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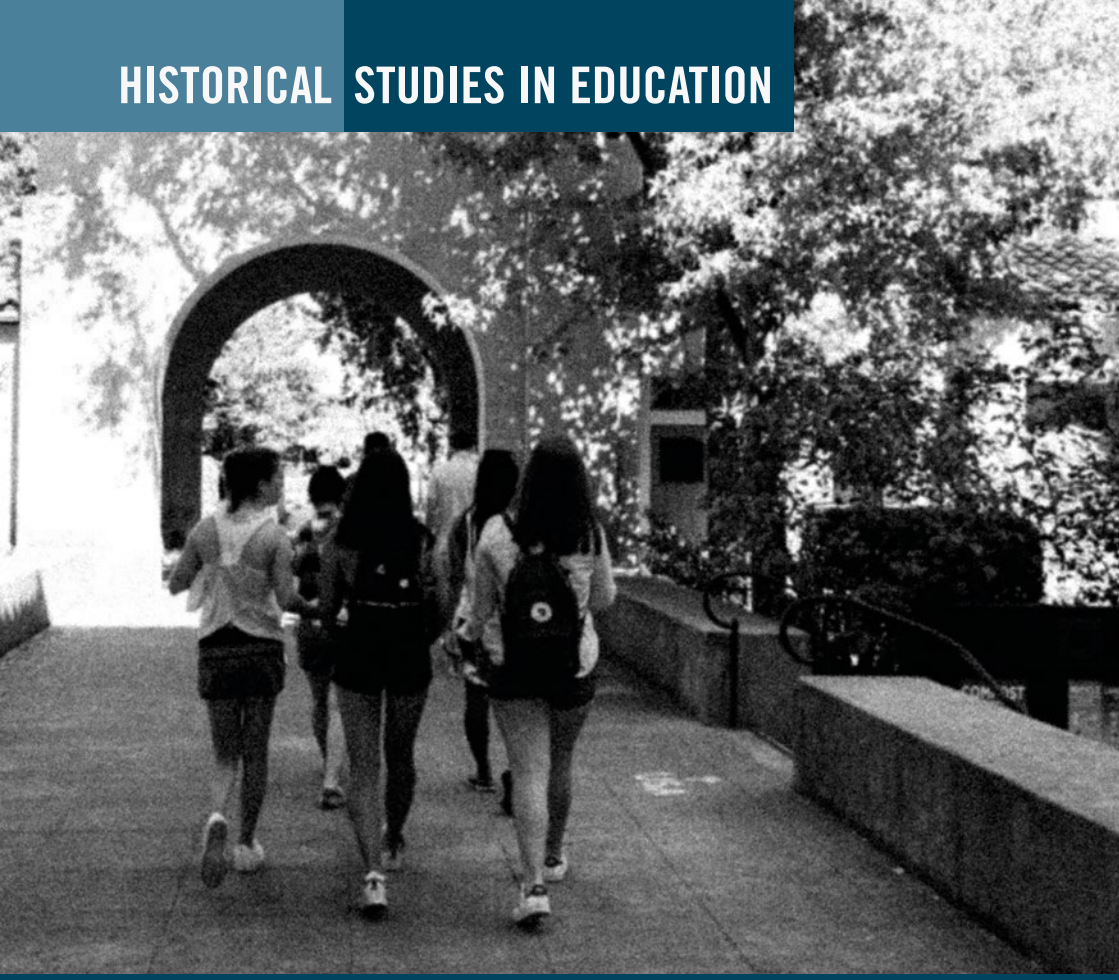

RETHINKING CAMPUS LIFE

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE HISTORY OF COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

EDITED BY CHRISTINE A. OGREN AND MARC A. VANOVERBEKE

Historical Studies in Education

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Rethinking Campus Life

New Perspectives on the History of College Students in the United States

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Historical Studies in Education
ISBN 978-3-319-75613-4 ISBN 978-3-319-75614-1 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75614-1

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018942507

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Series Foreword

The lives and times of American college students have long fascinated historians, along with parents, other relatives, and the public at large. As this book amply demonstrates, moreover, the bookshelf of studies focusing on these students has become stacked high in recent years. But making sense of the wide variety of collegiate experiences in the United States, going back hundreds of years and involving thousands of institutions, remains a formidable challenge. This volume takes a bold and much needed step in the direction of resolving that dilemma.

