visitors that investigated the purpose of The Woman’s College, were examined. I realized that the Board of Visitors was very concerned that the East campus was not inspiring the women to pursue careers, and fortunately their reviews served as a


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.

source of motivation to develop new organizational leadership opportunities for the female students. In addition, these developing organizations, such as the Directions for Educated Women (DEW), relied on the cooperation of both administrators and students, and thus this helped to maintain the ties between these two groups of women.

However, despite this new development of leadership, the already established women’s organizations and academic groups such as the WSGA, Sandals, White Duchy, Gold D’s, and the Ivy began to disband. The WSGA minutes and articles from the *Chronicle* provided much of this information. Further, The Woman’s College Records, the *Chronicle*, and a student paper “The Woman’s College at Duke University, 1961-72: The Changing Women’s Separate Sphere,” by Nancy Mallory illustrated the weakening relations between the students and the administrators before the decision to merge the college in 1972. After the merge of the two colleges, I did not investigate the records of Duke University, and did not extensively analyze new female organizations in the integrated university. Thus, my research concludes with the merge of The Woman’s College with Trinity College, and with either the integration of female and male counterparts of organizations, or unfortunately the disbanding of some valuable female groups.

*Introduction*

Organizational leadership is the ability of an individual or a group to effectively coordinate events, programs, and to carry out the collective plans of the association by holding commanding or respectable positions. Academic leadership is the ability of an individual or group to excel in their field of study and to inspire intellectual pursuit and achievement amongst their peers. The development of the relationship between
administrators and students enables a deep understanding of the development of both organizational and academic leadership at Duke University because the successful operation of a college campus relies on the direct, constant interaction between these two crucial groups. In addition, major events that occurred on a national level affected this relationship between the administration and the student body, and consequently, the progression of these two forms of formal leadership at Duke.

During the beginning years of The Woman’s College, under the administration of the Dean Alice M. Baldwin, this highly academic campus truly flourished with the close association between the administration and the student body. Notably, one of Baldwin’s major goals was to embrace “the opportunity to develop leadership and college spirit through our own organizations,” and this aim clearly represented the nurturing campus atmosphere of female growth, service, and leadership. During the years of World War II, this female involvement on Duke’s campus thrived through their participation in the Red Cross, at the Duke Hospital, and in various service organizations designed to prepare women for jobs and leadership roles in a society where the men had briefly disappeared. After the war, the men returned home, and unfortunately women’s active participation at both the national level and on campus deteriorated. Likewise, in 1947, the dean of The Woman’s College became Roberta Brinkley, and gradually the close relationship between administrators and the student body began to erode. Later, during the controversial and politically active years of the late 1960s and early 1970s, the nation experienced a surge of movements for Civil Rights, protests of the Vietnam War, and the termination of gender inequality. U.S. feminism exploded on a national level with the

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development of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 and the establishment and involvement of women in newspapers and magazines, such as the magazine *Ms*. Founded in 1972, to let the concerns and voices of women be heard all over the nation.  

Due to the national push for gender equality, the identity of The Woman’s College was debated, and a Board of Visitors was established to review the purpose of this coordinate college. As a result, the reviews from this board stimulated the growth of several organizational and academic groups that promoted new leadership opportunities for women, and strengthened the cooperation between administrators and students. On the contrary, this new attempt to strengthen The Woman’s College, ultimately failed, and the women’s previously established organizations either began to disband or prepare for integration with their male counterpart groups. In addition, the empowerment the female students received from the Women’s Liberation Movement caused them to challenge the control that The Woman’s College had previously held over them. This drastically weakened the traditional relations between the female administrators and students, and as a result, The Woman’s College merged with Trinity College in 1972.

1939-early 1950s

“He asked if I could take criticism and disappointment without weeping!” roared Alice M. Baldwin after a conversation with the president of Trinity College, William Preston Few, concerning her possible hiring for the position of Dean of The Woman’s College. Notably, when Baldwin was first offered this position, she was not interested,

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however she finally agreed after being allowed to hold a position on the faculty as a history professor.\textsuperscript{17} Thus, she began her long and close association with the coordinate college, and one of her most remarkable contributions to the development of The Woman’s College was the intimate relationship she developed with the students which was foreshadowed by her declaration to President Few “I want real authority in working with the girls.”\textsuperscript{18} Ultimately, she valued the growth of their leadership positions on campus. Her first responsibilities included teaching two classes of history to freshman women, developing better living at the Southgate dormitory, advising women students, working with alumnae, fulfilling the requirements for recognition by the American Association of University Women (AAUW), employing a nurse dietitian, and housekeeper, and “above all, be a guide and friend to women students.”\textsuperscript{19}

Despite the residential and academic separateness of the men and women, The Woman’s College flourished under the administrative leadership of Dean Baldwin, and by her retirement in 1947 it was clear that The Woman’s College was not just equal, but more advanced academically than the men’s Trinity College.\textsuperscript{20} “In her own distinctive way, and within the larger context overseen by Few, Alice Baldwin also became an institution-builder,” and she achieved this by her close association with the student body and her drive to develop student leadership in organizations and academics.\textsuperscript{21}

One of the difficult aspects of Alice Baldwin’s job as an administrator for The Woman’s College was to transfer the responsibilities of the supervision of the academic

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid. 13.
\textsuperscript{20} Durden, Robert F. 253-254.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid. 254.
work of the women from Dr. Wannamaker to herself; yet in time this was accomplished.\footnote{22 Baldwin, Alice Mary Papers (1879-1960). Box 20. Folder 231. “The Woman’s College, As I Remember It.” Manuscript, 1959. 16. Duke University Archives, Durham, N.C.} As a result, Dean Baldwin was able to advise women in all academic matters and she worked with the Student Government Council, Pan-Hellenic and other student organizations, dealt with serious infringements of academic and social regulations, and worked with the Student Council, who had jurisdiction over minor offenses.\footnote{23 Ibid. 23.} Thus, Alice Baldwin took a direct, active role in student organizations on the women’s campus and this participation not only nurtured her ensuing relationship with the female students, but also encouraged the development of their organizational leadership.

