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EVOLVING SISTERHOOD: AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THREE SORORITIES

by

Bonnie J. Galloway

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
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EVOLVING SISTERHOOD: AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THREE SORORITIES

Bonnie J. Galloway, Ph.D.

Western Michigan University, 1994

From 1851 through June, 1993, more than 2,800,000 women have been initiated into the twenty-six National Panhellenic Conference sororities. Not only are members active during collegiate years, but many continue participation through alumnae groups. Upholding the principles of community service and moral development, sorority women volunteer time and talent in a myriad of ways that benefit local communities and the greater society as a whole. Sororities also provide women important leadership training and experience.

The research design of this project takes a sociohistorical perspective. The study utilizes the population ecology model for organizations to examine three representative sororities: Chi Omega, Kappa Alpha Theta, and Pi Beta Phi from the period 1870-1930. The evolution of these sororities from the time the first women's fraternities appeared on campus through the decade of the 1920s was studied.

Population ecology analysis is conducted on three levels: individual, population, and community. Occurrences at one level have consequences at other levels. The patriotic environment of World War I, the post-war opportunities, complete with the right of women to vote in 1920, the greater acceptance of women in professions

traditionally reserved for men: all of these were changes in the greater community in which sororities existed. The paper examines the ways in which the organizational structure was strengthened because of these changes, and as a correlate, in what ways it was weakened, or was forced to adjust.

The effectiveness of an organization is based upon its ability to attain its goal. The actions formulated by the organization must be appropriate to the environment in which they are carried out. The sorority system that evolved over the sixty year period had to be adaptive to an ever changing social environment in order to survive. Had the sorority failed to adapt, it would have ceased to exist. The process of adaptation is examined and analyzed using the population ecology model.

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sororities**

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Western Michigan University, 1994

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sororities became established in American collegiate society during the seventy-five year span between 1851 and 1922. The majority of sororities were founded during a thirty year period (1870-1900) after the Civil War. The Women's Suffrage Movement was holding its first conventions, and women were adamant in proving their right to higher education. The first sororities were dedicated to the ideals of academic achievement, community service, and moral development.

By 1851, the fraternities of men were already a familiar institution on college campuses. The first Greek fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa, was founded in 1776 at William and Mary College. Its motto, "love of wisdom, the guide of life" (Bryan & Schwartz, 1983, p. 1) is a definite reflection of classical Greek thinking. Initially, according to Bryan (1987), Greek organizations "challenged the thinking of their day and were concerned with social issues ignored by colleges and universities, provided students with outlets for debates, free discussions, and an arena to test new ideas" (p. 38).

At this time, 1776, it must be noted, the challenge to current thinking and concerns with social issues did not extend to questioning why women were excluded from institutions of higher learning.

It was not until 1834, at his commencement address to the

University of Georgia, that Daniel Chandler publicly expressed the opinion that, "in our country there are 61 colleges, and to the disgrace of the nation be it spoken, not one is dedicated to the cause of female education" (Lamb, 1982, p. 2).

Two years later, on 23 December, 1836, the Georgia legislature issued a charter for the Georgia Female College in Macon, later to be known as Wesleyan College. Thus marked the nation's--and the world's--first institution of higher learning chartered to grant women "all such honors, degrees, and licenses as are usually conferred in colleges and universities" (Lamb, 1982, p. 2).

The two earliest sororities: Alpha Delta Pi established in 1851, and Phi Mu established in 1852, were founded at Wesleyan College.

During the 1860s, there was significant expansion of higher education opportunities for women. First Vassar opened its doors, followed by Smith and Wellesley Colleges in the 1870s, and Radcliffe College in the 1890s. These were the women's colleges of the Northeast. From the 1860s on, state colleges and universities throughout most of the nation were coeducational (Evans, 1989).

The word fraternity is used by most sororities in their official name. The founders of Alpha Phi Fraternity expressed their desire to challenge the thinking of their day at Syracuse University in 1872. They asked the question: "Why can't we have a society like men" (Robson, 1966, p. 414)? This aspiration for intellectual discourse among peers was one of the reasons for the founding of sororities.

On a social level, Ida Shaw Martin (1913) said in 1905 that the sorority idea means close friendship fostered by long association in common interests. The sorority ideal is the symmetrically developed woman, the result of close confidences and lasting friendships with a few congenial spirits. (pp. 21-22)

Statement of the Problem

From 1851 through June, 1993, more than 2,800,000 women have been initiated into the twenty-six National Panhellenic Conference sororities. Despite the large numbers of women who belong to these organizations, sorority life has been a neglected area of sociological study. Not only are members active during collegiate years, but many continue participation through alumnae groups. Upholding the principles of community service and moral development, sorority women volunteer time and talent in a myriad of ways that benefit local communities and the greater society as a whole.

Sororities also provide women important leadership training and experience. Many organizations have sizable budgets and physical facilities. All management duties are carried out by [women] members.

In her chapter on The Mission of the Sorority, Martin (1913) wrote:

To determine whether the existence of the sorority as a factor in college life has been justified, it is necessary to understand what combination of circumstances called it into being, what it has to its credit in the line of accomplishment, and what it is doing at the present time to warrant its continuance. (p. 45)

Through examining three sororities: Chi Omega, Pi Beta Phi, and

Kappa Alpha Theta from the period 1870-1930, this study proposes to examine the origins and evolution of sororities.

The population ecology model for organizations will be utilized to examine the ways in which sororities evolved from the time the first women's fraternities appeared on campus through the decade of the 1920s. Population ecology analysis is conducted on three levels: (1) individual, (2) population, and (3) community. Occurrences at one level always have consequences at other levels. The patriotic environment of World War I, the post-war opportunities, complete with the right of women to vote in 1920, the greater acceptance of women in professions traditionally reserved for men: all of these were changes in the greater community in which sororities existed. Women became more independent--could this not have had an effect on organizational structures? Certainly changes would have had to occur to keep the fraternal community an inviting prospect to young women. And surely, women more independent, better trained and more confident were capable of returning more to the sorority and the community outside it. The paper will examine the ways in which the organizational structure was strengthened because of these changes, and as a correlate, in what ways in which it was weakened, or was forced to adjust.

The central concern of this study is the changes made by sororities to ensure their survival. Adjustments and modifications in behaviors will be examined. Possible shifts in membership criteria and organizational structure will be reviewed in an attempt to

understand how sororities met the challenges of their environment.

Literature Review

A review of the literature involves the early journals, catalogues, manuals, and articles written by and on sororities. Included in these materials are simple membership lists, chapter and national histories, along with sorority activities. The University of Illinois at Urbana, has established the Stuart Howe collection on sororities and fraternities which contains original documents dating from the late 1880s. In addition, the archives of the National Panhellenic Conference, the governing body of sororities, are located at the University of Illinois.

From the material in these documents, and given the time period in which sororities were established, it may be argued that such organizations were founded to provide support and encouragement for women in an educational environment that was largely indifferent to them. According to Martin (1913), "For the first generation of college girls the sorority was primarily a humanizing agency" (p. 48).

During this time period in American history (1870-1930), women were just beginning to attend colleges and universities. They comprised a very small group, often having to obtain special permission to attend classes. The pursuit of higher education was thought highly unfeminine; at the least, it could lead to serious physical and mental health problems. It was in this environment that the first

charters were drawn up, the first membership lists composed of extraordinary young women who dared risk their health and their womanhood in the quest for higher knowledge and new ideas.

What changes occurred over the years and how did they affect successive generations of sorority members? The completion of the railroads linked the East and West coasts of the nation. The telephone facilitated communication. American cities were experiencing rapid growth. There was a large influx of immigrants. Women obtained the right to vote. World War I was also a part of this time frame, along with prohibition and the boom years of the 1920s. In short, it was a time of marked upheaval in American life. After the very early years, sororities were no longer designed to protect women but to enable them to be competent, contributing members of society. The study hypothesizes that the changes occurring in the greater society will be reflected in the literature by and about sororities. The full literature review will examine these changes as they manifest in the journals, articles, manuals, and other writings that are indigenous to the topic.

Theory

The research will draw upon the population ecology model for organizations, as well as organizational effectiveness literature. The paradigm suggests that organizations evolve by adapting to meet challenges, thus enabling them to survive in their environment. There are three stages in the process of social adaptation: (1)

occurrence of variations in behavior, (2) selection as some behaviors are eliminated while others are reinforced, and (3) retention of positive variations or behaviors (Hannan & Freeman, 1977).

In July 1915, it was noted in Banta's Greek Exchange (North, 1930) that in less than 50 years, sorority membership had soared, and that more than half the gain had occurred in the years 1905-1915. Obviously, this marked a significant point in the evolution of the social structure. Using the population ecology model, changes were necessary to ensure survival, even in such a period of positive growth. According to Banta's Greek Exchange,

keeping pace with the material growth shown during the decade, there has been a marked raising of standards, so that more is expected of an institution and more of a group of petitioners before a charter grant is made. At the same time the sororities have been insisting on a closer correlation between the national body and the local branches, an insistence that has put an end to provincialism, on the one hand, and to superciliousness, on the other, an insistence that is making steadily for a fine cosmopolitanism which cannot fail to be of immense value to the country at large. (p. 344)

At this point, one can detect a shift in goals: the focus is no longer on expansion, but maintenance. Had the focus continued to be on expansion, the structure might have been hopelessly weakened. Instead, perceptive leadership realized the necessity of a closer correlation between the national body and the local branches. Under the population ecology model, the organization's survival demands a perspective from which managerial bodies assess the relevant environment for weak points and new directions, enabling them to implement new strategies or redefine old ones to effectively adjust the organizational structure (Hannan & Freeman, 1977).

To analyze the organizations during the sixty year time period, it is necessary to view the sorority system on five levels: (1) members, (2) subunits, (3) individual organizations, (4) populations of organizations, and (5) communities of (populations of) organizations. This is an interesting premise, as it begins with a time in which there were few sororities and few chapters.

During this period in history, women were just beginning to seek higher education. Their numbers in the classroom were few compared to their male counterparts. In these early years sorority membership was limited, since the recruitment and retention of members was a function of the number of women entering and returning to colleges and universities. As women became more accepted in higher education, their presence on campuses grew. With more women attending universities, more women were available to join sororities or if none existed on their particular campus, begin a chapter of an existing one or found a new sorority.

An organization is defined in terms of its orientation toward the attainment of a specific goal. The organization cannot operate in a vacuum. As the external environment changes, so may the goals of the organization, or the means necessary to achieve them. Thus the organization's survival is ensured.

There is no doubt that recruitment and retention of members is necessary to ensure the survival of a social organization. Sororities recruit members through Rush, the system whereby new members are invited to join a given sorority. Once selected, the new member

becomes a Pledge, a role requiring her to learn the history, culture, traditions, policies, and procedures of the sorority. In this way, she is made to feel unique and special, yet at the same time, a part of an organization greater than herself. Older members of the group sponsor and promote her through "Big Sis-Little Sis" relations. If the Pledge has any questions or concerns, there is always an older member (Active) to guide her.

Research Methods

The research design of this project takes a sociohistorical perspective. Historical data on the ratio of men to women at the founding universities will be analyzed in an attempt to support the claim that women at the time were a marginal group. Of particular interest will be the universities where more than one sorority was founded. The concept of minority groups is more concerned with power than size. During the late 19th century women seeking higher education may have been labeled deviants. Historical literature will be examined to verify if such labeling actually occurred.

Research will focus on the histories of three sororities: Pi Beta Phi, Chi Omega, and Kappa Alpha Theta. Pi Beta Phi was chosen because it is one of the oldest sororities, founded in 1867 at Monmouth College. It is also a founding member of the National Panhellenic Conference (N.P.C.). Chi Omega, chartered in 1895 at the University of Arkansas, was selected because it has one of the largest memberships of the 26 National Panhellenic Conference sororities.

Kappa Alpha Theta, founded in 1870 at DePauw University, was included because it too was a founding member of N.P.C. The archives of the University of Illinois have extensive historical data on these three sororities.

Although three decades had passed from the founding of Pi Beta Phi in 1867 to the beginning of Chi Omega in 1895, the status of women had, in fact, changed very little. There was some progress made in terms of accessibility to higher education, but women continued to be the exception, not the rule, in the classroom. As the status of women remained basically the same, the study hypothesizes that the reasons for founding sororities should be very similar across this time period. A wealth of data covering the decades will provide insight on issues of organizational structure, goals and values, that may be viewed from a sociohistorical perspective.

A review of each sorority's history involved a content analysis of historical documents, as well as written histories, commissioned and noncommissioned. The University of Illinois' archives were used to obtain early documents pertaining to the National Panhellenic Conference sororities. Conflicts between later and earlier histories will be examined in terms of organizational changing and refocusing of goals.

Founded on idealism in the pursuit of knowledge, both black and white sororities support similar concepts of scholarship and community service. This research will focus on issues of organizational structure holding gender and race constant.

Fraternities and black sororities frequently parallel white sororities. However, for methodological reasons, given the nature of available data and constraints of sample size, it is not possible to focus on both gender and race. For white males, the right to a university education was never questioned. Fraternities were never established by virtue of the need to legitimize the white male's existence on university campuses, nor to provide support for learning. For black women, the need was to establish sororities as a minority within a minority to provide support and legitimacy for the attainment of higher education. However, access to historical documents of the black sororities is limited, making an historical analysis difficult, if not impossible. As the study encompasses a time frame in which organizations were segregated along racial lines, there can be no examination of black/white interaction within the sorority framework.

Significance

Greek organizations have played an important and active role in collegiate life since Phi Beta Kappa was founded in 1776. They have provided a social structure for students, and at times, given living accommodations, academic support, and instilled in students a sense of community responsibility. For an organization to expand from a few members with one chapter to a national (or North American) network encompassing a myriad of chapters in only a few decades may be viewed as a mark of significance in itself. Tracing the development

of the three sororities in figures from 1905-1930 gives numerical significance to the role sororities play in the lives of college women. Chi Omega went from 20 chapters in 1905 to 88 in 1930, a gain of 68 chapters. Membership rolls soared from 1,000 to 17,000. Kappa Alpha Theta started with 27 chapters in 1905, increasing to 59 by 1930. The actual gain in numbers was 12,500, going from 3,500 to 16,000. Pi Beta Phi increased during this 25-year span from 36 to 76 chapters, with a corresponding increase in members from 4,500 to 20,000 (Martin, 1931).