For several decades now, Helen Horowitz's book, *Campus Life*, has stood as a landmark study of college student experiences in the United States. Extending from the colonial era to the 1980s, it offered engaging and insightful portraits of the men and women who animated student organizations and extracurricular activities across the country. But it was also generally limited to the largest and most prestigious institutions, leaving many facets of student life unexamined. A reconsideration of these themes and related questions thus has been long in order.

Christine Ogren and Marc VanOverbeke have assembled a talented group of scholars to revisit the history of American collegiate student experience, drawing upon scholarship that has illuminated its widely varied dimensions over the past several decades. Featuring chapters dealing with such traditional topics as Greek organizations, athletics, and student organizing, along with others on the experiences of African American and Mexican American students, their book also explores student experiences at normal schools, community colleges, and conservative evangelical institutions. While hardly the final word on the diversity of student

experiences in American history, it represents an important addendum—and something of a corrective—to the accounts offered in Horowitz and other synthetic or textbook surveys in the field.

Some of these contributions will be broadly familiar to scholars in the field, such as Ogren's account of student life at normal schools, Nicholas Syrett's survey of fraternities over time and Timothy Cain's treatment of student activism, but each adds new wrinkles to consider. Other chapters offer new topics to consider, including a consideration of "drag" on campuses by Margaret Nash, Danielle Mireles and Amanda Scott-Williams, an account of Mexican American student organizing by Christopher Tudico, student life at community colleges by Nicholas Strohl, and controversies at evangelical institutions by Adam Laats. Discussions of black students life on southern campuses by Joy Williamson-Lott and agitation for athletics at state colleges by VanOverbeke round things out. Chapter-length considerations of relevant historiography and future directions in the field help to maintain a larger perspective.

While acknowledging the foundational contributions of Horowitz and other scholars in the past, this collection of essays examines the history of student life on American campuses from the perspective of the twenty-first century. Given the dynamic quality of research on these topics, it is unlikely to be the final word on them. But it offers today's readers a rare opportunity to consider the vast diversity of collegiate experiences in American history in a single sitting. We expect that this will both inform and inspire the next generation of scholars, who will likely add yet new dimensions to our understanding of campus life as it continues to evolve in the years ahead.

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Acknowledgments

As with any book project, we are indebted to a number of people for their invaluable encouragement, ideas, and guidance. We are profoundly grateful to William Reese and John Rury, the Series Editors of Historical Studies in Education. Bill and John suggested that we undertake this project and offered crucial guidance throughout the process. We thank them not only for making this book possible but also for their support throughout both of our careers. Bill and John have been extraordinary mentors, and we cannot thank them enough or repay them for their kindness and generosity.

Michael Hevel and Amy Wells-Dolan also were invaluable as we conceptualized and began to plan this volume. We are thankful for their generosity in sharing their thoughts and ideas for this collection. Our editors at Palgrave similarly were helpful as we worked to put this volume together. We especially want to thank Milana Vernikova and Mara Berkoff.

Chris and Marc both have benefited from wonderful colleagues who have been supportive of this project. We are indebted to the University of Iowa and the University of Illinois at Chicago, and to the members of the History of Education Society (both in the United States and in the United Kingdom) and the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), where we discussed this project and presented versions of the research found in this volume. We are grateful for the opportunity to work with incredible scholars in both our home institutions and our professional societies. We also have benefited throughout our careers from ongoing research support, especially from the Spencer Foundation. Spencer supported the research that shaped Chris's chapter on state normal schools and Marc's chapter on state colleges.

It has been a pleasure to work with the authors whose contributions are the heart of this volume. They have been a wonderful group of contributors, who worked patiently with us and responded good naturedly to our many queries and questions. We also would like to thank each other for the privilege of collaborating on this project. During weekend meetings at each other's home and our many phone conversations, one or the other of us would often remark, "I'm so glad that we're working together on this!"