In addition, Dean Baldwin understood the importance of involvement in many local, state, and national organizations, because this active participation “stimulated the female students interest in politics and government.”\footnote{24 Ibid. 23.} Her leadership in activities such as the Durham Chamber of Commerce, the N.C. League of Women Voters, and the AAUW in society mirrored the developing organizational leadership on campus. For example, the Women’s Student Government Association (WSGA) became very active and established a house president system with its corresponding House Council, and this “became one of the best methods to maintain house loyalty and keep local government active.”\footnote{25 Ibid. 23.} Also, the WSGA established a point system for extra-curricular activities. In order for each student to keep track of their campus participation, this system assigned a
certain number of points to each position held in a particular organization. 26 Basically, the points a student held represented their organizational involvement and leadership on campus, and the system “attempted to equalize opportunity for leadership by limiting the number of positions in extra-curricular activities to be held by any student.” 27 Further, Alice Baldwin nurtured this growing leadership by directly participating in student organizations. Specifically, she held frequent meetings with the Student Council and they discussed demands and suggestions freely, and she proclaimed “I always attempted to meet them in a frank, fair, and democratic manner.” 28

Alice Baldwin had a strong background in education including receiving a history major and master’s degree from Cornell, holding the positions of Dean of Women and Instructor of History at Fargo College, and being the head of the history department at the Baldwin School. All of her academic accomplishments commanded respect and stimulated leadership on campus at The Woman’s College. 29 Notably, her academic leadership did not end when she arrived in Durham, North Carolina because she began to teach a junior-senior class in history in 1927, which marked the first time in history at Duke that a woman taught an advanced class. 30 Her achievements served as a stimulus for other women to pursue their intellectual desires, and as a result, numerous scholastic organizations and honors were established including the Ivy, which was organized in

26 Ibid. 28.
29 Durden, Robert F. 254.
1937. The Ivy was comprised of freshman girls who maintained a high average in academics and a flawless citizenship record, and they met regularly to plan intellectual programs.\(^{31}\) In addition, the establishment of the Alice M. Baldwin Scholarship Fund in 1945, scholarships awarded by the Pan-Hellenic organization, and the presentation of Gold D’s to five sophomores making the highest averages during their freshman year encouraged academic excellence.\(^{32}\)

Involvement and leadership in service organizations thrived in The Woman’s College under the administration of Dean Baldwin. In particular, there was a significant membership in the Social Service Committee of the Y.W.C.A. and these students helped in the Wright Refuge, the Durham Nursery School, the Duke Hospital, and the Needle Work Guild.\(^{33}\) Further, the sophomores organized a special group called the Sandals, whose motto was service.\(^{34}\) The purpose of this service group was to assist student government meetings, supervise the recreation center (the Ark), and to assist the Y.M.C.A. in orienting first year students.\(^{35}\) Likewise, a secret, service society the White Duchy was established in 1925, and it gave adequate recognition to the female college leaders.\(^{36}\)

Remarkably, Dean Baldwin entertained both faculty and students at her home and this developed friendship and an intimate connection between the administration and

\(^{31}\) Patrick, Ben M. 131.


\(^{33}\) Ibid. 74.

\(^{34}\) Ibid.

\(^{35}\) Patrick, Ben M. 47.

students. She invited students for breakfasts, “entertained members of the White Duchy, and held seniors over at her home once very two months on Sunday afternoons to discuss marriage and family relations,” which illustrated her desire to form bonds with these students who were the backbone of The Woman’s College.37

In conclusion, Dean Alice Baldwin of The Woman’s College firmly believed that the most important role of this institution was played by the students in their participation “in its development and their rapid growth in initiative and responsibility.”38 Her respectable academic background and involvement in local and national organizations stimulated the service and scholastic leadership in organizations on campus. Ultimately, she formed an intimate bond with her students, and this laid the foundation for the success of her students as leaders.

*World War II 1941-1945*

As a result of the Japanese attack on the Naval Base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7th, 1941, the United States entered World War II, and consequently the nation began to ship it’s men overseas to fight in the war. Suddenly, the factories grew empty and women were viewed as a valuable resource to perform man’s labor. Propaganda, radio announcements, and television programs all began to promote women to enter the work force and in a particular television commercial a female worker bellowed, “My husband is a prisoner of the Japs, in the Philippines. If he had had a few more of these shells, maybe he would still be fighting.”39 The country was trying to persuade these


38 Ibid. 70.

39 Field, Connie.
women to join the workforce in order to help the war effort, and in doing so, these women transformed into our nation’s leaders.

Meanwhile, in The Woman’s College, in Durham, North Carolina, Dean Alice Baldwin accepted an invitation to become a member of the Educational Council Advisory to the Bureau of Naval Personnel. As a result, her new responsibility was to recruit women to enlist and train for the Women’s Reserve, and this illustrated Baldwin’s willingness to embrace a leadership position during a national crisis. Likewise, she attended an AAUW meeting with industrialists and personnel officers in Washington, D.C. to discuss the high demand for educated college women, especially physicists. There were “so few to meet the crying need,” of these specialized women because before the war these fields were reserved exclusively for men. Thus, Baldwin recognized this need and she appointed Dr. Frances Brown, Miss Alma Hall, Dr. Robert Smith, and Mrs. Elizabeth Persons to investigate the need to change the curriculum of The Woman’s College to meet society’s needs. There were over 600 women participating in seven extra-curricular courses, which were designed to train these women for wartime emergencies, and “this program was one of the first of its kind in the south.” In addition, the national need for trained women motivated The Woman’s College to take even more drastic measures by omitting the spring holidays and instituting a new

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41 Ibid.
43 Ibid.