The literature outlines the development of Scholarship Endowments that enabled many students to graduate who might not otherwise have had the chance and enabled still others to go on to graduate programs. The issue of Chapter Housing which became a major focus of fraternities during the 1920s is an example, not only of how the organizational structure expanded, but of how members were able to take responsibility for the purchasing of real property and implement financing and maintenance plans.

During the years of World War I, sorority chapters focused on war service activities, donating time, money and energy. Within the context of the era, it is doubtful a group of young women would have been able to provide such a concerted effort apart from the structure of an organization already established and respected. The same may be said of other undertakings of social service work, as well as the large vocational networks sororities provided for their members.

Summary

Both the statistics themselves, as well as the fact that contemporary members and alumnae take such an ardent interest in preserving their history and upholding the ideals and goals of the generations long past support the proposition that sororities are indeed significant organizations.

Given the numbers of women belonging to these organizations, it is difficult to understand why sororities have been so often neglected in sociological research. Speculation on this neglect centers on the biases and values of sociologists who typically oppose elitism. Frequently viewed as an elite group, sororities failed to capture the attention of sociologists. Elements of social organization, community service, and the sense of belonging to an entity greater than the self are generally overlooked. These are exactly the elements examined through sociohistorical perspective in this study.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Dearth of Literature

Sororities have been a neglected area in sociology. A review of the literature revealed little, if any, information in scholarly publications on the early beginnings and organization of sororities. Aside from internal documents and Greek publications like Banta's Greek Exchange and Ida Shaw Martin's The Sorority Handbook, there is virtually nothing to be found.

As the Greek system expanded after World War II, scholarly research begins to appear. Much of this literature addresses questions of scholarship, housing and mate selection to name a few topics. More recent articles in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s discuss race relations, alcohol/drug abuse, eating disorders, ethnicity, scholarship and self-esteem. These subjects, while important and certainly worthwhile, do not address the central issue of this research; the organization and evolution of sororities.

It should be noted that although more articles and books are being published about fraternities and sororities, few, if any are written by sociologists. Most of the literature is written by higher education administrators who are actively involved with sorority and fraternity members on their respective campuses.

Historical Literature

The major portion of literature available for this study is from the archives of Kappa Alpha Theta, located at the University of Illinois, Urbana. The archives of Kappa Alpha Theta are more extensive and complete than those of Pi Beta Phi or Chi Omega. No less than 57 issues of the fraternity publication (bearing the same name) chronicle Kappa Alpha Theta's emergence as a significant organ of fraternity life from its first appearance in 1885. Therefore, the Kappa Alpha Theta is used as the main example for the development of the women's fraternity structure. Expansion of the fraternity and changes in its organizational structure are paralleled by the two other Greek societies examined, Chi Omega and Pi Beta Phi.

This should not reflect any level of importance granted to one organization over the other. The reason for this device is that it allows the history of the sorority to evolve through the words of the women who played an active role in it at the time. The literature of all three sororities is included in this section. Each one possesses a unique style and personality of its own. Through examining form and content, one can see how the three women's Greek letter societies emerged along parallel lines and how each through its journal expressed a distinctive character. In addition to the unique quality of each culture, individual elements of style and manner are readily observable among members of the same organization.

Population Ecology Model

The population ecology model tries to explain the process of change as an organization evolves to become more compatible with its environment. It has its basis in the Darwinian theory of natural selection and suggests that organizational change may be explained by the examination of the type and distribution of resources within an organization's environment. Environmental forces demand that organizational activities be centered on competing for resources. This, in turn, makes the strategies and tactics paramount as authorities strive to manage their environment and their organizations (Aldrich, 1979, pp. 27-28).

Natural selection in the biological world involves the selection of those best suited for survival. The population ecology model states the same is true for organizations in that variations occur and are selected and retained based on their ability to ensure the organization's survival and growth within its environment. From this process organizations identify and exploit niches within their environment. These niches combine resources to provide support for an organization.

The population ecology model details three stages in the change process: variation, selection, and retention. The first of these three stages of organizational change is variation. Variation occurs within and between organizations and across environments. Such variations may be planned or unplanned since the population ecology model is indifferent to the origins of the variations (Aldrich, 1979,

p. 28).

Variations between organizations differentiate overall forms: bureaucratic versus non-bureaucratic or formal versus informal (Aldrich, 1979, p. 35). With the introduction of new organizations, variations are likely to occur as exposure to new ideas and views bring about change within existing organizations. Growth within an organization forces variation as organizations seek to meet the challenges of complexity and control (Aldrich, 1979, p. 29).

As sororities began to grow, the organizations sought ways to meet the demands of expanded membership and chapters. Kappa Alpha Theta, founded in 1870, recognized this challenge at its first convention in 1876. At this convention, the fledgling sorority further solidified its organizational structure. Successive conventions continued to bolster the organizational framework of the fraternity. By 1885 Kappa Alpha Theta had grown sufficiently to warrant a magazine and in June, 1885, Kappa Alpha Theta was first published. This magazine was a communication vehicle for all its members, both active and alumnae.

The second stage in the population ecology model is selection. During this stage organization forms are either selected to survive, fail or change to meet the requirements within their environment (Aldrich, 1979, p. 40). If the environment demands a bureaucratic organization, those will be chosen over non-bureaucratic organizations (Aldrich, 1979, p. 29).

Environments are characterized by the resources or information

they provide to organizations. Information involves perception, cognition and decision-making by organization members, who have gathered said information from often incomplete examinations of their environment. Organizational change is explained by variations in environmental information perceived by members and filtered through their lens of perception (Aldrich, 1979, p. 29).

Organizations compete for resources within their environment. Those organizations which can compete most satisfactorily for these resources will be selected by the environment to survive. Others will fail or change to better compete for the limited resources and thus, fit their particular environmental niche (Aldrich, 1979, p. 40).

The most important resource for sororities is members. Without members the organization would cease to exist. Sororities recognize the importance of recruiting new members and spend a lot of time, money and energy during Rush. During the early period, there was a heavy emphasis upon growth in the number of national sororities, number of individual sorority chapters and members. From 1870 to 1900 the number of national sororities grew from three to eighteen (National Panhellenic Conference Manual, p. 7). In just fifteen years (1870-1885), Kappa Alpha Theta grew from its original chapter to fourteen undergraduate chapters. From the July, 1891 convention the first alumnae chapter of Kappa Alpha Theta was formed. It was during this convention that Kappa Alpha Theta began to concern itself with better as opposed to more chapters (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1891, July,

pp. 14-15).

Retention is the third and last stage in the population ecology model. Organizational forms are retained based on environmental factors that first selected the forms, structure or activity (Aldrich, 1979, p. 48). There is pressure towards stability within the organization, which leads to the retention of successful activities that have worked in the past. For sororities the organizational form of recruiting new members, Rush, has been retained. The recruitment and socialization of new members ensure the continuation of the structure through the transmission of the organizational culture (Aldrich, 1979, p. 49). It is through the process of selective retention that the organizational form is maintained.

Population Ecology Analysis

These changes in demographics necessitate the restructuring of the organization to accommodate multiple chapters, but they called for a governing body with administrative skills. To quote from the Kappa Alpha Theta of May, 1907: "We want more intelligent interest brought to bear with assumption of office" (p. 244). At the time it was suggested that officers be selected from those alumnae who possessed a keen business sense, and whose lives were not so demanding that the needs of the sorority should take second place. Inevitably it was proposed that offices should become professional positions to ensure the quality of organizational leadership. Particularly in financial matters, more than energy and zeal were needed. The need

for professional staff was brought about by the changes within the culture and its place in the greater society. For example, the need for chapter housing necessitated advice from legal and banking professionals from the start. Under professional leadership, the ownership of real property became a significant source of wealth--and of pride--to the sororities.

Another correlate of population ecology is the principle of isomorphism (or convergence) cited by Hawley. As he wrote in 1968 (Hannan & Freeman, 1977),

organization units must submit to standard terms of communication and to standard procedures in consequence of which they develop similar internal arrangements within limits imposed by their prospective sizes. (p. 185)

Kappa Alpha Theta, Chi Omega and Pi Beta Phi did not all emerge at exactly the same time nor did they grow at the same pace. The literature reflects different perspectives. Comparing the Kappa Alpha Theta with the Eleusis, the former maintained a more inward focus in terms of sorority issues, while the latter looked more to woman's place in the greater society. Yet all three were forced by environment to seek uniformity if they all were to survive.

Competition, to Hawley (Hannan & Freeman, 1977), is seen as a strong determinant of patterns of social organization. Now sororities were competing for the increasing number of female students on college campuses. However, if the number of women's fraternities was increasing as well, would there still remain an unlimited number of suitable women to choose from? Standards of scholarship were not

to be diminished or abandoned in the quest for new members, nor was strength of character. Had that been the case, it would have meant not a shift in goals, but a betrayal. In Hawley's paradigm of competition, the first stage is that the demand for resources (in this case, acceptable members) exceeds the supply. This problem is dealt with in stage two. In stage two, "competitors become more similar as standard conditions of competition bring forth a uniform response" (p. 187). In this stage, such measures must be taken to ensure the organization's success. If not, the result is clearly defined in stage three: "selection eliminates the weakest competitors" (p. 187).

As previously noted, this time period (1870-1930) was one of marked change in the history of America. Sororities began in an environment which questioned women's legitimacy in higher education, and this study concludes a decade after women had become, with the right to vote, recognized as full citizens. The population ecology model states that organizations must adapt to their environment to survive. Sororities adopted behaviors which allowed them to meet the challenges presented to them.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

"In founding a fraternity there must be a central idea, around which fact and fancy must be grouped," were the words of Dr. Richardson, addressing the Convention of 1908 (Chi Omega, 1928, p. 13). With the central idea and the central governing body established, the structure is ready to undergo the next phase of its evolution. Expansion had already begun, however slowly, and this necessitated certain changes. Martin (1925) felt that new offices were necessary once the number of chapters exceeded 20. Beyond this point, she asserted, "the task of welding so many separate units into an harmonious whole becomes a serious problem" (p. 24). For the organization to function smoothly, it was also mandatory that no officer find herself overwhelmed with more work than she could satisfactorily accomplish. This assured not only that her own job was carried out efficiently but that no area of sorority business should be neglected.

This situation is hardly unique to the Greek society structure. Writing on the need for organization, Michels (1962) stated:

As organization develops, not only do the tasks of the administration become more difficult and more complicated, but, further, its duties become enlarged and specialized to such a degree that it is no longer possible to take them all in at a single glance. (p. 43)

The College Chapter Handbook of Kappa Alpha Theta (1930) used

the words wise administration. Without this phenomenon, the organization would falter. The publication of the Handbook itself was an example of enlargement and specialization. The functions of each office were detailed. Committees were outlined and policies elaborated. Standards of scholarship and behavior were presented, along with regulations on Rushing, the procedure by which new members are selected. Such an extensive document would have been wholly unnecessary in the sorority's early days. Under the Population Ecology Model, structural changes were necessary to accommodate growth (Hannan & Freeman, 1977).

Document Study

This research used historical documents to understand and define the origin and growth of sororities. Historical records include sorority publications such as magazines and newsletters, as well as minutes from conventions, written histories, scrapbooks, personal correspondence, song books and membership rolls. Historical texts such as Ida Shaw Martin's The Sorority Handbook were also used. The archives at the University of Illinois are the primary location for these records.

Historical documents provide the only means by which to study this sixty year time period 1870-1930, since most early members are deceased. No founders of the twenty-six National Panhellenic Conference sororities are still alive. Thus, the research is dependent upon the records left by these early sorority women and cannot be

done by any other method.

Since this is a study of a sixty year period, historical records provide for longitudinal analysis. In so doing, trends can be identified without concern for bias on the part of the interviewer or interviewee. For example, a review of sorority growth patterns shows slower growth in the early years followed by more rapid growth as the number of women attending institutions of higher education grew and sororities became more commonplace on campuses.

Document study has the advantage of little or no reactivity. This is especially true since the sorority documents were written for members not social science research. It is extremely unlikely that the authors of these early documents anticipated being studied by social scientists and, therefore, were not concerned with feeling unnatural, self-conscious or like a "guinea pig" (Bailey, p. 303).

However, this does not mean document study is void of bias, (being quite vulnerable to selective survival bias), but the data collection method does not change the data being collected, since the method is used long after the participants have died (Bailey, p. 303). Selective survival bias is quite evident in this research, in terms of how the three sororities were chosen for the study. They were selected simply because these sororities had the most documents in the archives at the University of Illinois. The research draws heavily upon Kappa Alpha Theta because this sorority had by far, the most documentation of any sorority in the archives. Historical documents relate the spontaneous feelings and actions of

the writer. These are recorded as they occur and as the author is inspired to write. They are not dependent upon the respondent answering researcher's questions within a given time frame (Bailey, p. 304). The historical records provide a flavor of how sorority life was. Descriptions of housing and accompanying photographs, allow a glimpse of communal sorority living at the turn of the century and into the early part of the twentieth century. Personal accounts of the fire, which during the morning of November 19, 1914, destroyed the Kappa Alpha Theta house at the University of Illinois, allow the modern reader a feel for the anguish of these now homeless young women. It also provides a look at the practical mind set of these women, as they systematically attempted to save as many possessions as possible (Kappa Alpha Theta History, Photograph Album 1895-1925).

A happier illustration of the spontaneity of document study involves the selection of the fraternal colors of Chi Omega. When Jobelle Holcombe, a young girl of just 18 and one of the founders, was asked by a fraternity boy the colors of Chi Omega she answered with crushed plum and olive. These were chosen "Because they were the ugliest colors we (Jean Vincenheller) found" (Eleusis, 1993, p. 10). Fortunately, for future Chi Omega members these colors were never official with cardinal and straw the designated colors. Cardinal is the color of the University of Arkansas, where Chi Omega was founded with the complementary color of straw selected by the Mother or first chapter, Psi. The fun-loving nature of Jobelle

Holcombe and Jean Vincenheller and their delight in Chi Omega shine through in this story.

Historical data collection is relatively inexpensive. In the case of this research, travel costs to the archives at the University of Illinois were modest. For the most part, the documents at the archives were of high quality written by professional writers or at the very least educated, articulate women.