Finally, many thanks to our husbands, Bruce Hostager and John Smagner, who not only offered much-needed support but also fed us delicious food during our weekend meetings in Iowa City and Chicago.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Rethinking Campus Life

Christine A. Ogren and Marc A. VanOverbeke

Scholars have been writing about the history of student life at colleges and universities in the United States for two centuries. As in the wider field of history of higher education, much of this scholarship before the 1960s focused narrowly on individual institutions and was overly celebratory of collegiate leaders. Frederick Rudolph's 1962 *The American College and University: A History* began the reversal of this trend. Not only did Rudolph synthesize developments at multiple colleges and universities as well as critique nineteenth-century colleges, he also included three chapters devoted entirely to the extracurriculum, which—along with his publication in 1966 of an article emphasizing students' role in shaping college cultures—planted the seeds for more serious scholarly consideration of students within the larger history of higher education.[1] In the years that followed, historians further enriched our understanding of campus life with studies of particular groups of students, including women, African

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C. A. Ogren, M. A. VanOverbeke (eds.),
Rethinking Campus Life, Historical Studies in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75614-1_1

Americans, and the poor; specific organizations and activities, including fraternities and sororities, athletics, and political movements; and students at marginalized institutions of higher education, such as academies.[2] In short, the field became more vibrant, with a stronger emphasis on understanding student life and behavior.

Two and a half decades after Rudolph's pioneering work, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz synthesized and extended research on the history of college students in one volume that covered multiple dimensions of campus life. Published in 1987, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* quickly became and has remained a pivotal text.[3] Although Horowitz's approach was broad, her history did not incorporate all of the diversity of students, activities, and institutions that comprise higher education in the United States. In the 30 years since the publication of *Campus Life*, historians have continued to enrich and extend the field through in-depth considerations of groups of students and elements of their lives on campus.[4] Thus, we think it is time for a new volume that captures the breadth of campus life's history, and we offer this collection to update historical understandings of being a college student.

In the chapter that follows this Introduction, "Trends in the Historiography of American College Student Life: Populations, Organizations, and Behaviors" (Chapter 2), Michael Hevel and Heidi Jaeckle use Horowitz's *Campus Life* as the launching point for their analysis of the field. They explain that Horowitz's framework of "distinct ways of being an undergraduate"—college men and women, outsiders, and rebels—allowed her to present an overview history of student populations, organizations, and behaviors over a long span of time. In the three decades since *Campus Life*, Hevel and Jaeckle further explain, historians have provided more insights into Horowitz's student groups while also adding nuance to this categorization. Hevel and Jaeckle outline how historians have broadened their focus on student populations to include not only African American and female but also Asian American, Latino, and LGBTQ students, as well as students who attended non-prestigious types of institutions not prominent in Horowitz's work, such as female seminaries and state normal schools. Regarding college student organizations, Hevel and Jaeckle describe how works published in recent decades have delved into the history of student societies, fraternities and sororities, religious organizations, and the student affairs administrators who oversaw them. They also discuss how historians have recently investigated student

behaviors, including dating and sexual expression as well as singing, to trace changes in US society.

Hevel and Jaeckle end their chapter with the observation that the ensemble of recent scholarship moves far beyond Horowitz's work to provide a more complete account of the history of student life. Nevertheless, they add, *Campus Life* has remained the only book that offers a cohesive synthesis of this topic for 30 years. Our intention in this volume is to provide a new comprehensive look at historical understanding of campus life, not through one sustained narrative, but through a collection of chapters covering a range of topics, many of which move beyond even Hevel and Jaeckle's well-informed discussion of recent historiography. Taken as a whole, this collection captures at least some of the complexity of the history of campus life that is continually emerging through new scholarship in the field.

The ten chapters that follow Hevel and Jaeckle's comprehensive overview present new interpretations of traditional topics in the field, original analyses of institutions that historians of college students have tended to overlook, deeper work on marginalized student groups, and innovative research on new areas of the history of student life. While Greek-letter organizations are well-trod territory in scholarship, Nicholas Syrett and Margaret Freeman both use sophisticated gender analysis, with some attention to race, to offer new perspectives on the roles of fraternities and sororities, respectively, on campus. Along with Christine Ogren's look at campus life at state normal schools, Marc VanOverbeke's analysis of the active student cultures at the state colleges that succeeded them and Nicholas Strohl's discussion of research on student life at community colleges expand the range of institutional types in the historiography. Joy Williamson-Lott's focus on historically black and predominantly white institutions in the South deepens understanding of African American students' experiences, while Christopher Tudico's account of an organization for Mexican American students in California casts much-needed scholarly attention on students who have not been the focus of sustained historical scholarship. And Margaret Nash, Danielle Mireles, and Amanda Scott-Williams's exploration of the role of drag performances on campuses, Timothy Cain's discussion of the history of student activism in relation to labor unions, and Adam Laats's look at student experiences and protests at evangelical colleges take historical research on college students in compelling new directions.