Note: all of the names cited from the Duke University Archives’ documents contain their original headings such as Miss and Mrs. and this is continued throughout the paper.
44 Ibid. 69.
program which allowed merely three years for the women to fulfill their requirements and graduate.  

This wartime leadership illustrated by Alice Baldwin, likewise motivated the students themselves to participate in national wartime programs. In particular, Miss Natalie Smith attended an air raid conference in New York and Mrs. Nelson was sent by the WSGA to attend a defense training institute and “upon their return, classes in these subjects were provided to the rest of campus.” Similarly, alumnae from The Woman’s College such as Ellen Huckabee were motivated to join this national movement of women, and Huckabee served in the U.S. Navy as a lieutenant commander in WAVES from 1941-1945. In addition, The Woman’s College female students helped at Camp Butner and Fort Bragg, the Red Cross, and especially the Duke Hospital. A Red Cross room was even established in the East Duke Building on campus.

The Women’s Student Government Association was one of the most important organizations on campus because not only did it contain the power to institute many campus changes and regulations, but also it oversaw the development and activities of other campus organizations. The minutes of WSGA meetings contained evidence that the WSGA was linked to many campus organizations. In particular, the recorded minutes for a 1939 association meeting, the floor was given to the president of the Ivy for the

45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
announcement of its new members, and later the meeting was turned over to the organization the Y.W.C.A.  

Notably, prior to the United States’ entrance in the war, the WSGA’s recommendations to the staff concerned campus life, organizations, and regulations. For example, in an official document from the WSGA to Miss Mary Kestler, the Secretary to Staff of the Jarvis House, the WSGA makes the following recommendations: “New Center Bowling Alleys and Skating Rink be approved for Duke coeds and the Reception Room off the Union Lobby on West campus be approved for coeds’ smoking.”

Thus, the Women’s Student Government Association exercised direct power over a significant amount of campus organizations and extra-curricular activities and in an annual report of the WSGA their purpose was “to further a spirit of cooperation and understanding between the Student Body, the Administration, and the Executive Council of the Women’s Student Government.” Due to the power and leadership of the students in this organization, during World War II, the WSGA became an active participant in promoting wartime programs because “the entire Student Government Association began

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to lay the foundations for the defense work which college students will be called upon to do.”

In a WSGA meeting on December 4th, 1944, Mary Louise Merritt, the chairman of the College Organization for General Service (COGS) asked for all of the organizations on campus to put any available money into war bonds and requested volunteers to sell tuberculosis tags. Interestingly, she also noted the beginning of a Motor Corps course after the January examination period. This clearly illustrates the WSGA’s promotion of the wartime service program, COGS, which encouraged social service and war related work at The Woman’s College. Despite the importance of COGS on campus during World War II, after the war ended this organization disbanded on campus, and the last mention of COGS in the WSGA minutes occurred on February 5th, 1945, when Mary Louise Merritt “urged the members of the association not to relax in their COGS duties.” Similarly, on September 22, 1941, the WSGA’s minutes revealed that the speaker for the evening was a representative of the American Women’s Voluntary Services and she spoke about the purpose of her organization and the student’s

54 Ibid.
opportunity to aid in this world crisis. At the end of this meeting, the women were requested to fill out information about their particular choice for wartime aid.56

However, with the end of the war in 1945, America began to promote women to return to their domestic roles and the movie The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter illustrates that the nation placed the returning men as the top priority; “Immediately he wanted sleep, food, dreams- yet after the bliss of returning home, he wants the average civilian job- this man returns and represents the best of America. The most capable group of workers America has ever known.”57 As a result, the women were kicked out of their well-earned jobs and the opportunities society provided them for organizational leadership waned. Yet, they still remained firm leaders in their homes, and patiently waited to break free from the chains of society!

1947-early 1950s

With the end of World War II, the announcements of women’s opportunities to become involved in war work locally on campus and at the national level disappeared in the Women’s Student Government meeting minutes. In addition, the nation’s motto of “Return to Normalcy” can be paralleled to events on campus because in the WSGA minutes for a meeting on April 5th, 1949, there was an announcement that “Pauline Gorden is to be the next Homemaking Series Speaker.”58 Ultimately, the national trend to emphasize women’s role as wives and homemakers was felt in The Woman’s College


57 Field, Connie.

campus. On the contrary, these women in Durham N.C. remained strong leaders who were very involved with their service and scholastic organizations. This continuation of female leadership was a direct result of the foundation and growth of student participation that was nurtured by Dean Baldwin. The female student organizations on campus remained intact, and this was illustrated by the minutes of a WSGA meeting on May 2nd, 1949, when the floor was given to the Y.W.C.A. to make a presentation of their activities and awards to certain members, and the president of Pan-Hellenic awarded scholarships to certain students.\(^{59}\) Although the nation pushed the return to the acceptance of these cultural norms, the campus women at Duke continued to value scholastic excellence and organizational leadership.