The use of historical documents does have some disadvantages. Bias exists in these records as they were not written for social research, but rather for the information, education and entertainment of sorority members, both active and alum. Sorority publications put forth a positive, self-enhancing image. Conflicts may be glossed over, making it impossible for the current researcher to ascertain how serious or divisive an issue was to the organization.

Selective survival is a disadvantage in document study. As previously stated the sororities studied were a function of the quantity of material at the archives. However, some of the material was crumbling and yellowing with age, making research difficult. There were incomplete collections, as for example, minutes of a given convention or Inter-Sorority Council might be missing. The challenge to the researcher is to gather enough material to provide a thorough understanding of the subject.

In studying historical documents it is important to note there is a tendency to view and evaluate the past by the present. Such bias must be kept in check if meaningful research is to be done.

This is particularly true with personal documents where the goal is to obtain detailed information about how a social situation appears to the individuals involved and the significance attached to them (Gottschalk, p. 178). The 1905-1909 scrapbook of Louise J. Pellens, a Pi Beta Phi, who attended and graduated from the University of Illinois contains numerous dance cards, filled with boys names. It also contains other party mementoes, presenting a picture of a fun-loving coed with an emphasis on the word fun. Evaluating the owner of the scrapbook by 1990s standards, one might conclude the author to be a rather frivolous woman, lacking in ambition, whose primary goal was to secure a suitable husband. However, evaluated by 1907 standards the behavior is quite normal as women's career options, although expanding, still were limited. The expectation was for a woman to marry and her position in life would be tied to that of her husband, so this coed's behavior may be viewed as quite normal given the societal pressures for marriage.

Studying individual sororities gives a partial picture of the sorority movement. To gain a better understanding sororities in total must be studied. This presents a challenge to the researcher, since the first Inter-sorority Conference was held in Chicago on 24 May, 1902. Over half a century had passed since the founding of the first sorority in 1851 until this conference. During these decades, sororities were concerned with establishing themselves locally and then on a national level. Organizational structure i.e. constitutions, by-laws had to be developed and members needed to be

recruited. So much organizational work was required during these early years that there was little time or energy left for an inter-sorority organization.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

General History

In an article titled "An Investigation of Women's Fraternities," Edith Rickert quoted a fraternity woman as stating, "The university endeavors to graduate a student--the fraternity a significant, unselfish gracious woman" (Goodsell, 1923, p. 270). The year was 1910, and 260 chapters of Greek letter fraternities had been organized for women, their combined membership totalling nearly 50,000. It had only been a few decades since universities had endeavored to graduate women students at all. Colleges and universities had originally been all-male bastions and thus all-male fraternities had evolved. This being the case, there had actually been no specific bylaws excluding women. Even earlier than the time the first sorority charters were being drawn up, a few precedent-setting women had made their way into men's Greek letter organizations. The first such instances were unauthenticated although anecdotal evidence points to them as fact. In June, 1861, the Wabash chapter of Beta Theta Pi men's fraternity was said to have initiated two women, Emma Bennett and Celia Croker of the nearby Waveland Collegiate Institute, to be welcomed and active members of their society (Johnson, 1972).

Other such instances have been documented, such as that of Lucy

Pattie, who was initiated into Sigma Alpha Epsilon. The circumstances of her acceptance are interesting. Her initiation took place at Kentucky Military Institute during the Civil War. While the men were at war, Pattie carefully guarded the fraternity's ritual and other secret papers. Exactly what role she took after the war is not documented; however, she was reported to be a full member until her death in 1922, "honored at special functions and held in the highest esteem" (p. 57).

The phenomenon of Lucy Pattie's arrival as a full-fledged fraternity member is an example of the way in which history and environment affect organizational culture. However, her circumstances were so unique they could hardly be applied to the majority of women of her time. Chronicling the events that led to the creation of all-women fraternities, Ida Shaw Martin wrote in 1907 of the hostility women faced in higher education, particularly in coeducational institutions. In her eyes, sororities served the purpose of being a "protective league through which the members endeavored by united action to secure recognition for themselves as a vital part of college life" (Martin, 1907, p. 47).

A few women had been invited to wear the insignia of a particular men's Greek letter organization, but reluctantly declined when they discovered the badge was to be little more than a token. Bettie Locke was one such woman student. A sister of one of the members of Phi Gamma Delta at DePauw University, she was offered the insignia of her brother's organization. When chapter members rejected her claim

to a full voice in membership, she withdrew from the fraternity. In 1870, Bettie Locke became one of the founders of Kappa Alpha Theta. It was necessary, she decided, for women to have their own Greek letter societies in order to prevail in campus life.

Ida Shaw Martin (1907) described very succinctly the circumstances that engendered such a decision.

Misunderstood in the classroom, shut out from participation in the literary and debating societies organized by the men, unrecognized in the social life that crystallized around the fraternities, the few who were courageous enough to brave outspoken ridicule or veiled slur were sadly in need of the moral support that the sorority could give. (p. 47)

In an extreme example of the prevalent male attitude, the appearance of the first woman student at the University of Michigan in 1872 so angered the men that many of them discussed leaving that facility of higher learning in pursuit of another (Dodge, 1930).

In a discussion on the need for organization, Robert Michels spoke of the proletariat. He described the group as the "weakest element of our society," totally isolated in the face of those elements who are stronger. The importance and influence of this class, he asserted, are in direct proportion to its numerical strength (Michels, 1962). Examining the university as a microcosm of the society in which it exists, one can easily see the women of the late-19th century/early-20th century as the proletariat or underclass, albeit an affluent and [potentially] educated underclass. Clearly an organization was required. In general terms, fraternity women maintained that "organization is the best means of accomplishing any good purpose" (Tannahill, p. 314). For the Founders of the three

women's fraternities analyzed in this paper and their contemporaries, simply making women feel welcome in an unsympathetic, inhospitable environment was a good--if not excellent--purpose in itself.

Organizational Basis

In her investigation, Edith Rickert quoted sorority members as saying the fraternity woman "develops individuality and power to lead" (Goodsell, 1923, p. 271). Of the first generation of fraternity women it may be said that each one was a leader. Surely Bettie Locke possessed all the qualities necessary to lead, as did the eminent Ida Pace Purdue of Chi Omega. At the time these women attended college or graduated into alumnae groups, they were not so much leading other members as they were leading themselves amid the society of men.

There is no question that the women's fraternity structure was based on that already established by men. However, even when men's organizations boasted only a few members, they were still the product of a totally different environment. One criticism of Greek letter organizations has been--and remains--that they are elite societies. In the case of women this is ironic. How can societies of women be labeled elite or elitist when women were, in fact, the underclass? In order to emerge from this unfortunate position it was necessary to establish a culture in which leadership played a definite role, while at the same time individual members were not to feel they were excluded from any decision-making policy.

Perhaps the label elite is inevitable in a society in which secrecy and ritual are an integral part. However, an organization must have its distinction. Once the culture has evolved, that distinction can be marked by its achievement, both on the group level and by the singular accomplishments of its members. Before that can happen, the distinction may have to be purely symbolic. Chi Omega evoked the Eleusinian mysteries of the worship of Demeter and Persephone. This adoption of ritual can be regarded on a serious spiritual level and on a playful level as well. On a less than serious note, Founder Jobelle Holcombe (1993) told her own story of inspiration:

We were just ordinary school girls...Most of the talk of [gentlemen callers] was fraternity talk. The men were most mysterious about their affairs and we women were sorry we couldn't match them. So three of us said we'd organize a sorority of our own and we said we had a badge and secrets, but we didn't. The only secret was we didn't have any secrets. (p. 10).

Anecdotes such as this serve to point out that humor and playfulness were always a part of the women's fraternities. These two qualities were no doubt strong points which enabled the women to persist in their achievement of their goals and to offer support and encouragement to others. One recalls the argument of Bertha Broomell of Kappa Alpha Theta asserting in 1894 (when that sorority had been in existence for 24 years) that secrecy in itself was useless and thus should leave room for the higher developments of fraternity life. At that point in Theta history, this was a viable point of departure. However, in the time and place of Jobelle Holcombe and

her role in the history of Chi Omega, secrecy was an important element in securing the organization.

There is also an element of humor in the way the first officers of Chi Omega came to power. At the first meeting held on 6 April, 1895, the day after Dr. Richardson met with the women in Holcombe's parlor and saw his charter approved, the sorority's officers were selected. The names of the offices were put into a hat and each Founder drew a slip proclaiming the office she was to hold. At the second meeting, the mysteries of initiation first appeared. Subsequently, 10 additional women were offered membership. They were considered to be excellent models of the young women at the University of Arkansas. Five were initiated later in April, and the remaining five in May. Ironically, two of the Founders were never initiated.

Shortly after, the women of Chi Omega began to discuss the goals of the organization and its meaning to them as college-educated women. Foremost in these discussions were "the idea of trained intelligence, the principle of social obligations, and social responsibility" (1993, p. 12). As the literature reflects, the ideals of the founding members were never abandoned or diminished by subsequent generations.

As was common among sororities of the day, the chapter of Chi Omega maintained a small membership. There was talk of adding new chapters on other college campuses; however, at this time the members did not have the contacts or expertise necessary to effect this type

of expansion. The existing chapter continued to have weekly meetings which included group readings of articles from fraternity magazines, studying parliamentary law, detailed reading of the Chi Omega Constitution, as well as the presentation of literary material. Financial matters were attended to as needed.

During the first two years of Chi Omega, the Ritual and Constitution were reviewed to determine if changes were necessary. They were revised in accordance with the direction in which the sorority was developing. Still in possession of only one chapter, this is an early reflection of changes deemed necessary to ensure the organization's survival. Ida Pace Purdue and Jobelle Holcombe were given credit for the first amendment to the Constitution and Ritual.

In the fall of 1898, expansion was a significant issue. Alumnae and undergraduate members met for the first time to elect national officers, giving them full authority to grant charters and establish chapters in accordance with the Constitution. Chi Omega was now a full-fledged fraternity with complete organizational structure and one functioning unit. Additional units were now what was needed. After three and one half years, two new chapters were added to Chi Omega. Chi chapter in Nicholasville, Kentucky was installed in December, 1898, to be followed by the first Canadian chapter. Phi chapter at Hellmuth Women's College in London, Ontario was installed in February, 1899. It must be emphasized that the addition of both chapters was due greatly to the networking efforts of alumnae. This came about after what Dr. Richardson deemed Chi Omega's first

Convention.

Pi Beta Phi, as noted, was one of the earliest national fraternity for women, founded in April, 1867. By the time Kappa Alpha Theta made its debut as a Greek organization, three chapters of Pi Beta Phi had already been established. In addition to the first chapter of Pi Beta Phi founded at Monmouth College, chapters at Iowa Wesleyan University and Mt. Pleasant Seminary were installed in 1869. Coincidentally, September of 1870 saw the edition of a chapter at DePauw (Asbury) College, the place where Theta was founded as well. Thus at the point where the women's fraternity was a novel entity on the college campus, one university had two separate organizations, both with the goal of adding new members. According to Pi Beta Phi Founder Fannie Whitenack Libbey, secrecy was considered of the utmost importance. This is in direct agreement with Chi Omega Founder Jobelle Holcombe. During this early period of expansion, even the names of the chapters were kept secret. Letters and manuscripts of the time attest to this fact.

In its earliest beginning, Pi Beta Phi was not actually a Greek letter society, going under the name I.C. Sorosis. The traditional Greek letters were decided upon at the same time that committees were appointed to draft a Constitution and to nominate officers. In short, the organization was set up in virtually the opposite manner of Chi Omega. As there was no precedent to be had on the founding of such a society for women, this is not a surprising fact.

The Constitution of Pi Beta Phi changed little as the

organization evolved; this lack of radical change was seen as a factor to ensuring its success. The object of the organization, as set forth in the document, was to create strong but permeable bonds of friendship, provide what today we call moral support, and to try to make their own and the lives of others more positive. Virtue, charity and religion were three words used in that initial document. Their meaning was in no way dogmatic, for the purpose of the organization was to "enable any member to follow the dictates of her own conscience knowing that she will be upheld and encouraged in independence" (Arrow, 1936, p. 15). The flexibility inherent in the Constitution may be perceived as an important factor in its survival as the governing document, and in the success of the organization as a whole.

The offices put forward by the initial document were in the model of a traditional governing body: President, Vice President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer. All officers were to be elected by ballot, with the Recording Secretary holding office for six months while the other officers governed for a full year. This in itself set Pi Beta Phi apart from the other women's fraternities analyzed in this report. The number of offices decreed by the Constitution was, indeed, greater than the full original memberships of Kappa Alpha Theta and Chi Omega. The fact that one must look back on memberships numbering single digits serve to emphasize the conditions that contributed to their formation.

Despite the fact that Pi Beta Phi fraternity seemed destined for

steady expansion from its early days on, Conventions did not meet with regularity. Originally held every two years (like the Convention of Kappa Alpha Theta), the Convention met in 1872, then not for six years until 1878. A Convention was proposed for the mid-decade but was postponed due to problems with transportation. This was a common occurrence among all three fraternities in their early decades. Transportation problems were often cited as an obstruction to holding the Convention at the appointed time or location, or to the visits of a President to her chapters. There is no question that transportation of the period was primitive at best--the locomotive was still a new invention. For women traveling alone (that is, without the company of men), the attitude of others was an obstacle to be surmounted over and above the practical difficulties. Factors of poor transit combined with societal attitudes, worked to a degree to inhibit the rapid expansion of women's fraternities in their early days.

Adopted on 27 January, 1870, the Constitution of Kappa Alpha Theta was originally written in cipher. Once again the element of secrecy expresses itself literally and symbolically in the new organization. The original Constitution provided for only three officers: President, Secretary and Treasurer. In order to amend the Constitution or by-laws, it was designated that a vote of two-thirds of the members be required. The same was true for the removal of an officer. Compared to the Constitutions of the two other women's fraternities it was a relatively simple document. In this initial

document, the object of the society (Dodge, 1930) was set forth in the following terms:

The object of this society shall be to advance the interests of its members, to afford an opportunity for improvement in composition and debate and elocution, to cultivate those social qualities which become a woman, and to provide for its members associates bound by a common interest. (p. 25)

It was specifically stated that no one could become a member of the society who had already been a member of a similar secret society--a requirement interpreted to mean no man could become a member. However, Pi Beta Phi had a like clause in its own Constitution. One wonders at the coincidence of these two women's fraternities coexisting on the same college campus. The clause may have had an additional implied meaning that no woman could attempt to become a member of both or to learn the ritual of each one.