We considered organizing this volume by grouping the ten chapters into four sections corresponding to the categories of new work on established topics, scholarship on overlooked institutions, research on often-ignored student groups, and work in compelling new areas. However, we quickly realized that most of the chapters straddle boundaries between these categories. For example, the chapters that bring new types of institutions into the historiography also discuss underrepresented student groups as well as more traditional topics. While focusing on state colleges, which have been largely absent in the historiography, VanOverbeke addresses athletics and student protests, two traditional topics in the field. Student protests also are the focus of Williamson-Lott's chapter on black students. Cain and Laats similarly discuss protests in areas not previously covered in the historiography, in relation to the larger US labor movement and among students at evangelical colleges. In short, these ten chapters defy rigid categorization because they make important contributions along multiple dimensions. So that we do not emphasize particular dimensions over others, we have ordered the ten chapters according to the chronological period they cover. Readers may find it helpful to keep in mind the four categories we outline above, as well as Hevel and Jaeckle's categories of populations, organizations, and behaviors. Our discussion of common themes in the Conclusion may also be an appealing categorization for some readers, but Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 proceed chronologically, beginning with one that covers most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Chapter 3 covers the longest time span in the book. In "'We Are Not So Easily To Be Overcome': Fraternities on the American College Campus," Syrett traces the history of traditionally white college fraternities—their ideals, commitments, and behaviors—through the antebellum era, the late nineteenth century, the 1920s, and the post–World War II era. The chapter examines nearly 200 years of these fraternities from their founding in 1825 to the early twenty-first century, when they have found themselves in the news for violations of college and state laws surrounding hazing, drinking, and sexual assault. Syrett argues that fraternities have created a brotherhood that emphasizes exclusivity and defiance of university administrators, making membership decisions based on narrow standards of masculinity that have changed over time. With some exceptions, fraternal masculinity has become increasingly destructive, athletic, anti-intellectual, and heterosexually aggressive over the course of the organizations' existence.

The next two chapters also cover periods that begin in the nineteenth century. In "'Mattie Matix' and Prodigal Princes: A Brief History of Drag on College Campuses From the Nineteenth Century to the 1940s" (Chapter 4), Nash, Mireles, and Scott-Williams explore the role of drag performances on college campuses. The practice of drag on college campuses has seldom been examined by historians, as scholarly analyses of changes in types of drag focus mainly on the worlds of theater and nightclubs. The chapter documents students' engagement in multiple uses of drag, sometimes but not always mirroring Vaudeville or theatrical drag. The formats, functions, and meanings of drag were varied and complex and occurred both on and off stage, as campuses became forums where students created their own cultural meanings of drag.

In Chapter 5, "'Enthusiasm and Mutual Confidence': Campus Life at State Normal Schools, 1870s–1900s," Ogren focuses on student organizations and the social sphere at state normal schools. The majority of normal-school students, or "normalites," were female, members of racial/ethnic minority groups, and/or from the lower end of the social-class scale. While these students generally missed out on the fraternity and sorority life and culture of many universities, they created a vibrant campus life at normal schools. After briefly outlining normalites' backgrounds, Ogren demonstrates how campus life at state normal schools enhanced students' intellectual and professional growth, welcomed all students into middle-class society, and invited women students into public life. The enthusiastic and mutually confident student life at state normal schools contradicted the rigid system at private colleges and flagship universities.

The remaining chapters focus on the twentieth century. In "Instruction in Living Beautifully: Social Education and Heterosocializing in White College Sororities" (Chapter 6), Freeman explores the history of sororities in the period from roughly 1910 to 1970. She argues that while national sororities claimed to build a supportive sisterhood, their intense focus on preparing members for conventional, white, middle-class womanhood and their emphasis on physical appeal undermined positive aspects of the women's only space, as they fostered a competitive and controlling environment. Sororities promoted conventionally "feminine" activities for members and alumnae, which orbited around an ultimate goal of marriage and homemaking. Thus, heterosocializing became a primary interest of the sororities. Rather than simply instructing women in manners, social graces, and high moral character that would supposedly prepare them as

"ideal" wives and mothers, sororities also specifically instructed members on appearance and personality with designs on attracting male attention.