Despite the rooted leadership of the campus women, with the retirement of Dean Alice Baldwin in 1947, and the succession of Dean Florence Brinkley, the interrelated system and intimate relationship between the administration and the students gradually began to deteriorate.\(^{60}\) Dean Florence Brinkley contained a rich educational background, and she received an A.B. degree from Agnes Scott College in 1914, a M.A. degree in English from George Peabody College for Teachers in 1919, a Ph.D. from Yale in 1924, and a L.L.D. degree by Goucher College in 1956 while she was the current dean of The Woman’s College.\(^{61}\) Thus, in addition to her administrative and teaching duties on


\(^{60}\) Durden, Robert F. 286.

campus, she remained an active researcher and author, and this encouraged scholastic leadership amongst the women on campus.

Despite this inspiration for the pursuit of intellectual achievements, in the paper *The Woman’s College*, by Dean Brinkley, she addressed the question “Can the work with students on an individual basis, which has been fundamental in developing the quality of the students, be maintained?”62 She clearly stated that this relationship between the administration and the students could not be maintained due to the large increase in the number of female students on campus. Her solution was that the students should form a closer association with the Faculty Advisors.63 As a result, the intimate bond that Alice Baldwin labored for between the administration and the student body began to erode.

In addition, this paper expresses that Dean Brinkley was primarily concerned with the cultural knowledge and world citizenship of her students. Brinkley emphasized that these women “take the junior year abroad or live in foreign countries as job holders or with parents or husbands who are in the service,” and that these women had little background or understanding of these cultures.64 She wanted The Woman’s College to reexamine its curriculum to provide more courses that provided international understanding and she desired to bring artwork to campus that represented different cultures.65 Due to this concern, Brinkley was able to successfully request a Chinese painting exhibition called “Traditions of Chinese Painting,” and beautiful photographs of

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63 Ibid.

64 Ibid. 1.

65 Ibid. 1-2.
British scenes, which were displayed in the East Duke building.\textsuperscript{66} Therefore, throughout
Dean Brinkley’s deanship she brought academic leadership, culture, and international
awareness to The Woman’s College. This emphasis on culture, rather than the
organizational leadership and activism promoted by Dean Baldwin, mirrored the nation’s
desire for these cultured women to return to their domestic lives.

\textit{Background: Why Merge? 1968-1972}

Notably, in 1953 when the admissions and record keeping for the entire university
was centralized in the new administration building, the Allen Building, this signaled that
West campus, the men’s domain, was the center of authority and power of the university.
\textsuperscript{67} Jane Philpott identified this records consolidation as “the real beginning of the erosion
of the autonomy of the coordinate college.”\textsuperscript{68} This West campus centralization trend not
only affected the administration, but also extended to the academic life on campus. In
particular, the university facilities began to migrate from East to West campus, especially
the department of natural sciences.\textsuperscript{69} As a result, West campus became the geographical
center of academic life and a study conducted by an outside consulting company revealed
“While in the 1950s East campus had been the headquarters for many departments, by the

\textsuperscript{66} Brinkley, Roberta Florence Papers. Art and Development at Duke 1936-1959.  
Official Letter. The Asia Society: 18 East 50\textsuperscript{th} Street, New York 22, N.Y.  
Dec. 10, 1958. Correspondence to Dr. R. Florence Brinkley from Edith  
Ehrman. Duke University Archives, Durham, N.C.

Women’s Separate Sphere.” Department of History. April 1990. 5-6. Duke  
University Archives, Durham, NC.

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid. 6.

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid. 6.
time of this first study, only six out of twenty-five (24%) main academic departments claimed East campus as their teaching office and home.”  

Similarly, in 1971, President Terry Sanford declared the success of the completion of Phase I of the Fifth Decade Program, and the triumph of this program was contributed to the substantial fund-raising effort of the university, which received $105,235,263 from gifts and pledges. The newly constructed Edens Residence Hall, the Paul M. Gross Chemical Laboratory, and the new addition to the Perkins Library were not only a direct result of this program’s accomplishment, but also were all located on West campus, and thus illustrated the growing power of the men’s sphere of campus. In addition, another consulting company declared “by national standards there has been insufficient improvement of the building at The Women’s College in recent decades; by the same criteria, new construction is likewise inadequate.” Therefore, this foreshadowed the merge of The Woman’s College with Trinity College because all of the new facilities were being opened on the centralized West campus, and there was no new construction or renovation on the marginalized women’s East campus.

This marginalization of The Woman’s College was clearly illustrated through the use of language, which ultimately foretold the end of the coordinate college and the beginning of coeducation at Duke University. For example, when Dean Margaret Ball excepted the position of dean of The Woman’s College she stated “There has been, and, I trust still is, every intention of preserving the Woman’s College as a major center of

70 Ibid 28.
72 Ibid.
73 Mallory, Nancy. 29.
undergraduate education.”74 This declaration implied that in the early 1960s this coordinate college was already viewed as deteriorating. Likewise, the men marginalized the women’s campus through language, and at a conference Dean Philpott commented “At the table where I sat, there was always a sign labeled ‘The Woman’s College.’ My colleagues sat behind a sign lettered, ‘Duke University.’ Never did I see a sign lettered, ‘Trinity College.’”75 Thus, The Woman’s College was seen as peripheral to the male Trinity College and the women felt the need to justify its existence.

Another important aspect of the gradual push for the merge of the two colleges was the growing interaction between the male and female students. For example, the women students took most of their upper-level classes on West campus, and in 1968, the women were first allowed to eat meals on this male-dominated campus.76 Remarkably, the WSGA and The Woman’s College deans fought together for this privilege, and it marked the growing interaction between the campuses. In addition, students began to cooperate in many political activities both on and off campus. In particular, in 1968, after the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and President John F. Kennedy, a weeklong Silent Vigil was held in front of the Duke Chapel.77 “The process which brought them to the chapel quad last night was an involved one, and one which had this usually sleepy university boiling with more activity then ever before,” and this portrayed the growing involvement of the university in national events.78 The students were victorious in their

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74 Ibid. 20.
76 Ibid. 39-40.
78 Ibid.
demands that President Knight raise the salaries of all non-academic employees to $1.60 an hour and that he institute a committee of workers, faculty, and students to establish a bargaining unit for the university. This huge student involvement extended beyond just male students, and encompassed the female students. In an official report in The Woman’s College about the Vigil, there is a huge concern of parents of their daughters who had been participating in the Quadrangle Vigil. Shockingly, during one phone call with Dean Wilson, a set of parents of a female student from Winston-Salem were very concerned, and “they arrived several hours later to insist on removing their daughter from the campus.”