Under the subheading "Miscellaneous," it was decreed that "members shall be required to be present at each meeting unless previously excused by the president" (p. 27). This sentence in itself stands as a point of departure. An organization in which each member answers directly to its leader is one obviously at its very beginning stages. Each organization in its own way spoke of leadership and independence, scholarship and vocational goals. Yet at the same time each one spoke of those qualities becoming a woman. In terms of the social and civic work which ultimately became an integral part of each fraternity and its alumnae groups, one may infer that these were the qualities being addressed. In fact, much of the literature, particularly that of the period 1910-1920 refer to it directly. At

the time of the Constitutions, however, this era was yet to emerge. The fact that aims of advancement and independence must be clothed in the language of feminine qualities and social graces serve to support the theory that early sororities were needed to play a protective role, or in the words of Ida Shaw Martin, provide a humanizing agency.

Kappa Alpha Theta

Early Beginnings

The earliest literature in the report is the first issue of the Kappa Alpha Theta, published in June, 1885. The introduction begins with the words, "The year 1885 marks an era in Theta history. Now for the first time, we take our place in the ranks of the Greeks as journalists" (p. 3). There is a humility in the words, "when we consider what has been accomplished by our predecessors we are a little distrustful of our own ability" (p. 3) that one would be hard-pressed to find in a collegiate magazine published today. In fact, one wonders if a magazine put out by a men's Greek society of the same era would have shown the same deference. Women had only been attending college for a short time then; even the right to vote was still a long way off. Evolving sisterhood was still in its earliest stages. There is a definite sense of history in a passage noting that "We now even hear of an intercollegiate magazine" (p. 3), one more item that any college woman today takes for granted.

The authors of the introduction set forth their goals of

wishing to hear from each sorority chapter in order to "learn something of the aims, objects and ideas" (p. 4) of each one, and about the distinctive colleges in which each chapter is located. Literary merit is not to be neglected, and the issue includes a page of poetry along with informative prose.

To the contemporary reader, the most interesting piece is the "History of Kappa Alpha Theta" by Fannie Pratt (pp. 5-6). The "ladies' secret society" was founded in January 1870, by Mrs. Hamilton of Greencastle, Indiana who drew up the Constitution and made the initial plans for Kappa Alpha Theta, which was to have chapters in the best institutions of higher learning. The author notes that Mrs. Hamilton was aided by her father in this endeavor, and that this was the first society for women founded on the same principles as the Greek societies of men. The environment in which women grew up and sought their higher education at the time is made clear in the following passage:

But as has been the custom in all ages, the progressive spirit of women seeks, as soon as it may, to tread the paths, broken indeed by her brother in his manly ability to cope with more primitive forms and ruder phases, toiling as she climbs to step as firmly and pluck as many flowers by the way. (p. 5)

The spirit seems to be something of a fledgling self-confidence. Women have the ability to seek and gather knowledge, to progress and succeed, yet there had been so little precedent they must follow the examples of men. No doubt at the time, this in itself was a revolutionary idea. At the time of Pratt's writing, there were fourteen active chapters of the first women's fraternity. The number of

active members was approximately 150. One hundred fifty female voices among so many baritones unquestionably had to struggle to be heard.

The first convention was held in 1876, six years after the organization was founded, at Greencastle, Indiana. At this first convention, the structure of the organization was further solidified. With each successive convention, new measures were added to strengthen and expand the burgeoning fraternity.

The Sixth Biennial Convention of Kappa Alpha Theta was the one described in detail in the first literary issue (1885). A list was presented of the representatives who attended from twelve chapters, leaving two chapters unrepresented. The author, Mamie Hudson, began first with a poetic description of the campus itself, noting with particular pride the library and its Shakespearean department, for which a special course was offered. The tone of the article is one of optimism and anticipation. There is no doubt from reading Hudson's prose that she found herself in the midst of something new and exciting. The new journal was a source of achievement, as was the growth of the organization. In the author's words, "enthusiasm, energy and withal a loyal feeling of love for Theta assured the present prosperity of the fraternity and promised a bright and progressive future" (p. 16).

From that first issue of July, 1885 to the fourth issue of April, 1886, there is a noticeable change in format. Much more attention is given to individual chapters. There are fewer entries

under "Chapter Correspondence," but whole articles are devoted to the views of one or two chapters. Alumnae Letters had been added as well, to be read along with the Alumnae Notes which had been an included feature from the start.

The issue of April, 1887, included "A Delegate's Account" (pp. 46-54) of the Seventh Biennial convention. It begins with the young women deciding upon the proper dress "to make the best possible appearance on all occasions" (p. 46). That much has not changed a great deal since it was written a century ago. However, at the time, formality was more of a convention than it is now, and making an impression carries more significance for a type of organization that is still in its initial phase of acceptance, as opposed to one with widespread popularity and respectability, as the sororities of today. A description of a ride on a rickety conveyance also serves to invoke the bygone era of early sisterhood. The authors also relate the cordial welcome they received at Hanover College, Indiana, where they met with the professors and were escorted by them through various departments. This probably had great importance to women in an era where many were ignored or disdained by college professors.

In contrast to the gracious attitudes of the professors, a future issue of Kappa Alpha Theta Journal discussing "Higher Education of Women" (1890, January) refers to an article printed and reprinted in no less than three publications whose writer stated that higher education "literally unsexes and disqualifies woman for her palpable duties," a statement the author describe as "not a startling because

a perfectly familiar note" (p. 3).

The author writing for Kappa Alpha Theta (1890), criticized the "false result" that often accompanied womens' education of the period, that is, endowing the recipient with a "passing fame or empty honor" (p. 3) that ultimately isolated her from her less educated peers. However, she is careful to attribute this result to the fact that higher education for women was a new concept, and thus subject to the troublesome adaptation of a new idea. The words she used to express her own feelings on the higher education of women are no less significant today than they were a century ago:

It seems to me that the first consideration in acquiring a liberal education is less to form a store house of facts than to attain to the best control of all our faculties, to acquire the power of discernment and perception, to teach us how to think. Incidentally to such mental discipline, a liberal education will furnish a large amount of knowledge, enough to open up measureless avenues of thought and study.
(p. 3)

Her words take on a prophetic note, as she concludes with the following passage:

Year by year the college girl feels more easy in her position, and when, at last, she feels that she is no longer remarkable from the mere fact of a course of study in a university, we shall indeed have a glorious womanhood represented by the college woman freed from the eccentricities, affectations and self-consciousness, conspicuous in the past, not wholly extirpated today. (p. 3)

The "Chapter Correspondence" of the issue included greetings "to the babies" (p. 11), two new chapters which had been added that year to the fraternity.

The issue of July, 1891 featured a segment on "The Ideal Theta." Loyalty was a major issue emphasized in the piece, for the Theta

should have a deep love for her fraternity, viewing it as "the one thing to be worked for, outside her Church and her College" (p. 3). In the context of empowering sisterhood, this emphasis is of no small significance. Loyalty to one's brothers has always been an important matter for men of stature, within the Greek structure as well as in the larger society. This has been true of virtually every known society throughout history. Women, on the other hand, were expected to be loyal primarily to those within the traditional family structure. For a woman to choose allegiance to a goal-oriented culture was indeed a revolutionary act. The Ideal Theta was defined in terms of her synthesis of intellectual and social qualities. Once again, the importance of intellect in the model for which we can all try, and be the better for it marked a turning point in the ways more women were beginning to view themselves and their sisters.

Beginning with the issue of October, 1891, there is a noticeable expansion in the amount of pages dedicated to Chapter Correspondence and Alumnae News. In October (1891), 11 pages are devoted to these subjects. This expands to 22 pages of Chapter and Personal News the next year (1892, October), and to 29 pages in April, 1893. By the Kappa Alpha Theta of October, 1893, approximately one half the issue contains Chapter Letters, Personals, Obituaries, and exchanges, or what may commonly be called gossip. This is an interesting phenomenon, in light of the earlier issues concentration on the development of the intellect and of the women's fraternity itself. In fact, the earliest of these particular issues (1891, October) featured an

article on "The College Settlement," beginning with the words, "It is clear that ours is an age in which 'social needs exist'" (p. 3).

The feature deals with the College Settlement of Rivington Street, New York City, the inspiration of Clara French, former student of the University of Vermont and graduate of Wellesley. While studying in England, Miss French developed the idea of establishing a settlement in the United States along the lines of Toynbee Hall, London. Her original target was Boston, but Miss French died before the plan could be accomplished. Two years later, the plan was picked up by her friends, who chose a section of New York City "more densely populated than the densest quarter of London" (p. 3). The people to benefit from the settlement were "for the most part of foreign birth, German and Irish, and of late years Jewish refugees." This is the first feature article to appear in the publication which addresses itself directly to social needs and the "relation which we, as college men and women, should bear to that need" (p.3). The inclusion of men is significant as well, for social work was developing during that period as one of the few careers to which respectable women aspired.

The issue of October, 1892, included a biographical sketch of the philanthropic alumna, Clara French. Over all previous issues, this particular one had a definite feminist perspective. Included in the edition were an essay on "Womanliness," followed by essays entitled, "Women in the Arena of Reform," "Should Women Enter the Ministry?" and "Should Women Study Medicine?"

The Kappa Alpha Theta of April, 1893 was less devoted to professional concerns, in fact it was somewhat torn between parochial and broader issues. The spirit of Clara French is continued in an essay entitled "A Need for Justice, not Charity." However, much of the magazine relates to fraternity issues and friendships. The feature essay, "Mistakes of a College Girl's Fraternity Life" addresses itself to the sense of loneliness and even timidity the young woman may experience as she finds herself in the midst of the college campus for the first time. The author, a member of Epsilon Chapter, emphasizes the need to "broaden our ideas and lives, not narrow them" (p. 190). She emphasizes the importance of the fraternity women expanding their friendship to college women who are not part of Greek society life. This is the mistake addressed in the title: the tendency of the fraternity women to befriend only their own sisters, a tendency she refers to as the "mistake of offensive partisanship" (p. 190). The author's prose evokes the era in which social work and social awareness were beginning to emerge in the consciousness of educated women and men:

While we owe a sacred duty to our fraternity, yet in the college fraternity girl there is a heart large enough and loving enough to go out in a sweet helpfulness to all those with whom she may come in contact.

And right here it seems to me that we so often fall short of one of the great aims of fraternity life, sometimes I think it is the great aim--helpfulness. (p. 190).

Helpfulness has long been regarded as one trait favorably associated with women. The author furthers this value after noting the way in which college men have benefitted from the spirit of their feminine

peers. Her final passage is of particular interest:

Dear girls, let righteous pride prevail in our hearts--we the women of today are the coming race--men from being our superiors are now only equals--shall they not soon own they are our inferiors in such lines as these? (p. 191).

Her words are echoed in the essay on "Fraternity Work" (1893, October, pp. 9-10), in which the author, a member of Psi Chapter, quotes Ruskin in his belief that, "Work is a thing done because it ought to be done and for a determined end" (p. 10). For the college fraternity woman, the determined end is:

to perfect our fraternity and by so doing, our own usefulness, to aid and influence others for good, to make our own characters true and noble, and to crown all with grand and glorious achievement! (p. 10).

It must be noted, however, that this edition of Kappa Alpha Theta marked the beginning of issues devoted exclusively to the organizational culture itself, with none of the career or social matters that appear to have reached a peak with the edition of October, 1892. The key to this occurrence may be found in the landmark Convention held on 1 July, 1891 in Burlington, Vermont (Dodge, 1930). This important convention provided for a reorganization of Kappa Alpha Theta sorority, a task that was only half-completed by the time the convention adjourned. Out of the meeting came the first Alumnae Chapter, the charter granted to Greencastle, and the first district convention. Upon the policy to be followed regarding new chapters, it was decided that what the organization needed to fulfill its goals was not so much more chapters as better chapters (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1891, July, pp. 14-15). The organization had finally "realized its

original ambition, to become a national fraternity" (Dodge, 1930, p. 243).

The Convention addressed itself to the "defects in our business organization", focusing on ways the structure might be improved. Motions were made to abolish the Grand Chapter, substituting instead, a form of governing that placed legislative and judiciary power in the hands of a body to be designated the Grand Council. A new financial system which replaced the cumbersome system of taxes with one annual assessment was also brought forth. In short the direction now taken by the Kappa Alpha Theta sorority was one in which to ensure maximum efficiency of the structural organization by recognizing the need for legislative, administrative, and financial revamping.

In keeping with the focus on improving the existing chapters rather than on indiscriminate expansion, no new chapters were added during the period 1893-1895 (Dodge, 1930). The issue of Kappa Alpha Theta, July, 1894, dealt exclusively with material relating to the improvement of the sorority. In a feature entitled "A Plea for Non-Secrecy," the author, Bertha Broomell of Swarthmore College, emphasized the fact that secrecy in itself is useless. As to this factor, she eloquently states:

In nature, as soon as an organ, a plant, an animal, loses its function, it dwindles away and becomes extinct; it no longer has a right to exist--it must give place to the useful things around it. So should secrecy, being without function, die and leave room for the higher developments of fraternity life. (p. 5)

This essay is, again, in accordance with the principles of

improvement to ensure the function and quality of the organization.

This theme is further reflected in the Kappa Alpha Theta of July, 1895, in an essay on "Organization Among College Women," a piece which begins with the words, "Men early learned the lesson that in union there is strength." As the author, Winifred Craine of Eta Chapter noted, the complexity of life itself dictated the necessity for men to have "banded together not only for self-protection and material advancement but in the interests of every line of activity which has engaged their attention" (p. 26). The era in which they now lived was frequently regarded as the club age. This description in itself is a telling factor in explaining why the sorority sisters felt the need to devote themselves to maintaining their voice as a cohesive unit. It was not to isolate themselves from the world at large, but to unite women with like goals. One such goal was the formation of the National Council of Women, composed at the time of writing (1895) of 17 national organizations. The existence of the national--and corresponding international--organization as well, were seen as a chance for women, particularly college-educated women, to expand their role in society and take their place in the forefront of social change.