In Chapter 7, "The Mexican American Movement," Tudico examines how the creation of an organization of Mexican American college students in California in the 1930s and 1940s signified a fundamental departure from earlier years when few Mexican students enrolled in California colleges and universities. The chapter details how these students used this organization to establish an identity and student culture on campus grounded in activism, empowerment, and education. And while the organization initially catered to young men, the movement grew to include women as well. This organization reflected the complexity of Mexican American identity during the immediate prewar period, brought students in California into contact with other college students, and represented the beginning of more active participation in California higher education among the youth of the Mexican American community.

Cain in "Student Activists and Organized Labor" (Chapter 8) discusses the history of student activism in relation to labor unions throughout the twentieth century, focusing on traditional institutions of higher education. The chapter begins with student strikebreaking activities in the early twentieth century. It then considers the first mass student movement in the 1930s, which included significant labor-related activity, before turning to student activists in the 1960s and their conflicted relationships with organized labor. Concluding with a discussion of students' re-engagement with organized labor in the late twentieth century, the chapter considers how engagement with or against labor allowed students to wrestle with their place in the economic and social order, and emphasizes that students were most supportive of labor unions when they viewed them as part of broader efforts for equity and change.

The discussion in Chapter 9, "New Voices, New Perspectives: Studying the History of Student Life at Community Colleges," also incorporates developments throughout the twentieth century. Strohl explains that historians of higher education have long acknowledged a blind spot when it comes to the history of less selective institutions, including community colleges, which today educate nearly half of all undergraduates in the United States. Even as scholars debate the merits of these institutions—at once celebrated as levers of social mobility and criticized for diverting students' ambitions—few have examined the experiences of students on these campuses, past or present. This chapter surveys the literature on the history of community colleges to identify challenges and opportunities for

scholars seeking to study their campus life. Strohl considers how a better understanding of campus life at community colleges may change understanding of what it means—and has meant—to be a college student.

In "Activism, Athletics, and Student Life at State Colleges in the 1950s and 1960s" (Chapter 10), VanOverbeke explores campus life at state colleges during pivotal decades of the mid-twentieth century. Contemporary studies usually reported that students on these campuses eschewed active involvement in college life in favor of earning a degree and securing a job. As this chapter argues, however, students on these campuses built active student cultures, in great measure by advocating for football and athletics. In doing so, these students embraced the student life they saw on other campuses and argued that their campuses were real colleges. By the 1960s, they also embraced athletics as a way to push their campuses to be more open to diverse groups of students. Far from being uninterested in campus life, these students embraced active college lives that shaped their institutions in dramatic ways.

Williamson-Lott in "Campus Life for Southern Black Students in the Mid-Twentieth Century" (Chapter 11) discusses the experiences of black students at southern historically black and predominantly white institutions in the 1950s and 1960s, acknowledging roots in earlier decades and branches in later years. The chapter focuses on a subset of student activists and the organizations they created to force change at their institutions and in society. Whether in student government associations, multiracial organizations, or black-oriented groups, black student activists and their white allies demanded that their institutions participate in ameliorating America's social, political, and economic ills. By doing so, they helped narrow the distance between ebony and ivory towers and society, and forever changed the role of higher education in societal reform.

In Chapter 12, "Higher (Power) Education: Student Life at Evangelical Institutions," Laats explores students' experiences and protests at evangelical colleges in the 1960s within the context of the twentieth-century history of neo-evangelicalism and fundamentalism, as a way to understand the campus cultures these students built. The chapter focuses on neo-evangelical student protests for revised lifestyle rules and the resulting pressure placed by the evangelical public on administrators, primarily at Gordon College near Boston and Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. In the late 1960s, Gordon moved in the direction of neo-evangelical reform, while Moody remained more fundamentalist and conservative. At evangelical institutions, student protests and public commentary on them were

about religion as much as they were about issues of campus life, and Laats underscores the tight connection on these campuses between religion and student life.