Not only were these students taking classes together, participating in many social activities, and actively supporting many civil rights activities, but also the separate student government associations began to gradually merge their organizations. In 1961, the Men’s Student Government Association (MSGA) “proposed that the students create an all-campus council to coordinate the students’ activities.” However, the WSGA did not approve of this proposed plan because the “WSGA receives power from The Woman’s College, and has no authority to delegate power to the University-wide Council.”

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81 Ibid.

82 Ibid. 17.

83 Ibid. 17.

campus recorded that 96.5% voted in favor of the women students’ coordination with the MSGA. However, instead of a complete integration of the student governments, a Student-Faculty-Administration Committee was established. This foreshadowed the complete merge of the student government organizations because the campus felt that the only way they could gain greater responsibilities and respect from the administration was “when all the students stand together.”

In addition to the students’ increased interactions, there were also administrative changes that illustrated the growing association between the two campuses. In particular, in 1969, central administrators of the university appointed Dr. James Prices to the recently established position of the Dean of Undergraduate Education and Vice Provost, and his responsibilities were to coordinate “the educational program that Trinity College and The Woman’s College students shared.” Ultimately, this illustrated the close link forming between the male and female separate campuses.

In conclusion, the migration of the majority of the academic facilities to West campus marked this male sphere as the geographic center of the University, and foretold the later merge of The Woman’s College with Trinity College. In addition, the growing interaction among the male and female students weakened the female link to their separate college, and this deteriorating association “drew the center of women’s

85 Ibid. 17.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid. 49.
experiences farther away from East campus, but most importantly, these changes altered The Woman’s College identity itself.”89 Much of this growing cooperation between the male and female students can be contributed to the national events of the Civil Rights Movements, paralleled by the Silent Vigil on campus, and the Women’s Liberation Movement. These movements empowered the women students to push for more social freedoms and reject the powerful control that The Woman’s College maintained over their students. Ultimately, this loss of original identity of The Woman’s College motivated the formation of the Board of Visitors, which evaluated the structure and purpose of this coordinate college.90 Both the national events of the Women’s Liberation Movement and the improvements suggested by the Board of Visitors inspired new opportunities of both organizational and academic leadership on the female East campus which helped to maintain the administrative/student relations before the merge of the two separate campuses.

NEW: Student Leadership and Relationships with Administration 1968-1972

Despite this growing feminism movement, women were still viewed as disadvantaged in society and thus needed separate leadership opportunities in college, and “The most fascinating characteristic of the Duke merger, however was the skepticism of all sides of the discussion about women’s leadership opportunities and quality of experience in a completely coeducational university.”91 On the contrary, Mrs. Mary I. Bunting, who was a member of the Board of Visitors of The Woman’s College and the

89 Ibid. 12.
91 Ibid 61.
President of Radcliff College, believed in the potential of women and roared at the Duke Symposium in 1963 “remember, you are the fact around which the theories have been developed. And don’t let yourselves be herded or warped because of some theory that someone has handed you.”92 In other words, the culture was changing, and the women should not accept the norms about women, but rather embrace new opportunities and develop into world leaders. Thus, what kind of organizational and academic leadership was displayed on the women’s separate campus right before the merger and how could this predict the trends of leadership after the fusion of the two campuses? Would coeducation help or hinder the women students and would it “warp” their potential to develop into leaders?

During the late 1960s, an organization of female students called the Women’s Liberation group, or Female 11, formed at The Woman’s College. Female 11 illustrated the organizational leadership of a group of female students at Duke. These women embraced the cultural shift towards greater rights for women, and they actively focused on topics including education, admissions, social regulations, discrimination, and childcare.93 They addressed these controversial topics in structured “panel discussions, distributed a birth control handbook, and sponsored a symposium which featured Betty Friedan,” the author of The Feminine Mystique.94 Remarkably, this female group signaled that The Woman’s College was not the “sole advocate for Duke women,” and likewise illustrated that the women’s administration was incapable of addressing all of

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93 Mallory, Nancy. 57-59.

94 Ibid.
the needs of their students.\textsuperscript{95} Thus, the strength of this student organizational leadership indicated that the students no longer completely relied on The Woman’s College for support, but rather became their own, independent leaders. This challenged the purpose of a separate coordinate college, which was to provide a supportive, nurturing environment to develop the leadership and intellect of their female students.