The Convention of 1895 was regarded, along with 1891, as a significant conference (Dodge, 1930). Each chapter was advised to work toward the establishment of an intrafraternity agreement, the "first hint we have of college Panhellenics" (p. 244). A new passage was added to the Constitution, stating specific guidelines for new

groups seeking to apply for chapterhood. This was seen as a symbol of prestige by members of the sorority. Perhaps a toast proposed at the Convention is significant in the role of evolving sisterhood: Under the heading "The New Man," appears the quotation, "The old order changeth, yielding place to new" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1895, November, p. 10).

The Convention of 1897 served to further strengthen and unify the structure of Kappa Alpha Theta (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1897, November). An uniform initiation ritual was adopted and a committee on fraternity education was established. New charters were signed into being. The role of the "Travelling President" was analyzed in the journal (p. 10), as to how she assesses each chapter, thus contributing to the strength of the organization as a whole. The qualities required of the woman who assumes this position were detailed, ultimately described as the inspiration who would "make us do all in our power to attain the true Theta ideal" (p. 11).

In the journal issue of November, 1898, a section entitled "Wedding Bells" made its first appearance. Perhaps this is important in recognizing the fact that college women of the era did not have to remain unmarried in order to make their mark in the world. By January, 1899, District Conventions were given new importance, as was the question of having Travelling District Presidents. An essay on "Our Attitude to Non-Fraternity Girls" was somewhat of a departure from a previous article which addressed itself to this question (1893, April). By 1899, loyalty to one's sisters had become the

major priority. Time spent with non-sorority women may be time lost in giving friendship, love, and guidance to the women of the fraternity. Still, the author does not condone a narrow and exclusive existence, and expressed faith in her sisters that they would be able to balance loyalty with friendship and an open heart.

Later issues of the same year (1899, May; 1899, November) dealt with such issues as the Expansion Policy of Kappa Alpha Theta and with the business addressed by the 1899 Convention. This Convention marked the first time that the conference was hosted by a group of chapters (all those of Indiana) rather than by a single chapter (Dodge, 1930). To document the fact that the organization now had its place in history, the first National Archives were established at this time. The Convention was the theme of an article appearing in the issue of May, 1899. Before 1891, although the Convention existed as a governing body, in fact, the government of the fraternity remained in the hands of the Grand Chapter. At the time of writing, 1899, the Convention was a representative body, holding biennial meetings. The Grand Council, the officers of the fraternity, were elected by the Convention from among the alumnae. During session, the Convention had both legislative and judicial power, as well as control over financial matters and other issues of relevance. Between Convention, these powers revert to the Grand Council.

Thus, the governing system that had evolved was one that met the needs of the organization. In order to effect such changes of internal government, the members had to have a degree of political

awareness and sophistication. This in itself set them apart from many other women of their era. With such heightened awareness of government and organization culture, it was no wonder that suffrage and other political and social reforms played a good part in the ideals of the fraternity and alumnae members. The growing confidence of the organization as a complete entity was reflected in individual confidence among members. Looking back on Conventions past, the writers stated:

In reading over the minutes of the conventions one cannot but be impressed with the rapid growth and development of the fraternity. There is a self-confidence in the minutes of the latter years, to a certain degree lacking in those of earlier, more inexperienced times. (p. 191).

The start of the new century was marked by the report of the Educational Committee (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1900, January). Chapters which had achieved excellence according to an examination held in Spring, 1899, were duly congratulated. The goals and perspectives of the Educational Committee were outlined in detail in this issue. The Committee expressed its dedication to the advancement of "knowledge based solely upon the Fraternity" (p. 70). In historical perspective, this goal was extremely important; without the undertaking of this Committee and its successors, the archives would have been an empty shelf, and the organization would surely have foundered from lack of a firm foundation.

In an article entitled "What Qualities Should the Desirable Girl Possess" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1901, January), the author refers to a previous source that included the passage:

Many an unmarried girl is blind to the perfections of women, because she has never taken time to study them. Her horizon is bounded by masculine forms, and it is only when Sir Knight appears...that she discovers the beauty in her sisters, and realizes what opportunities for friendships she has lost forever. (p. 62)

This is no trivial point, for in order for women to be truly empowered, they must be aware of the wealth of friendship they can derive from each other. Character is the trait stressed by the author, "the center and source from which spring deeds and ideas" and which "demands a determination not to play at living but to live" (p. 62). Written in an era in which most women were still living in The Doll's House of Ibsen, the words take on great importance in terms of the role sorority women were now encouraging their sisters to portray in society. It may be because of this factor that the "Wedding Bells" section was so short lived; in fact, it disappears from the journal with the edition of 5 November, 1901.

The Convention of 1901 was one of significance in that admission requirements were broadened to allow for the initiation of other than liberal arts students (Dodge, 1930). This was in recognition of the fact that women were branching out into other areas of study and future employment. Colleges too, were growing noticeably in size during this time. The Convention voted to endorse smaller, more intimate chapters rather than larger chapters. As a matter of historical interest, a large chapter was seen to be one which had 20 members. The program concluded with a segment entitled "Tomorrow to fresh woods and pastures new" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 5 November, 1901, p. 16).

By the next year (5 November, 1902), the journal was replete with Inter-Fraternity news as well as proceeding from the Pan-Hellenic Conference, the Grand Council Meeting and the Grand Council Summer Session. The early turn of the century journal issues reflect a definite, strong, expanding organizational structure. For the first time, the journal is designated to go to each member of the alumnae chapters as well as those of the collegiate chapters (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1903, November). Once a year the publication will contain a complete register--complete with addresses--of all members of the sorority. Attention to details of cataloguing members, a change in the home of the archives and the growing number of applications for charter reflect the success of the organizational culture. The 1903 Convention heralded the establishment of an endowment fund as its most outstanding achievement, and was deemed an unquestionable success in the "amount of work accomplished, in its unity, interest, and attendance" (p. 9).

The Kappa Alpha Theta Catalogue, previously mentioned was a point of focus in the issue of 5 November, 1904. The cards not only listed the members' statistical information such as class and address, but the interests and qualifications of each one. The one negative note in an otherwise positive article, is the author's note of a significant number of women initiated into the sorority who left school before completing their college education. This was considered to be a serious matter demanding the attention of all the chapters. It could be that this had not been an uncommon occurrence

prior to 1904, but one that had not previously been documented. It seems a reflection of the fact that despite the optimism of the women of Kappa Alpha Theta and others, the female college student of this era was still subject to opposition from male classmates and professors as well as to doubts of self-worth. The latter problem is certainly one, which the support and friendship of sorority sisters could help alleviate.

The Growth Years: 1905-1915

The 1905 Convention, held at Swarthmore, saw the initiation of seven girls from the University of Toronto, who were then issued a charter (Dodge, 1930). Now the sorority could be said to encompass North America, not just the United States. Two years later an article (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1907, May) discussed the emergence of sororities in Canada. While men's fraternities had long been accepted on Canadian campuses, the attitude toward women's higher education in general was less liberal than it was in the U.S. As a result, there were few women to seek membership. However, it was assured, "every year the number increases, and every year the position of the college woman is improving" (p. 246).

As the Greek organizations expanded, new experiments were being made as well in Pan-Hellenic agreements (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1905, November). This particular contract dealt with the issue of rushing new members, often a controversial subject. The three aims of the contract were to decrease the effect of (1) publicity, (2) strain on

both freshmen and sorority members, and (3) expense. Not surprisingly, the latter was the least easily diminished. The purpose of reducing publicity was to reduce friction between sorority and non-sorority women, as well as reducing any criticism from professors and other university personnel. Addressing this matter shows maturity and understanding on the part of the fraternity women.

An article in the edition of November, 1906, is an interesting period piece on "Chi's Chapter House." While it does not bear directly on the history of the fraternity, it gives the reader a strong sense of the era in which it was written. When, in 1894, Chi Chapter moved into a cozy house on University Avenue, Kappa Alpha Theta had only been established five years on the campus of Syracuse University. From the struggle of maintaining themselves at their original residence, they moved to their present house on Irving Avenue: a fifteen-room house with a monthly installment plan of \$10.00 per month! The house rent of \$66.66 monthly, complete with utility expenses--not to mention half of the chaperon's salary--serves to increase the sense of historical perspective. As do the details of the chaperon's tasks, including the supervision of meals and of the two servants, a cook and a maid. Of the many "useful gifts" supplied by sorority members, were chairs, pictures, hangings, table linens, and even silver engraved with the fraternity monogram.

An outstanding point of interest at the 1907 Convention was the presence of two living Founders, Mrs. Hamilton and Mrs. Shaw. Mrs. Shaw wrote of the first convention, held in the fall of 1871, that

"we began to feel the need of a convention, but lack of numbers, lack of funds, and the necessity of keeping very quiet about everything we did made the problem a puzzling one" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1907, November, pp. 10-11).

No doubt the sisters in attendance, from all coasts of the United States and Toronto as well, found her words amusing in light of the sizable, financially sound, ever-expanding organization of which they themselves were a part. A recollection of the National Convention of 1889 also added to the sense of perspective. As the author of the reminiscence, Josephine Pittman Scribner (1889), concluded:

Maeterlinck says there is no past, that the fact that we remember it at all make it the present. Let us think then that whatever we love, whatever we admire, remains, and always will remain in our hearts, in the eternal lapses of ages, in the fame of achievements. (p. 13)

The Kappa Alpha Theta of January, 1909, marked the return of the "Wedding Bells" section, although now it was simply under the prosaic "Marriages." For the first time, a section on "Births" was included in the journal. The same year (1909, November) a memoriam marked the death of one of the fraternity's founders, Betty Tipton Lindsey, who died on 19 July, 1909. The memoriam contains the resolution "that we bear witness to her loyalty, her sterling character and her devotion to the ideals of her fraternity in which she never lost interest" (p. 5). Mrs. Tipton was also praised for her "charities and good deeds" (p. 6), two of the achievements to which fraternity women aspired.

The 1909 Convention addressed itself to the burgeoning size of the fraternity, which necessitated redistricting along geographical and inter-college association lines. In fact, the Convention detailed extensive and radical revisions in the organizational structure. District presidents were removed from the Grand Council, to be replaced by a national vice president (Dodge, 1930, p. 247). The structure that had served so well for so long was now being dismissed as unwieldy. A report on the revamping of the structure appeared in the edition of March, 1910.

While revisions of the legislative and administrative structure were practical necessities to ensure the permanence of the sorority, other plans expressed, concretely, the faith of the members in such permanence. The archives were being expanded, with the Grand Council authorized to institute a central Journal exchange for the realization of chapter files. At the same time, a jeweler was being commissioned to engrave the sorority coat of arms on metal, "thus greatly enhancing the usefulness of this handsome insignia" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1909, November, p. 10). As of November, 1910, it was reported that the craftsmanship was found to be satisfactory. The journal issue of that date confirmed the adoption of measures to govern the sale and manufacture of the insignia.

The Kappa Alpha Theta of May, 1910, was subtitled Vocational Number. This marks a very significant event in the future of women. Instead of asking the question "Should Women Study Medicine?" as was asked in 1892, the article is entitled, "Women in Medicine." Other

topics appearing included library work, editorial work, advertising writing (a new and growing field as well as a new opportunity for women), tutoring, nursing, impression and expression, nutrition, arts and crafts, and even, Nature study positions in the new agricultural education. Surely the appearance of law as a field of study for women was a revolutionary step forward.

To encourage her sisters, one member, Mary Eleanor Carran, offered a piece entitled "Dreams made practical." Philanthropy was not to be neglected, and opportunities in the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) were discussed. No doubt the surviving Founders were impressed and heartened to see such an inspiring and ambitious edition of the Kappa Alpha Theta journal appear.

To offer some perspective on the cost of education in the early 20th century, a segment on "Scholarship fund regulations for its use as an undergraduate loan fund" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1910, November) set forth the principles of the scholarship fund. All applications would be investigated, as today, and dispensed according to a fixed set of conditions. The contract expresses that "Loans shall be not less than \$50 nor more than \$350 to any one Theta" (p. 33). One year later (1911, November), the total amount of the fund, as of 1 October, was \$1,235.61.

The issue of November, 1911, detailing the events of the nineteenth biennial Grand Convention, was replete with poetry as well as informative prose. That year marked the first appearance of the Kappa Alpha Theta special train, transporting delegates from Chicago

to Pasadena (Dodge, 1930, p. 248). Scores of women traveling together was not a common sight for the era. The unusual quality of the party was expressed in a section titled "As Others Saw Us." Author Karoline S. Hammond (1930) conveyed the image through the eyes of "the bell-boy" who was quoted as saying:

All the attaches of the hotel say that they never saw a bunch of women who knew exactly what they wanted before when it came to getting that whole crowd off, every one of them knew exactly where her ticket was and how to check her trunk. (p. 32)

That this should be such a significant occurrence further explains the environment in which the early sorority sisters were completing their education and taking their place in the world.

The 25th anniversary of the Kappa Alpha Theta journal was heralded in the edition of January, 1912. Of course this was a source of great pride to the members and alumnae and was expressed in this appropriate manner. In an article comparing the journal to that of other like magazines, the editors note the way that despite similarities of format and content, each publication takes on a personality of its own. As the editors see it:

Nothing awes the editorial staff as does this realization that the fraternity's magazine reveals--to the mind of contemporaries--the fraternity's standards, principles, and ideals. The insurgents, the progressives, the conservatives; the self-centered, the broad-minded, the visionary; the fraternity first group, the college first group; the hobby-riders, and the my fraternity can do no wrong wrong type are all to be recognized. (p. 114)

In the eyes of others, the journal reflects the ideals and lifestyle of its contributors; to its own members it serves as expression and inspiration. Other publications given recognition

are that of Kappa Kappa Gamma, The Golden Key, first published in 1882, and predating their own publication by three years, The Anchora of Delta Gamma, appearing in 1884, and The Arrow of Pi Beta Phi which came into being the same year as the Kappa Alpha Theta. The Arrow is described as the most profusely illustrated, containing portraits of members, and once a year, group pictures of all its chapters.

Other journals mentioned are the Alpha Phi Quarterly (1888), The Trident of Delta Delta Delta (1891), which contains an editorial mail bag instead of the usual editorial page, The Lyre of Alpha Chi Omega (1894), and The Eleusis of Chi Omega (1899). Added at the dawn of the new century were the Gamma Phi Beta Crescent (1901), described as the most attractive typographically, the Zeta Tau Alpha Themis (1903), the Alpha Xi Delta (1903), the Alpha Omicron Pi To Dragma (1905), which continues to print literary articles, a practice abandoned by Kappa Alpha Theta, the Sigma Kappa Triangle (1907), The Adelphean of Alpha Delta Phi (1907), The Lamp of Delta Zeta (1909), and the Alpha Gamma Delta (1909).