Finally, in the Conclusion, "New Perspectives on Campus Life and Setting the Agenda for Future Research" (Chapter 13), we summarize the collective contributions of the book's various chapters and consider what this anthology tells us about what it meant to be a college student and how students experienced college. We explore common themes and strands in campus life across chronological periods, diverse student groups, and institutional types, and discuss how the collection refines, challenges, expands, and critiques Horowitz's *Campus Life*. We also look toward the future with questions still to be answered and avenues for research that remain unexplored. While the Conclusion and the chapters that precede it demonstrate that the history of campus life has become a dynamic and far-reaching field, the Conclusion also highlights that much more research remains to be done.

Together, the varied chapters in *Rethinking Campus Life* capture some of the breadth of current historical research on campus life. Individual readers may read and digest the book differently, depending on the nature of their interest in the history of college students and their lives on campus. Those who desire to gain a sense of many aspects of student life over time may find it most useful to read all of the chapters in the order presented, letting developments across the decades unfold chronologically. Readers who are most interested in digging deeper into the history of student organizations and behaviors that have traditionally been prominent in the scholarship may want to focus on Syrett's chapter on fraternities and Freeman's chapter on sororities, and look at other chapters that discuss new aspects of student protests. Those who are most interested in campus life at non-prestigious institutions may want to begin with Ogren's chapter on state normal schools, VanOverbeke's chapter on regional colleges, and Strohl's chapter on community colleges; they may also find Williamson-Lott's discussion of student life at historically black institutions to be helpful. Readers with a particular interest in underrepresented students will be drawn to Williamson-Lott's chapter along with Tudico's chapter on Mexican American students, and may find the chapters on non-prestigious institutions to be useful as well. Those who desire to gain a sense of cutting-edge forays into heretofore unexplored areas of the history of campus life may find Nash, Mireless, and Scott-Williams's look at drag on campus, Cain's analysis of students and labor unions, and Laats's

discussion of evangelical colleges to be most appealing. And readers who are particularly interested in the development and trajectory of the field itself may find Hevel and Jaecke's chapter on historiography and the Conclusion to be especially valuable. Regardless of how readers approach the book, *Rethinking Campus Life* will widen and deepen readers' understanding of the history of US college students and their lives on campus.

Notes

1. Christine A. Ogren, "Sites, Students, Scholarship, and Structures: The Historiography of American Higher Education in the Post-Revisionist Era," in *Rethinking the History of American Education*, eds. William J. Reese and John L. Rury (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 187–222; Michael S. Hevel, "A Historiography of College Students 30 Years After Helen Horowitz's *Campus Life*," *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* vol. 32 (The Netherlands: Springer, 2017), 419–73; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, [1962] 1990); Frederick Rudolph, "Neglect of Students as Historical Tradition," in *The College and the Student: An Assessment of Relationships and Responsibilities in Undergraduate Education by Administrators, Faculty Members, and Public Officials*, eds. Lawrence Dennis and Joseph F. Kauffman (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1966), 47–58.
2. Examples of works on the history of student life published in the two and a half decades following Rudolph's book include James McLachlan, "The *Choice of Hercules*: American Student Societies in the Early 19th Century," in *The University in Society*, vol. 2, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 449–94; David F. Allmindinger, *Paupers and Scholars: Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1975); Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); Joseph R. Demartini, "Student Culture as a Change Agent in American Higher Education: An Illustration From the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Social History* 9 (Spring 1976): 526–41; Richard Angelo, "The Students at the University of Pennsylvania and the Temple College of Philadelphia, 1873–1906: Some Notes on Schooling, Class and Social Mobility in the Late Nineteenth Century," *History of Education Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 179–205; Ralph S. Brax, *The First Student Movement: Student Activism in the United States During the 1930s* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1981); Eileen Eagan, *Class, Culture and the Classroom: The Student Peace Movement of the 1930s* (Philadelphia: Temple

University Press, 1981); David W. Robson, *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750–1800* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

3. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
4. For a summary of scholarship on the history of student life published since Horowitz's book, see Hevel, "A Historiography of College Students"; and Chapter 2 in this volume.