In addition, in a review of The Woman’s College by a Board of Visitors in 1971, the coordinate college learned that they had failed to stress the development of careers for their students.\textsuperscript{96} As a result, a small group of students, faculty, and administration instituted the Educated Womanpower Committee, which was later renamed as the Directions for Educated Women (DEW).\textsuperscript{97} This assembly of approximately thirteen women not only reflected a strong relationship between the women students and the faculty/administration, but also displayed the organizational leadership of the female students. They helped to structure symposiums with acknowledged speakers, organize dinner meetings with successful, professional women, and overall motivated women on campus to seek careers after graduating.\textsuperscript{98}

The students of the Educated Womanpower Committee organized a symposium in 1967, which was a “culmination of ten months of planning by the students and Dean Ball.”\textsuperscript{99} Thus, a close association between the students and administration thrived in the

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
committees that were formed as a result of the recommendations of the Board of Visitors. Similarly, a female student, Gerry Gilmore, involved in DEW, organized the Symposium of 1971 on “Women and Careers,” and the speaker was the renowned Mrs. Muriel Fox who was the Vice President of the National Organization of Women (NOW). This particular student exemplified student organizational leadership, and additionally, in a letter from Shirley T. Hanks, the Assistant to the Dean, these DEW students’ close relationship to the administration was apparent. In this letter, Hanks addresses Margaret Turbyfill about her interest in working with Gerry Gilmore and Cathy Williams with DEW, and she was pleased that they would be able to work together in the coming semester. Therefore, DEW was not only a student group on campus that provided new organizational leadership right before The Woman’s College merged with Trinity College, but it also preserved the close interactions between the administration and students.

In addition, a senior student in DEW who was very interested in the women’s liberation developed “an excellent half-credit IDC Course, The Contemporary Woman: History and Prospects which ran in the Spring semester.” Also, a program called Internships in Community Service developed at The Woman’s College, which promoted

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102 Ibid.

the development of leadership opportunities for students in the community. Remarkably, other schools began to model programs after this community service opportunity, and Mrs. Martha K. Crawford, the Assistant manager of Earhart Hall, Purdue University commented in a letter to Paula R. Phillips, the Dean of Women, that this program “is an excellent way to involve students in thinking about future alternatives while being of service to others!” In conclusion, during the growing discussion of the adequacy of The Woman’s College to fulfill its purpose of motivating women to seek professional careers, the administration and the students successfully cooperated to form organizations and programs that stimulated female student organizational leadership.

Further, after the reviews of The Woman’s College by the Board of Visitors, some programs developed that inspired the academic leadership of females on campus. The Board of Visitors recognized that although the majority of women became wives, mothers, and homemakers after college, an increasing number of females were continuing their education in graduate and professional schools. In a record of the number of students in The Woman’s College in all majors, it was clear that the departments that attracted the largest number of women students were English, History, Psychology, and Political Science, respectively. However, a growing number of females were interested in Mathematics, Chemistry, and Zoology, and thus The Woman’s College

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needed to be adequately prepared to support women who desired to attend these specialized graduate schools.\(^{106}\)

As a result of this need, The Woman’s College developed the Department Honors Program, which began in the junior or senior year, and these students took a honors-level seminar, wrote an honors paper, and could become involved in an independent study, and graduate with distinction.\(^{107}\) A second program developed, called The Honors-Masters Program and its purpose was “to interest able students in preparing themselves for teaching at the college level and to expedite their preparation for graduate school.”\(^{108}\) This program provided junior and senior students the opportunity to study with outstanding scholars from professional schools.\(^{109}\) Thus, due to the debate about the sufficiency of The Woman’s College to prepare women for their future, the coordinate college was successful in developing new programs, which stimulated academic leadership and furthered the women’s intellectual pursuits.

\textit{OLD: Student Leadership and Relationships with the Administration 1968-1972.}

Despite the new thriving organizational and academic leadership opportunities and the ties between the administration and students that resulted from the recommendations by the Board of Visitors, the previously established leadership positions and student associations with the administration were beginning to deteriorate.

For example, in 1961, the Men’s Student Government Association (MSGA) proposed

\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^{108}\) Ibid.
  \item \(^{109}\) Ibid.
\end{itemize}
that the WSGA merge with them to create an all campus council.\textsuperscript{110} Despite this proposal’s failure, a year later a student-faculty-administration committee was actually approved, and this signaled the beginning of the gradual transition to an all campus student body.\textsuperscript{111} Interestingly, since the formation of this female organization, the WSGA “has not been as highly centralized as the men’s association, but has exercised more direct power over extra-curricular activities and has appropriated to itself wider jurisdiction than the men’s government.”\textsuperscript{112} Thus, this student-faculty-administration committee foreshadowed the merge of the women’s government with a weaker counterpart, and therefore signaled the future loss of leadership by the women students in a system that can’t adequately exercise its power. Ultimately, with the merge of The Women’s College with Trinity College in 1972, the WSGA disbanded and a unified campus student body formed.

In addition, the White Duchy released a statement in 1968 that declared this honorary leadership organization was going to disband.\textsuperscript{113} This organization stated “We have found no justification for our perpetuation,” and they felt that they could neither effectively select seven new members each year to represent this leadership group nor fulfill the stated purposes of the organization.\textsuperscript{114} In a letter from an alumnae of the class of 1947, Mrs. Sidney W. Smith, Jr., who was a former president of the WSGA and a White Duchy member, she firmly and directly opposed the decision to terminate this

\textsuperscript{110} Nancy, Mallory 17.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{112} Patrick, Ben M. 43.
leadership group.\textsuperscript{115} In reference to the White Duchy’s statement of their inability to select new members, Smith roared “To say that you can’t do this is to assert a weakness, a lack of toughness that true leadership demands. You deny, by your actions, that you have the guts that are demanded at times of leaders.”\textsuperscript{116} Further, she commented that if the White Duchy felt that they could not fulfill their stated purpose, they should “completely abolish all the trappings of which you disapprove and redefine your purpose.”\textsuperscript{117} Unfortunately, the termination of the White Duchy marked an end of an organization that inspired the development of leadership amongst the female students.