The first editors of Kappa Alpha Theta referred to journalism as a growing and important part of college society. Judging by the number of prestigious publications, they were not wrong in their assessment.

A sense of the financial situation of the era is documented in the description of the "pebble-dash stucco lodge, built in bungalow style" (p. 213) that housed the Eta chapter of Nashville, Tennessee. The lot, measuring 62.5 x 150 feet was valued at approximately \$3,500

(Kappa Alpha Theta, 1912, March). The total property of the chapter was valued at \$9,000, making their financial status "the boast of the alumnae and chapter" (p. 215). In order to keep the house in repair and pay taxes, insurance and other expenses, income from notes is added to the rent paid by the chapter, \$550 per year. The notes are assumed by the alumnae, the only form of alumnae dues demanded of them.

The alumnae are given much of the credit for the success of the financial project, it must be noted, along with "the financial support and business engineering of some of the fathers and husbands" (p. 215).

The house, it was reported, was a dream of the Eta chapter from the earliest days "when elaborate rushing consisted in an afternoon party to which the rushes were invited to come and bring their weekly accumulation of darning" (p. 214). "Rushing and its Corollaries" was a topic in the issue of November, 1912. The practice was seen through the eyes of a male fraternity member whose wife was an active alumna of Kappa Alpha Theta. In his hyperbolic view, "Rushing is a cross between proposing to a girl and abducting a coyote" (p. 29). In a more serious vein, the author addresses such issues as diplomacy, entertainment, regret over a rejected member, and individual responsibility. Perhaps it is the last issue that is of most importance in a tightly-knit structure. Despite loyalty and responsibility to each other, each member holds the ultimate responsibility to herself.

The Kappa Alpha Theta of November, 1913, dealt with the issue of sophomore pledging, a topic not previously addressed. Detailed were the experiences of six chapters with the practice of sophomore pledging. Despite one chapter, that of Northwestern, which concluded with the words, "We don't like it," (p. 18), the other chapters declared it ultimately a success, albeit something of a mixed blessing. It may be deducted that the success or lack of success of the procedure depended on the unique characteristics of each college campus.

In a pleasant departure from the usual format, the same issue published many photographs taken at the 1913 Convention. Alumnae and undergraduate delegates were depicted in posed group photographs, along with pictures taken while the convention was in active session.

Political Awareness: 1915-1920

The Kappa Alpha Theta journal of May, 1915, was one marking the progress of women. For the first time, articles titled "Principles of Equal Suffrage" and "Expediency of Votes for Women" appeared in the pages of the publication. Part of this trend is the result of the war which was raging in Europe at the time. The issues of women's rights and women's suffrage were seen to "hold great promise for democracy and for the future of the race" (p. 303). The editors held mixed views on feminism; not surprising, as no revolutionary movement is without its flaws or its fanatics. They astutely note that "The emancipated woman has to fight something worse than the crusted prejudices of her uncles; she has to fight the bewilderment

of her own soul...She who passed without a break from the dominance of her father to the dominance of her husband is suddenly compelled to govern herself" (pp. 304-305). This assessment in itself is a positive challenge to the sororities of the period. Women, for the first time were being allowed, even required, to stand for themselves. In sisterhood, they could stand tall, and still have a feminine shoulder to lean on for additional strength, courage, and support.

This landmark edition of Kappa Alpha Theta also contained "A Brief Resume of the Education of Women in the United States," from the early days when women were regarded as considerably less than man's equal in intellect, to the present (1915) in which women were denied entry to very few institutions of higher learning. The author, Sarah E. Cotton, felt that "The achievement is wonderful when the meager beginnings and slow progress made are considered" (p. 305). As she chronicled her history, she looked to the future with optimism and hope. Another writer, Jessie Wright Whitcomb noted that "Intellectually, though without equal inducements, women have equal opportunities with their brothers" (p. 309). That women had progressed so far without equal inducements was indeed a remarkable achievement. Citing the figures of the era, Mrs. Whitcomb asserted that

we fail to realize what we owe to our 88,000 telephone girls, to our 263,000 stenographers, to our 250,000 independent farmers, to our 270,000 saleswomen who have broken through established customs into a formerly rather rigid business world. (pp. 310-311)

The two articles on suffrage refer eloquently to the fact of the "obvious injustice of requiring women to obey and support institutions while denying them a share in the creation and control of such institutions" (p. 312). To Mary A. Lippincott, "This position is one of political slavery" (p. 312). To add spark to the pro-suffrage tone of the issue, Justine Leavitt Wilson included in her article "The Justice and Expediency of the Vote for Women," lines from Percy MacKaye's Hymn for Equal Suffrage:

For the vote that brings to woman and to man life's common bread. Is mightier than the mindless gun that leaves a million dead; and the rights of Man shall triumph where once men and women bled when mothers of men are free.

Mrs. Wilson called on the words of John Stuart Mill and H. G. Wells, as well as those of prominent suffragists such as Dr. Katherine B. Davis. Her article concluded with the passage:

Does it not become a necessity for the state to enfranchise its women and for women to accept enfranchisement not only as a privilege or a right but as a duty?--a duty that means the liberty, opportunity, education, power and responsibility of full citizenship? (p. 320)

In the Kappa Alpha Theta of March, 1916, Mrs. Wilson's newly-prepared booklet, Woman Suffrage, A Study Outline was recommended for women to read, regardless of their position in the struggle for equal rights.

Virtually all contributors to the issue emphasized the effects of industrialization on the society in general and on women in particular. This along with their sophisticated arguments in favor of the rights and responsibilities, should provide more than adequate opposition to those sociologists, who have accused sororities of being elitist organizations.

The political journey being embarked on by the Kappa Alpha Theta was enhanced by the issue on the "Women's Peace Party" (1915, November). Kappa Alpha Theta had become in effect, a unity of active and dedicated pacifists. In this, they evoked the doctrines of the suffragists by asserting:

Therefore, as human beings and the mother half of humanity, we demand that our right to be consulted in the settlement of questions concerning not alone the life of individuals but of nations be recognized and respected.

We demand that women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate--within the home, the school, the church, the industrial order, and the state.
(pp. 3-4)

These articulate claims were followed by the platform of the organization and the agenda.

Not all the issue was as serious. The events of the 1915 Convention were gaily recounted, along with the news of the "Theta Daily Kite Clippings". Several poems were interspersed with the essays, providing an entertaining diversion as well as an evocation of the era.

A report by the National Panhellenic Congress on "Cooperative House Management and House Chaperonage" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1916, March) serves as a good source of information on the numbers of women (and men) who belonged to the Greek letter organization and resided in their chapter houses. Cooperative house management was assessed to be feasible in 40 colleges, with 15 or twenty more possibly added. The 40 colleges reported, showed a total of 1,041 organized student group residences, including clubs and fraternities, managed by the

board and providing residence for members. These included 22,000 students, with an annual expenditure for board of more than \$5,000,000 (p. 279). The authors refer repeatedly to the "size of the problem" which is of no small significance, when we take into consideration the humble beginnings on campus, and the descriptions of their charter houses by alumnae. Issues of rent, repairs, utilities and furnishings were outlined in detail, along with food services and related areas. The recommendation was for a national organization, perhaps a corporation to be established by the women's and men's fraternities with the goal of approving a system of cooperative house management and establishing this system in the various colleges and universities. Even the proposal of such a national organization marks a significant growth achievement in the development of the Greek organizational culture.

The issues of 1917 (March and November address themselves to the shadow of war; or rather, the storm cloud that was a shadow in March and a reality by November. The issue of January, 1918 was a "Vocational Number" and one, which for the first time, had an essay on "The present trend of physical education." However, subsequent issues (1918, May; 1918, November) devoted a considerable number of pages to the war effort, and to the role of Thetas in giving their support. At first there was some question as to whether a convention should be held at all in 1917; however it was decided that "We must practice our ideals now as never before for they are needed more than ever in this time of world disaster" (1917, November,

p. 9). As it turned out the Convention, held at Charlevoix, Michigan, set one of the goals of Theta's work at raising the money needed to equip the nurses of one base hospital: approximately \$3,800 (Dodge, 1930, pp. 250-251). Within six months, the goal had been reached, the amount arrived at entirely by gifts from the Theta sisters themselves, on a \$1.75 per member quota. The total sum of funds raised even exceeded the original goal, amounting to \$5,470 (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1918, November). The War Council of the fraternity decided that the excess amount, together with additional funds raised that winter, should be used to send Theta war workers to France. Members of the sorority were placed in various capacities as canteen workers, stenographers, social workers, field hospital workers, nurse's aides, and drivers. It was mostly alumnae who fulfilled these roles, as one strict requirement was that the candidates be at least 25 years old. Undergraduates, were urged to complete their college education, and to look ahead to the requirements of the post-war years.

No significant structural changes took place at the 1917 Convention, held during this period of international upheaval. The one departure from previous methods was the provision made for the granting of college charters by a 90% affirmative vote of existing chapters, on the qualification that the vote of chapters in the new chapter's district was unanimously in favor. Previously, a unanimous vote was required by all existing chapters.

An article designating "Kappa Alpha Theta Policy 1918-1919"

addressed itself to the importance of maintaining scholastic and career goals during the crisis period (1918, November). Not surprisingly, scholarship was lower than usual during 1917-1918, for dedication to war service took time from studies as well as from social life. Theta's were urged to stay loyal to college or profession, using proper perspective to determine the way in which they might put their training to the best possible use. Health also was not to be neglected. Sisters were advised to maintain regular eating and sleeping habits and participate in recreational activities. Above all, they were advised not to worry.

The war-dictated habits of conservation (i.e. food, material goods, fuel and light) were addressed by the Grand Council as well; however, the tone of their guidance was to advise their sisters to live as normally as possible. The war would not last forever, and after all:

To be ready to keep the wheels of the nation revolving steadily while these war-tried boys make up the arrears in their college training, will be a crowning service for the college girls of today. (p. 8)

The journal included an "Overseas Record" of those members who had been part of the war service abroad. Unfortunately, not all the requested data had been gathered, leaving some noticeable gaps; however even incomplete, the record serves as a good source of historical perspective, as well as an example of fraternity ideals in action. Additions were included in the journal issue of March, 1920.

By the Convention of 1919, the Great War had been won. The

sisters of Kappa Alpha Theta were gathering to celebrate their fiftieth birthday, the Golden jubilee. The founding member, Mrs. Hannah Fitch Shaw was a guest, sharing in the celebration with her younger sisters. To Helen Frisch, writing in the journal (1919, November):

Business and play centered around this anniversary and anyone who missed getting to convention has my deepest sympathy because she missed a great convention.

After hearing this initiation [of a new member] one realized how wonderfully indomitable and glorious was the spirit of those women who first gave life to our fraternity and who have been its back-bone (sic) and inspiration through all these years of growth and expansion. The fire and love of our noble ideals and purposes were burned into their minds and hearts and it is only through their undying faith and efforts that we are today able to lift our heads so proudly for Kappa Alpha Theta. (pp. 28-29)

Peace and Prosperity: 1920-1929

Founders' Day was an important topic of the journal of March, 1920. News of the this event from chapters across the country made up a good part of the edition.

In a time of peace and prosperity, housing conditions were once again an issue (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1920, May. While some chapters owned property (i.e. Alpha Theta in Nashville), most chapters were renters. The excessive amounts paid by these chapters in rents, along with the fact that many facilities were not really convenient to campus, inspired the writers to suggest that "there is a crying need for the alumnae of each of these chapters to get busy and evolve plans whereby these yearly expenditures may go towards paying for homes of our own, instead of enriching landlords" (p. 315). The

goal for this attainment was set at five years.

A chart accompanied the report, listing 20 chapters and the accommodations they occupied. Data were analyzed in the categories of distance from campus, rooms (living and sleeping), baths, sleeping porch, number of girls (can be accommodated and actually living there), value of furnishings, rent per year and insurance. The rents ranged from \$600 per year for a house that could lodge nine girls (Alpha Upsilon) to \$2,400 for one spacious enough for 27 (Alpha Omicron). The latter house included a sleeping porch for 15. The writers, however, attributed the same flaws to every one of the houses visited: inadequate bathroom and sleeping accommodations, as well as inadequate serving and storage space. The situation of Beta chapter, the extreme, perhaps extended to the necessity of including, along with the main house, four annexes, still under the jurisdiction of the fraternity. No doubt Mrs. Shaw would have been amazed at these figures.

Financial issues began to assume more importance in the Kappa Alpha Theta of the postwar period. One article was entitled, bluntly, "What Does It Cost You to Go to College?" (1920, November). The maximum loan of \$350, which was established in 1913, was now far from adequate, for even a period of one year. The authors reported that the cost of college in 1920 was twice as much as it had been seven or 10 years earlier (p. 7).

A Vocational Conference for women held at the University of Toronto was analyzed by Elsinore MacPherson of Sigma chapter. The

occupations which had opened up for women during the war created new and exciting possibilities. In the prewar years, most women graduates had pursued the same vocational path: teaching. Now there were many additional fields which were addressed at the conference. Among these were included secretarial work, advertising, mental health occupations, journalism, nursing, positions in department stores and factories (personnel, education, welfare, foreign buying), recreational work, and areas of science.

Despite the plethora of inviting careers displayed at the conference, it was reported that "none of the salaries quoted for women were high, and salaries in Canada are of course lower than those in the United States" (p. 17).

The author--and many of her sisters--saw the postwar years as "the end of a period of general protest against the inroad of women into the realm of public activities" (p. 17). She was loathe to predict exactly what the future would hold for professional women, but she nonetheless conveyed a message of optimism and enthusiasm to the college women of her generation.

The journal edition of March, 1921 returned to the question of financing the sorority house. The article was accompanied by the photographs of several picturesque residences occupied by Theta sisters. The year 1921 was decreed a year for building. An example was given of the Theta Epsilon chapter, badly in need of its own home. With the aid of a lawyer they formed Theta Epsilon association, and drew up a plan based on the following:

1. Money to be raised during the next two years - \$4,500
2. Money to be borrowed from National fraternity- 1,500
3. Money to be borrowed from bank, etc. - 8,500
4. Money to be borrowed from friends and members- 5,500

The composite plan took into consideration mortgage and interest rates. Put into effect, it worked out even better than the members anticipated. More money was generated by second-mortgage bonds at a low interest rate, leaving less money to be borrowed from the bank at a higher rate.