CHAPTER 2

Trends in the Historiography of American College Student Life: Populations, Organizations, and Behaviors

Michael S. Hevel and Heidi A. Jaeckle

Over the last few decades, historians have focused a great deal of attention on college students, their contributions to higher education, and their role in shaping behaviors and attitudes in the larger society. But college students have not always been such popular subjects among historians. In 1966, Frederick Rudolph criticized the historiography of American higher education for "neglecting" students. The resulting narrative "was both unfair and inaccurate," Rudolph argued, for college students had been "unquestionably the most creative and imaginative force in the shaping of the American college and university." Those Americans living in the turbulent decade that followed Rudolph's critique came to realize this all too well, as enrollments in colleges and universities swelled at the same time that many college students protested war, racism, sexism, and homophobia.

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C. A. Ogren, M. A. VanOverbeke (eds.),
Rethinking Campus Life, Historical Studies in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75614-1_2

Responding in part to the contemporary issues on campus, historians began to pay more attention to earlier generations of college students.[1]

This initial surge of historical scholarship culminated in 1987, when Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz published *Campus Life*, which offered a 200-year history of college students and the extracurriculum. Analyzing existing historical research, memoirs and biographies of alumni, and social science research, Horowitz argued that, over time, there had been distinct ways of being an undergraduate: college men (joined, eventually, by college women), outsiders, and rebels. These undergraduate cultures began to emerge at the end of the eighteenth century. College men, the first category, were the most advantaged collegians—male, wealthy, Protestant, and white. They embraced a virulent masculinity, which manifested itself in enduring features of the extracurriculum, including fraternities and athletics, and in behaviors, such as drinking, cheating, and having sex, that troubled educators. College men believed that dominating campus life best prepared them for success after graduation. Their earliest antagonists, and Horowitz's second category, were the outsiders. The first outsiders were white men with a devout Protestant faith who came from poorer families. After the Civil War, low-income white men were joined by the first generations of white women, African American, Catholic, and Jewish students as outsiders. In contrast to college men, outsiders—both men and women—used classroom success to improve their career prospects and facilitate their social mobility.[2]

Additional undergraduate cultures formed by the early twentieth century. Unlike college men who were engrossed in the extracurriculum and outsiders who concentrated on their studies, rebels focused on developments in the larger political, economic, and artistic worlds. Rebels wrestled with college men for control of student government and campus publications, seeking to use these outlets to engage issues percolating in society. Rebels often came from wealthy families, but possessed either identities, such as being Jewish, or attitudes, such as being progressive or socialist, that were antithetical to college men. Women joined the rebel ranks, largely on equal terms with their male counterparts. Also by the early twentieth century, college women joined college men. Whereas the first generation of women students were outsiders or occasionally rebels, as higher education became more popular among wealthy white women, their campus life came to more closely resemble—and be connected to—that of college men. College women used sororities to fill their extracurricular needs and, increasingly as Victorian attitudes became obsolete, their

sexual desires. Unlike the equality rebel women shared with rebel men, college women were subservient to college men. Moreover, college women's behaviors faced heightened scrutiny from college men, campus authorities, and those in the larger society.

Thus, Horowitz incorporated specific student populations, features of the extracurriculum, and student behaviors into a sweeping and insightful history of college students. However, *Campus Life* did not include much consideration of African American students and other student populations that have become increasingly prominent on college campuses over the last 30 years, including Latino, Asian American, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBTQ) students. The book also focused on elite institutions, notably those in the Northeast, and public flagship universities, without incorporating institutions that enrolled many underrepresented students, such as historically black institutions or teachers colleges. Historians writing in the decades since the publication of *Campus Life* have significantly expanded the scholarship related to college students and the types of institutions they attended. In addition to the burgeoning scholarship on activism and athletics not considered in this chapter, historians have focused on specific populations of college students, their organizations, and their behaviors. In the process, more recent historians have avoided the broad synthesis that characterized *Campus Life*. Instead, they have provided deep insights into a variety of student experiences, and their combined scholarship offers a more nuanced understanding of higher education. Synthesizing the post–*Campus Life* historiography—and organizing the discussion around college student populations, organizations, and behaviors—not only reveals a more complex history of higher education in the United States but also highlights opportunities to create an even more complete understanding of earlier generations of college students, the extracurriculum, and their influence on American higher education and society.[3]

College Student Populations

Recent historical research has mostly focused on subgroups of college students. Unlike *Campus Life*'s coverage of nearly two entire centuries, these works have often centered on shorter periods of time and specific types of institutions. Within this literature, many historians have explored gender, race and ethnicity, and socioeconomic class, illustrating how individuals from certain backgrounds accessed higher education and their experiences once on campus. In developing this body of scholarship, historians have

provided insights into the varied experiences of students that Horowitz had neatly classified as college men and women, outsiders, and rebels. While recent scholarship does not necessarily challenge Horowitz's undergraduate categories, it does illustrate the potential diversity within these categories—and how groups of students might bridge multiple ones.