Similarly, in 1969, in a staff meeting at The Woman’s College, a major topic of discussion was the future of the service organization Sandals and it “resulted in a decision to have Mrs. Bryan meet with their president, Christy Jones, to discuss the matter.”\textsuperscript{118} Remarkably, despite the large number of staff members present at this meeting, there was no push from any of these administrators and faculty members to convince these female students to continue this scholastic leadership group. The report merely indicated that Mrs. Bryan would discuss the matter with the president of Sandals, and this implied the freedom that the students had to do as they pleased with this program.\textsuperscript{119} In the academic year of 1961-1962, the Sandals organization discussed their relation with the WSGA, and ultimately decided that this group needed to remain under the guidance of the female

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\textsuperscript{116} Ibid 2.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid 3.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
student body. Thus, when the WSGA integrated with the MSGA in 1972, Sandals disbanded, and this marked another loss of an organizational leadership opportunity for women.

Likewise, the academic leadership in The Woman’s College began to decline because female students no longer wanted to stand out for exceptional abilities. For example, in the staff minutes of The Woman’s College, Mrs. Virginia Bryan talked to the president of the scholastic program the Ivy “regarding the purpose and function of that group. The current student members are considering retaining the honor of membership but discarding any group activity.” Lynda Hyatt, the president of Ivy, felt that the present members would want to terminate their activities including their sponsorship of the dinner for qualifying freshmen, donating books to The Woman’s College Library, providing tutoring services, and marshalling The Woman’s College activities. Hyatt had talked to all of the members of their group and reached the conclusion that “the students do not want to be singled out as having been honored for scholastic work. They fear being thought of as one-sided.”

Remarkably, despite the rush of academic leadership, including the Department Honors Program and the Honors-Masters Program, which was inspired by the reviews from the Board of Visitors, many established

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123 Ibid.
academic organizations were beginning to deteriorate during the last few years of the existence of The Woman’s College.

In addition, the WSGA promoted academic scholarship by awarding Gold D’s to the five sophomores that earned the highest averages during their freshman year.\textsuperscript{124} Likewise, an auxiliary service organization to the WSGA, Sandals, provided a scholarship to rising sophomores of The Woman’s College.\textsuperscript{125} This scholarship was awarded to any girl on campus and the Woman’s College Scholarship Committee helped to select the recipient academic leaders. However, when the WSGA merged with the MSGA in 1972, both of these academic awards, which were exclusively granted to The Woman’s College students, vanished, and ultimately another form of scholastic leadership for these women disappeared.

Although the new organizational programs such as DEW encouraged the strong ties between The Woman’s College administrators and the students, this was merely an exception to the rapidly deteriorating associations between these highly polarized groups of women. During the 1960s and the Civil Rights Movement, “The politics of racial justice directly inspired a revival of feminism.”\textsuperscript{126} In addition, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made racial discrimination illegal and it also forbade discrimination based on sex.\textsuperscript{127} These new advances for women in the nation empowered the Women’s Liberation Movement and Bonnie Kreps described this male-dominated society as unjust


\textsuperscript{126} Freedman, Estelle B. 85.

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid.
by declaring ‘we do not believe that the oppression of women will be ended by giving them a bigger piece of the pie as Betty Friedan would have it. We believe that the pie itself is rotten.’”\textsuperscript{128} This feminist wave that swept across the nation mirrored the female students growing restlessness with the control that The Women’s College had traditionally exerted over them, and therefore weakened the former intimate relations with their “oppressors” the administrators.

First, the growing number of female students in The Woman’s College prevented the continuation of the close association of the dean with the students. For instance, when this coordinate college was first formed in 1930 there were approximately 130 students, by 1950 there were 1086 students, and by 1963 there were 1256 female students enrolled.\textsuperscript{129} Ultimately, due to this huge increase in the number of female students, the close relationships that Dean Baldwin had previously formed with her students would be impossible to maintain. In a report on the use of Dean Ball’s time as Dean of The Woman’s College from September 20, 1967, to September 20, 1968, she spent 1152 hours or nearly half of each day on general office duties.\textsuperscript{130} On the other hand, this report contained no mention of the time spent with individual students, but it did state that Dean Ball spent a mere 65 hours or 0.3 of each day entertaining and preparing for “special guests, student groups, and freshman receptions.”\textsuperscript{131} Thus, due to the enormous increase

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid. 87.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid. 3.
in the size of the female student body, it became highly unlikely that any dean could compete with the intimate associations that Dean Alice Baldwin was able to nurture on East campus with her students.

The solution to this influx of women students was to establish new positions in the administration and to take responsibility for the students, including separate academic deans for freshmen, sophomores/ juniors, and seniors. In addition, the Dean of Women held the responsibilities of being “Available for counsel with groups or individuals concerning residential or personal matters.” Despite these new appointments to the administration that would help to continue these relationships with the students, the personal matters that were brought forth to these women were sometimes too overwhelming for them to handle. In particular, the Assistant Dean of Instruction at The Woman’s College noted that counseling the members of the sophomore class was her major responsibility, yet ultimately she had “frequently arranged for girls to be seen at the University Counseling Service.” Therefore, these personal matters became too much for even the other administrators to handle, and counseling services took the place of the administrator- student relationships.

In addition, the women students began to challenge these established relationships and Suzie Cunningham, the president of the WSGA in 1965, firmly declared in an official

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133 Ibid.

letter to the dean’s staff “I would like to discuss with you the subject of student-administrative relations.” Cunningham addressed the issue of the Experimental Dormitory with Dean Ball, Dean Wilson, and the other administrators because the administrators did not consult this group of students about their decision to suspend this experiment. Cunningham’s frustration paralleled the anger of the entire female student body and she roared “I believe, firstly, that the faculty, the administration and the students all have a valid part in this endeavor. It is obvious that on any question one of these groups will be more qualified to come to an answer. But this does not rule out the possibility of others being heard on the subject.” This push for the administration to hear the voices of the students, instead of merely trying to control them with their own decisions, was similarly reflected in a statement by the WSGA “On the Free Expression of Ideas.” In this statement the student government body felt that their major concern in The Woman’s College was “in the promotion of an atmosphere conducive to free and open discussion and in upholding the rights of students and the principle of academic freedom.” Thus, by challenging the control that the administration had originally exercised over them, the women were beginning to mirror the National Feminist Movement. This student push for more power in the decision making process and their

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136 Ibid.