This serves as an example of the way fraternities evolved on a business and professional level. Women--at least fraternity women--had achieved the means and the knowledge to be financially independent. The Board of Directors was in charge of all business transactions. The Board received a fixed rent from the house, as well as alumnae dues and other money coming into the building fund. From these assets it paid taxes and interest, provided for repairs, paid off the mortgage, and gradually retired the bonds.

An update on housing appeared in the journal issue of March, 1923, with fewer chapters remaining homeless. Housing was, in fact, a significant issue during the years of the 1920s. The chapter house provided a family arrangement for the young woman away from home for the first time. The job of the chaperon, or house mother, was analyzed in an article in Banta's Greek Exchange (1929). She must have many important positive qualities and know how to interact with the young women in her care. Of this aspect it was said that

the college years are those in which a girl's sense of personal responsibility must be developed and the

fraternity house should be a training center for learning the art of living, so the chaperon (sic) should not dominate but direct in an unobtrusive way. She must have initiative but be able to lead without appearing to do so. (p. 339)

It was also required of her that "in order to keep her sense of balance, she must above all things have a sense of humor."

Included in the March, 1921 Kappa Alpha Theta was an extension record of the Greek letter organizations that had added chapters the previous year. The Theta chapter was added at the University of Idaho on 15 May, 1920 (p. 223).

Due to the difficulties of postwar transportation, as well as the effects of inflation, the 1921 Convention was postponed until 1922. Thus the Kappa Alpha Theta of November, 1921 devoted itself to reporting on the district conventions. Vocations for women were once again addressed in the journal, this time focusing on law studies and law practice for women. The specific segment was not an article nor an essay, but rather an advertisement for a pamphlet entitled Women in the law, an analysis of training, practice and salaried positions. The information in the study was derived from a questionnaire sent to 800 women lawyers, a study of the courses in over 100 law schools, and interviews with lawyers of both sexes from different areas of the country. Clearly, the prominence of such formerly male professions in both articles and advertising in the fraternity journal show the forward direction in which the organization was moving in the post-war, post-suffrage era.

Following the lull in grade averages during the war years,

scholarship re-emerged as an issue of importance. The issue of January, 1922, offered a scholarship chart, showing the grade averages of each chapter, and comparing the averages of Kappa Alpha Theta members to the student body as a whole, to women students, and fraternity women. A list of Scholarship Honors for the college year 1920-21 followed, with quite a few members being elected to Phi Beta Kappa. The Scholarship Report became a regular feature of the first of year issues, appearing each January as an assessment of grade averages for the previous year.

Scholarship and education also figured prominently in the issue of November, 1923. The Theta Scholarship Fund was detailed, from its inception in 1903 after being suggested by Josephine Cook Lippincott of Kappa chapter. The fund was started with the sum of \$10.00 and went through a period of less than fruitful undertaking until advancing to \$4,518 by 1915. By March, 1923, the fund amounted to nearly \$17,000. Like the organizational structure itself, the plan of the Scholarship Fund underwent a number of changes until it became satisfactory to meet its needs. It was noted with pride that at the date of writing, no money had been lost to the fund through unpaid loans. The journal of November, 1924 also covered the Scholarship Fund and its increasing demands for new funds. In addition to a poetic request to the alumnae chapters to help meet these demands, the issue provided a detailed description of how the funds were allocated and needs met. At the 1928 Convention, the Scholarship Fund was rechristened the Loan and Fellowship Fund, a name thought

to be more appropriate (Dodge, 1930, p. 254).

"An Open Letter to Theta Alumnae" was the theme of the edition of May, 1925, beginning with the question, "Do you know that 8000 annual reports of the fraternity have been distributed this spring to the various state chairman?" (p. 380). Again, this gives some perspective on the size and significance of the organization. Calls for the continued active participation of alumnae chapters were frequent in the Kappa Alpha Thetas of the 1920s. In the issue of November, 1925, this appeal took the form of a poem entitled, "To the Newest Alumni," the work of a men's fraternity. The Scholarship Chart of that year (1924-1925, appearing in 1926, January) included a notation that men averaged more than women. No doubt this was meant to serve as motivation for the women of Theta to narrow the achievement gap. However, with this issue, there was no mention of suffrage or citizenship. Instead, there was a return to the gossip that characterized the journals of the early years of the century.

The journal of November, 1926, highlighted the office of the Treasurer, and that of the next year (1927, November), stated, "Never before have chapter finances in general been in such good condition" (p. 9). Nearly all chapters began that school year with a surplus. "Theta is growing," were the words used in March of that year (1927). The economy of the United States as a whole was healthy and prosperous; the sorority was a reflection of that period of growth and prosperity. The journal of November, 1928 quoted facts from the Survey on cost of fraternity life and fraternity housing, prepared

at the request of the 19th Panhellenic Congress. Now figures were in the millions--\$9.5 million invested in women's fraternities, averaging \$1,360 for each one of the 6,885 women they were built to accommodate. Comparing those figures to the early years of the century, one can see not only the influence on the Greek letter system on women, but of their burgeoning role in higher education. To further assess the scope of sorority expansion, reports on District Conventions were playing an ever more important role in the journal issues of the decade (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1929, November).

To highlight the pinnacle which had been reached by the Greek organizational structure during the 1920s, the Panhellenic House in New York City formally opened on 1 October, 1928 (1929, January). The ballroom in which the reception was held was described in no less a publication than the New Yorker. "It is such a symphony in grayish wood, deep peachy red and dark pink marble! Nothing can ever spoil its serene, aloof yet irresistibly appealing dignity" (pp. 137-138). Might it be said that "serene, aloof yet irresistibly appealing dignity" were also among the earmarks of the fraternity women of the era?

By the close of the decade marked by the right of women to full citizenship and the peace and prosperity of the nation, the fraternity of Kappa Alpha Theta, founded in 1870 by four members, boasted 58 collegiate chapters with approximately 15,892 members (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1969-1970, Winter).

Summary

From its beginning in 1870 with just a handful of women, Kappa Alpha Theta, has grown into a large organization with chapters on many campuses throughout North America. Throughout its history, Kappa Alpha Theta has attempted to meet the needs of both active and alumnae members. In order to meet these needs, the organization must be strong. Its first convention in 1876 sought to solidify the organizational structure and future conventions continued to work at strengthening the organization.

Since its inception Kappa Alpha Theta provided support to its members, who in the early years faced an environment which at times questioned a woman's legitimacy to higher education. As women became more accepted in higher education, the support provided by Kappa Alpha Theta began to change. With an expanded organization, it was possible to provide more than just psychological support. Financial support in the form of scholarships were offered to members. Around the turn of the century, the sorority began to provide housing for its members. As professions opened to women, alums served as role models and provided a career network. These changes in the dimensions of support allowed the sorority to grow with the times and helped to ensure the survival of Kappa Alpha Theta.

Chi Omega: The Eleusis

When the idea of establishing a sorority at the University of Arkansas was first discussed, men's fraternities had existed on

campus for five years. Like Kappa Alpha Theta, the Constitution and protocol of Chi Omega came into being with the assistance of a male, Dr. Charles Richardson, a faculty and fraternity member. In fact, Dr. Richardson was honored as a Founder of the sorority, which dates back to 5 April, 1895 (Martin, 1915). On that day, the lone male submitted his proposals to the female Founders in the home of Jobelle Holcombe. Needless to say, the plan was accepted. The next day, 6 April, Psi Chapter held its first meeting.

In 1908, a speech made by Dr. Richardson set forth the high ideals he had for Chi Omega, which also serves to highlight the goal of the Greek letter society. In an article in History of Chi Omega, 1928, the following was said:

In founding a fraternity there must be a central idea, around which fact and fancy must be grouped and from which the imagery and symbolism must be drawn. These must be designed to contain and teach a central and ever-recurring, ennobling truth, so that the doctrines revealed to the initiated may give to them better hopes and higher aspirations. (p. 13)

Although the founders had imagined a national college organization, this did not take place until three years after its birth. However, after its initial slow start, the fraternity began to expand. Membership dues were set a 10-cents per month; the initiation fee was \$2.50. Chapters enthusiastically welcomed their pledge classes of two and three women (Eleusis, 1993, July). By 1915 Chi Omega was a national organization of 32 chapters, 23 alumnae associations, and a membership total of approximately 3000.

The magazine The Eleusis came into being in June, 1899. Dr.

Richardson himself had envisioned the Eleusinian Mysteries of women, the ceremonies of the Earth goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone, as an inspiration to the sorority. The first issue of Eleusis, edited by a single member, Mrs. Ida Pace Purdue, with her assistants, contained a history of the fraternity, histories and photographs of the chapter, a directory of members, along with material deemed of general interest to its members. In addition to Eleusis, Chi Omega also published The Mystagogue, intended for members only, and carrying convention minutes and permanent records.

The first Convention of Chi Omega was held in Memphis in 1900, after being postponed from the previous year. It was during this Convention that most of the policies which would take shape in the future were laid out. Among its unique rituals, the sorority upheld the rites of Demeter and Persephone, celebrated in spring and fall. Coincidentally, Founders' Day falls at the time of the spring celebration. After five years, during the summer of 1905, the first Council meeting was called between Conventions. This marked the determination of Chi Omega members to keep the organization as up to date as possible.

Civic and social work were emphasized by the alumnae associations, with each chapter contributing its share of time and money. In the newly industrialized prewar society, women factory workers and their children were the frequent recipients of the sorority sisters' philanthropic work.

A Vocational Department was structured to foster economic

independence among chapter members. In fact, Chi Omega was considered the leader in the advancement of feminine causes, being the first women's fraternity to emphasize women's career opportunities, along with social and civic service. By 1913, alumnae of Chi Omega were finding success in such diverse fields as pharmacy, sales, banking, jewelry, interior and fashion design, shoe repair, office work, and insurance. They were even making their mark in professions that today may still be regarded as male-dominated. Before the century's second decade, Chi Omega women were becoming doctors, architects, landscape architects, lawyers, college professors, religious leaders and engineers (Eleusis, 1994, January).

A series of articles exploring the expanding number of fields open to women began appearing in Eleusis in 1915. Articles titled "Chi Omega's Professional Women" and "Being Measured for One's Niche" were written to provide inspiration and encouragement to undergraduate sisters and alumnae alike. Combining the social consciousness of the fraternity with its vocational aims, one article of the era proposed that women were ideal material to become inspectors of factories: "with their maternal eye, women are awake to all abuses and will insist on their removal" (1994, p. 17). Of course social work fit into the category of an ideal profession for women (in fact, it was women who pioneered much of the progress made during this era). The discrepancy in salaries between women and men was not noted, but salaries for social workers ranged from \$50-\$100 per month in the larger cities, with executives earning \$70-\$100 per month, and

superintendents of districts ranging from \$125-\$175 per month. The profession was considered to provide "a great opportunity for service of a rare and valuable kind" (p. 17).

Like the sisters of Kappa Alpha Theta, the members of Chi Omega became active participants in war work. First aid and nursing became priorities, and it was said that "everywhere the khaki and blue and gray-colored yarn is in evidence. Knitting needles click even during classes" (p. 18). The Eleusis of February, 1920, included the reminiscences of Helen Joy Hinckley of Beta chapter who had served as a nurse in France. Through eloquent and informative prose she related her experience of the war years, the images of the horrors of battle and of caring for wounded soldiers, juxtaposed with descriptions of tree-lined village streets, French children and sunsets, and the young nurses bringing their pets--rabbits, kittens, puppies, white mice and guinea pigs--down with them to the churches. In darkness they were able to preserve their humanity and thus serve as great inspiration to their sisters at home.

The Eleusis of February, 1920, featured an article on "Woman and Her Part in the Reconstruction." Members were encouraged to pledge for peace, and to take their rightful place in the work-force. New positions were open for women in government service, and this was seen a good opportunity to combine patriotism with professional aspirations. The author, Irma A. Watts, emphasized that the "new responsibility of voting must be met with education and study" (p. 14).

Immigration was a significant phenomenon of the era, and was addressed in "The Library and Americanization." In all, the edition had a decidedly political and civic focus. However, there was still plenty of space left for chapter news. In the Eleusis, this took the form of letters from chapters across the country. In terms of vocational guidance a new field for women was discussed in "College Women and Chemistry."

In September, 1920, the President's Message spoke of the changes brought about by the war, cautioning women to remain loyal to the principles of the fraternity in the face of a burgeoning hedonism in society. Citizenship was a significant word, as "the ballot is to be added to influence" (p. 279). New fashions were mentioned (were emancipated women to become slaves to fashion?) along with the progress in education and professional opportunities. In closing, the President, Mary C. Love Collins, called attention to the fact that the 25th anniversary of the fraternity "happens in times so big" (p. 283).

With the Eleusis of November, 1920, the global focus of the publication and the organization it represented became even clearer. "Duties of Citizenship" was the theme of one article, as well as the edition as a whole. A platform of social reform was proposed for incorporation into the national party policies, including such issues as federal aid for mothers, federal aid for education, a constitutional amendment regarding fair labor laws (including minimum wage and child labor regulations), and support for bureaus for children,

women in industry, and a bureau of housing. It could be said that the members of Chi Omega were truly revolutionary women for their time.

Like their Greek sisters in Kappa Alpha Theta, the women of Chi Omega greatly expanded their housing facilities during the 1920s. Actually the goal of acquiring chapter houses was set by the Convention of June, 1908. The first chapter to own its own house was the Eta Chapter at the University of Michigan, which had purchased its house even prior to that convention, in 1906.