In *Campus Life*, Horowitz paid a great deal of attention to young white men. Since its publication, historians have continued this focus. Bruce Leslie's *Gentlemen and Scholars* traces the development of the "collegiate ideal" at Bucknell, Franklin and Marshall, Princeton, and Swarthmore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Previous historians, epitomized by Laurence Veysey, had focused on the rise of the research university during these decades. But Leslie demonstrates that, at the same time, these four institutions became increasingly collegiate. They shifted from serving their founding religious denominations and local communities to meeting the needs of the upper- and upper-middle-class Protestants who lived in cities. White college men took classes that prepared them for professional careers alongside classes in the traditional liberal arts. They also institutionalized many features of the extracurriculum, including athletics, fraternities, performing arts, and the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCAs). College student culture, as Leslie shows, became increasingly similar across these campuses and, indeed, throughout the nation.[4]

Several subsequent historians similarly have focused on white college men but in earlier eras. Conrad Wright uses the life histories of Harvard alumni in the 1770s to identify specific developmental milestones in the lives of the Revolutionary generation. Wright provides a lively account of student experiences at Harvard and argues that these young men used their college years to develop their intellect, character, and independence. Moving 50 years further into American history, a trio of historians has provided rich insights into the higher education experiences of white men in the South before the Civil War. Robert Pace explores how "the southern code of honor and natural adolescent development" converged to shape a distinctive student culture across colleges in the antebellum South. For example, the homogeneity of the wealthy, white, and male student body largely made fraternities irrelevant there until higher education diversified after the Civil War. Jennifer Green argues that military schools formed an important component of southern higher education by the 1840s. Their curriculum was not as "high" as that at colleges because it lacked Greek and Latin, but southern military institutions

offered professionally oriented courses that became popular with the white middle class. Few alumni pursued military careers; most became doctors, engineers, businessmen, or educators. Focusing on the University of North Carolina—one of the South's most prestigious institutions before the Civil War—Timothy Williams demonstrates that white college men used their college years to promote their "intellectual manhood." These young men valued self-awareness, mental acuity, informed actions, and persuasive speaking. Williams illustrates that this emphasis on self-improvement simultaneously reflected national upper-middle-class values and regional elite values.[5]

Historians have devoted a great deal of attention to white women students as well. In 1990, Lynn Gordon's *Gender and Higher Education* joined Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's *Alma Mater* and Barbara Miller Solomon's *In the Company of Educated Women*, published respectively in 1984 and 1985, to form a foundation of contemporary historiography regarding white college women. All of these scholars locate the establishment of women's higher education largely in the elite northeastern women's colleges—colloquially referred to as the Seven Sisters—during the decades directly following the Civil War. Whereas Horowitz and Solomon focus primarily on the first generation of college women after the Civil War, Gordon centers her study on the second generation of white college women (1890–1910) at prestigious coeducational universities and elite women's colleges. The first generation of college women focused on classroom learning to improve their career options and foster their economic mobility, while second-generation women were more interested in men and marriage and less likely after college to work outside of the home.[6]

More recent historians have complicated the foundational work of Horowitz, Solomon, and Gordon by studying the experiences of white women students at different types of institutions both before and after the Civil War. Several historians have demonstrated that antebellum white women had access to forms of higher education that proved a close equivalent to that available at men's colleges. Christine Farnham initiated this wave of interpretation in 1994. In contrast to the prevailing historiography that had claimed that southern higher education always lagged behind northern higher education and that antebellum institutions that educated women offered at most a secondary curriculum, Farnham argues that women's higher education was more accepted in the South than the North before the Civil War. In institutions named female institutes, collegiate institutes, and eventually female colleges by the late 1830s, wealthy white