137 Ibid. 2.


139 Ibid.
rights to free discussion weakened their relationships with the administration, and
ultimately caused The Woman’s College to rethink its purpose and identity.

In the end, this damaged association with the administration, allowed the women
to continue striving for more freedoms, and this leadership and pressure caused the merge
of the colleges. Despite the clashing priorities of the female students and the
administration, this did not completely sever their relationships, but instead “the students
gradually gained momentum and slowly convinced their deans that their requests were
reasonable.”140 As a result, Dean Kreps resigned from her position as Dean of The
Woman’s College on November 18, 1971 because she “didn’t want her tenure to impede
the reorganization of the university.”141 Thus, although the organizational and academic
leadership opportunities were fading on the separate East campus, the women were
becoming leaders in a new idea in the nation, the idea of coeducation. Remarkably, even
the administration of the male-dominated West campus recognized the need for this
change and when President Sanford was presented the merger proposal on August 31,
1971, Chancellor A. Kenneth Pye noted “the climate is appropriate.”142 President
Sanford had earlier declared his intentions to begin forming relationships with The
Woman’s College Students when he requested to obtain “a list of women students who
are not necessarily campus leader, but rather all around ‘good people.’”143 This
emphasized the desire of the West campus to ease the merge of The Woman’s College

140 Mallory, Nancy 52.
141 Ibid 75.
142 Ibid. 63- 64.
143 Women’s College Records. Office of the Dean. Alphabetical Subject Files, 1928-
Memorandum. Paula R. Phillips to Dean Broughton, Dean Bryan, Dean Lee,
And Dean Philpott. October 5, 1970. Duke University Archives, Durham, NC.
with The Trinity College by reaching out to start forming associations with the female
students.

Conclusion

“My perception is that the feeling was that more could be done for women living
on their own campus, with their own organizations developing their own leadership skills
as well as participating in coeducational activities,” proclaimed William Griffith, vice
president of the Student Government Association.\textsuperscript{144} Thus, when The Woman’s College
was established in 1930, the women lived on a separate, isolated campus, where their
organizational and academic leadership opportunities thrived under the guidance of Dean
Alice M. Baldwin. Dean Baldwin was successful in forming a type of structured
academic and organizational leadership that was strengthened immensely by the intimate
relationships that the administration had developed with the female students. Was this
type of structured, carefully controlled leadership more effective than the type of
leadership that emerged after the merge of the separate men and women campuses of
Duke University? If it was more effective, then how and why did it collapse?

Importantly, during World War II, when a significant amount of the male
population on campus disappeared to fight in the war, the female leadership swelled as
they participated in certain programs that supported the war effort. Unfortunately, these
war-related programs deteriorated after the war, yet the previously, firmly rooted
leadership organizations for the women students remained in tact. Despite the
persistence of their leadership, the intimate ties that Dean Baldwin had established began

\textsuperscript{144} Women’s College Records. Office of the Dean. Alphabetical Subject Files. 1928-
“A time for transitions: The merger of the Women’s and Trinity colleges alters
Archives, Durham, NC.
to dissemble as the number of female students increased on campus. With this increase in female enrollment, Dean Baldwin’s successor, Dean Brinkley, realized that these relationships would be impossible to maintain. Thus, new positions were established in the administration to help to maintain the guidance and associations with the students.

The 1960’s and 1970’s marked a politically active time for the nation with the Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, and the Women’s Liberation Movement. Students all over the nation became actively involved in these movements, especially in the form of peaceful demonstrations, anti-war campaigns, sit-ins, and even violent acts. The Duke campus was no exception to this “wave of activism,” as the alumnae Patti Riesser labeled this period, and even the female students on the East campus were involved.\(^{145}\)

During this period, the women students began to challenge the power that the administration held over them, and this marked the beginning of the end of The Woman’s College. The previously successful structured leadership that was carefully managed by the administration suddenly found itself in an environment that craved more individual power and control. Consequently, the students resented the already established structured forms of organizational and academic leadership, and desired to have a new, integrated system of leadership free from the chains of control from the administration. Thus, despite the previous success of this organizational and academic leadership that Dean Baldwin had established, this structured leadership could not be maintained in this changing environment. Ultimately, this type of leadership was not flawed, but rather the

surroundings that had previously nourished this structured leadership found itself radically changing and could no longer support it.

Meanwhile, the university began to question the purpose of this coordinate college, and as a result a Board of Visitors was called in to review the goals of this separate female institution. Interestingly, these reviews motivated The Woman’s College to establish new leadership programs for women, and as a result the weakening associations between the administration and students were briefly maintained. Despite these efforts, the growing national trend of coeducation and the student’s push for integration on Duke’s campus ultimately caused the merge of these two colleges. With the merger, women lost many of their unique, structured organizational and academic leadership opportunities because their groups either disbanded or integrated with their male counterparts.

Ultimately, this structured form of organizational and academic leadership collapsed with the merge of The Woman’s College with Trinity College in 1972. A new type of leadership was born: less structured and less controlled by the administration, yet an integrated leadership amongst males and females, which was finally on it’s way to struggle and grow until it could form it’s new foundation and find it’s new balance within Duke University. Yet, which type of leadership is more effective in enabling women to grow and support one another? Only you can be the judge…LEAD the way!