With the decline of the demands of the war years, scholarship and academic excellence once again became major priorities. In an article written in 1924, the editors of Eleusis asked the question, "Does the Fraternity System Raise Scholarship?" Their answer in Eleusis, 1994:

The fraternity and sorority grades show a higher average than those of independent women, and higher than that of the entire university...the college fraternity, both men's and women's must then, be advocating creditable scholarship. (p. 25)

By September, 1929, the Eleusis was turning its focus toward the fraternity itself, with an emphasis on active chapter news. By the issue of November, 1930, a feature (29 pages in this issue) was entitled, "Here's News of Active and Alumnae Chapters." Letters from chapters were no longer included; no doubt the number of active chapters would have necessitated a mammoth edition. Photographs were an interesting feature of the publication. The expanding role of women, while not the subject of so many articles as they had been in the years 1910-1920, was still not to be ignored. An article titled "Do

Women Have Special Problems" was written by Olga Knopf, M.D. Her plain answer was "Women do not have special problems unless they make them themselves" (p. 294). While this pat answer may seem naive in retrospect, the author did offer the inspiring words that "the real courage is not to look for one's own prestige, not to look for an easy success or for an escape--but to solve the problem of life as good as one can" (p. 298). This viewpoint appears to have been shared by the women of Chi Omega during the era of social and political evolution.

Neither Dr. Richardson, the lone male who drew up the original charter, nor the first Eleusis editor Ida Pace Purdue was ever forgotten by the members of Chi Omega, nor did these individuals ever forget Chi Omega. Another member, initiated in 1899 also played a major role in the history of the sorority as it unfolded during its early days. Mattie Holiday Craighill (Sister Matt, as she later became known) reflected on their heritage, agreeing with Mrs. Purdue that a process of gradual development, rather than one of radical change ensured the sorority's survival. As Sister Matt (Eleusis, 1993) saw it:

With ordinary guidance the results would have been of minor consequence. It is not by chance that the Fraternity has gone forward by leaps and bounds, that it has become national in spirit and in distribution of chapters, that its internal strength is as great as its external growth, that it has a recognized influence in many forms of endeavor. (p. 24)

Summary

Chi Omega began in 1895 with five founders and has grown to an organization with over 215,000 members on 173 campuses and in nearly 400 alumnae groups. From its beginning conventions were a time for making organizational changes to strengthen Chi Omega, as well as a time for friendship and fellowship.

Like Kappa Alpha Theta, as the organization grew it was able to provide scholarships to its members with the 1908 convention setting housing as a goal, Chi Omega began to provide living accommodations to its members. As career opportunities expanded, the Eleusis published many articles on different professions now open to women. Alums were and continue to be role models and a source of career networking. Scholarship, housing, and networking are some of the ways Chi Omega expanded its influence in the lives of its members to better meet their needs and ensure its own survival.

Pi Beta Phi: The Arrow

Pi Beta Phi was founded at Monmouth College, Illinois, on 28 April, 1867. As late as 1936, the Constitution, initiation vows, and internal structure of the organization were virtually identical to those of the Founders. Of course, like Kappa Alpha Theta and Chi Omega, changes were made to accommodate growth and environmental conditions; still the structure remained basically the same (Arrow, 1936, February). The second chapter appeared at Iowa Wesleyan University a year later, in 1868, and the third at Mount Pleasant,

Iowa in November, 1869. In contrast, the early Kappa Alpha Theta (which still had yet to be founded) was largely an eastern organization.

Of the first generation(s) of fraternity members (Arrow, 1936) it was said that

the girls who belong to our early chapters were for the most part serious-minded, versatile, and attended college with a purpose. One is astonished to find how many of them obtained degrees, followed careers and became physicians, lawyers, professional musicians, missionaries, lecturers, and teachers of special subjects. A great number of them traveled extensively and studied in Europe, as shown by personals in The Arrow. (p. 67)

Pioneers as they were, the women of I. C. Sorosis (the first name for the fraternity, before the Greek letters were chosen) were especially sensitive to the fact that "Self-reliance was not considered in those days an important element in young women's character."

These were the words of Founder Nancy Lee Black Wallace writing in 1898 (p. 190). Because of this fact, she reflected, "one had to maintain a sort of 'Sorosis' air to keep one's courage up." Many of the earliest members of Pi Beta Phi were determined advocates of women's suffrage, as well as advocates of financial independence. To add prestige to their organization, both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were offered honorary membership. The young women who wrote these prominent suffragists asking permission to bestow this honor upon them were thrilled by the pleasure of addressing these prestigious figures. They were even more elated to be met by affirmative and encouraging replies.

The Arrow, "The Official Organ of Pi Beta Phi," as it appeared

on the title page of the first issue, made its debut in May, 1885. Coincidentally, the first Kappa Alpha Theta was published the same year. Similar in format, the first issue also contained a copy of "The Founding Song." On the cover was a burning lamp on a pedestal, casting its luminous rays.

The alumnae first became part of the general organization of the Pi Beta Phi in 1901. The matter of equal representation became a point of contention, as the functions of active undergraduate and alumnae chapters differed. This culminated in the establishment of the Committee on Alumnae Reorganization in 1910. Later, in 1928, the Committee was disbanded. One feature of the organization which contributed to combining the activities of alumnae and undergraduate chapters was the Senior Farewell Ceremony. By a vote of the chapters in October, 1927, it became compulsory for every senior to pay the sum of \$1.00 in dues for subsequent membership in the National Alumnae Department. While this may be regarded as a token gesture, Pi Beta Phi boasted a tradition of active alumnae members working alongside their younger sisters.

As in the two previously detailed sororities, high standards of scholarship were expected among members. At the 1915 Convention, two rulings were passed requiring that those women eligible to be elected convention delegates or to hold chapter offices must have unblemished scholastic records. Other incentives to high scholarship included the Scholastic Ring, awarded by each chapter to the member with the highest grade average for that year.

On a very practical level, the year 1906 saw the formation of undergraduate and graduate scholarships, which later became the \$500 Fellowship awarded on an annual basis. The Fellowship was assured through the establishment of the \$10,000 Fellowship Endowment Fund which was completed in 1925.

Chapter housing was a major focus of Pi Beta Phi during the 1920s, as it was for Chi Omega and Kappa Alpha Theta. One interesting feature of the sorority during this decade was the Health Program, outlined in 1919 by Dr. Edith Hedges Matzke and Dr. Edith Gordon. The Program was confirmed by the Convention of 1921. Under program guidelines, chapters and clubs were required to devote one yearly meeting to health problems and their solution. Daily Health Cards were maintained by each chapter, and organized hikes became part of fraternity life, along with recommended daily exercise, proper diet, and even proper dressing for good health. Members were encouraged to participate in a variety of recreational activities, including archery, golf, swimming, and "all sorts of outdoor gymnastics" (p. 246).

In the fall of 1929, the Arrow promoted a health contest which began in January, 1930. The contest was to last a full year and award a cash prize to the winner. The contest was entered by 26 chapters, 14 of whom carried on to the end. Ultimately, the winner was declared the Illinois Alpha chapter. The Edith Hedges Matzke Trophy cup was designed in honor of the physician who had been a prestigious pioneer in the field of preventive medicine.

All of the above events were diligently chronicled in the pages of The Arrow during the decades following its initial appearance in May, 1885. On its Golden anniversary, the editors included a reprint of a poem which appeared in the premier edition. While the style may appear archaic, it was deemed to be "as appropriate now as it was" half a century earlier (1936), that "its mission is to cheer and bless where'er its lot be cast, and come what may, of weal or woe, be faithful to the last" (p. 339).

Summary

Pi Beta Phi, founded in 1864, is the oldest of the three sororities discussed in this paper. Like Kappa Alpha Theta and Chi Omega, it grew from a few women to a large organization throughout North America. Conventions dealt with organizational issues to strengthen the sorority and allow it to better meet the challenges of its changing environment.

With growth, Pi Beta Phi was able to offer its members scholarships, housing and a career network. As with Kappa Alpha Theta and Chi Omega, Pi Beta Phi expanded its influence and provided more services to its members to ensure its own relevancy and survival in a changing environment.

Convergence: Panhellenism

The movement toward Panhellenism actually dates back to the year 1890, when the chapter of Kappa Kappa Gamma at Boston University

acquired permission from their Convention in Bloomington, Indiana to invite other sororities to Boston for an inter-sorority Convention. The proposal set forth at that time was only that of recommendation. Each sorority involved reserved the right to accept or reject any guideline on an individual basis. In any case, the guidelines were unspecific and clothed mainly in language of etiquette, courtesy and cooperation (Martin, 1913).

With or without specific regulations, the Panhellenic movement was interrupted shortly after its start. One reason for this relates to the problems of transportation previously discussed. A meeting convenient for all delegates to attend was too difficult to arrange. Another problem was the expense such meeting would have entailed; women's fraternities of the time simply did not have the budgets they later attained. What they might have gained in terms of valuable exchange of ideas and enhanced principles, they would have lost in concrete financial terms.

The first Inter-Sorority Conference finally met in Chicago on 24 May, 1902. The Chicago Alumnae of Kappa Alpha Theta (again an example of alumnae activity and innovation) had petitioned the Grand Council asking that other sororities be invited to discuss methods of reform in Rushing. This is in keeping with Hawley's theory of competition providing the means for change and convergence. It was decided that from then on annual meetings should be held, with each meeting presided over by a different sorority in order of founding.

Pi Beta Phi delegates attended the first meeting, and Chi Omega

joined the Conference of 1903. Of four recommendations submitted for proposal, two were accepted unanimously. At this time it may be declared that the N.P.C. was in fact a governing body. As previously noted, the span 1905-1915 marked the major growth period of sororities. With the addition of new members to existing chapters, new chapters to national organizations, and new women's fraternities to college and university campuses, the Panhellenic Conference expanded as well, playing a more important role in Greek society life. It must also be noted that college registration itself increased markedly during this time. In 1890, the year the Theta alumnae petitioned the Grand Council, there were 157,000 students (female and male) enrolled in colleges nationwide. By 1900 there were 238,000, by 1910 356,000. In 1915, a high point for sorority membership peaked, 405,000 students were attending colleges (Banta's, 1930).

The Congress of 1913 (briefly known as the National Pan-Hellenic Congress) stands out as an agency of standardization. It adopted a uniform scholarship card and uniform house rules to apply to all chapter houses. It also stood in support of extension of the sorority systems. Not only speaking in favor of vocational goals for women, the Congress made a contribution to the Chicago Bureau of Occupations.

One unique feature was a Conference of Sorority Editors. Two years later, in 1915, the Creed of the National Panhellenic Conference was adopted. The Creed concludes with the words, "To us, fraternity life is not the enjoyment of special privileges but an

opportunity to prepare for wide and wise human service."

Perhaps 1913 was a landmark year for Panhellenism for, despite the great progress made by sororities, criticism of the Greek system was also reaching its peak on some college campuses. Barnard College was talking of banning sororities (sororities were ultimately supplanted by local clubs), as were a number of other schools. The word elite began to crop up more often in campus conversations, not without negative overtones. "Clicquey and undemocratic" was a phrase cited by one source. In many articles of the span 1913-1916, the tone was one of defensiveness rather than the optimistic and enthusiastic praises of Greek life that marked earlier years. Rapid acceleration of growth is inevitably followed by turmoil. Clearly changes were needed if the organization was to survive.

One such proposal was the addition of sophomore pledging. Only one chapter of Kappa Alpha Theta thought it an unsatisfactory idea. However, in general, it was not greeted by widespread enthusiasm. Some felt it would foster additional competition among sororities, rather than the reverse. Others saw it as a drastic, even desperate proposal, even a harbinger of ultimate failure. According to Mary C. Love Collins (1914), President of Chi Omega,

five years ago in a conversation between several fraternity officers, this question was raised and the answer was that the logical result of failure would be the elimination of fraternities. That if such a drastic remedy as sophomore pledging failed to bring about the changes desired the next step would be to declare that it is impossible for fraternities to accomplish those changes and the fraternities would be supplanted by local clubs. (p. 311).

Those who favored sophomore pledging saw in it "a remedy for the evils of the rushing season," among other so-called fraternity evils.

By 1916 it was widely accepted that "Sororities today are facing many problems involving their general government, their relations to the college world, and to the outer social body" (Hartwich, 1916, p. 196). The issue of Rushing was one such problem, although it had always been controversial and remains so today. What of the girls left out? That question was asked in numerous articles, as has previously been discussed. While fraternity members were encouraged to be courteous and helpful to these unfortunate young women, they were inevitably cautioned their first loyalty was to their sisters. In the early days of the organization, this loyalty had a useful role in securing the survival of the society. Also, it was in accordance with that first goal of sisterhood, protection. Now that sororities were so well established, was the word loyalty or snobbism?

This was a very important question at the time, as were the conditions of the Pledge period. In early women's societies, what came to be called hazing was very minimal. Women were in serious need of self-esteem and self-confidence. Would they wish to engage in any form of humiliating activity, even if it did ultimately lead to a sense of acceptance? Male fraternity members swore they saw nothing of such activities going on among women.

Two very different views of Rush were present from the beginning. The viewpoint expressed in a Kappa Alpha Theta (1899) essay presents the following:

The question of rushing was discussed and mourned over, and while rushing was acknowledged to be a necessary evil at present, the objections to it seem to be growing so strong that we may dare to hope for its disappearance at some far distant but much wished for date. (p. 6)

In contrast, the early members of Chi Omega saw Rush as the "heart and soul of the chapter's year" (Eleusis, 1993, p. 15). Careful and elaborate planning went into their stunts or parties, to "show the girls together and promote harmony and symphony in the chapter." In the 1909 manual, it was advised that "when all is planned before school begins, a great deal of time is saved for individual rushing which really counts" (1993, p. 17).

Needless to say, rushing did not disappear by the end of the period outlined in this report (1930), nor has it disappeared from the college campuses of the 1990s. Using the theory of population ecology, it can only be concluded that Rush serves a useful purpose in the survival of the sorority. Simply, Rush is the means by which fraternities obtain new members. Only when it is supplanted by another model, of equal or greater efficiency, will it cease to exist.

To ensure survival, the procedures of Rush must be adapted to meet the needs of the population they address. As early as 1903, the governing bodies of some fraternities began publishing pledge manuals designed for the purpose of "promoting systematic, constructive pledge training" (Johnson, 1972, p. 288). This, in turn, created a positive climate consistent with the goals (i.e. scholastic achievement, social service, cooperative effort) set by the women's

fraternities. As defined by Johnson (1972),

it was characterized by actives setting a good example, making their expectations clear and consistent, following systematic procedures, encouraging warm interpersonal relationships, praising judiciously, penalizing fairly, and fostering self-initiated activities. (p. 288)

In a letter dated 12 November, 1964, Dorothy Gibson Lenz, a Theta member during World War I, gives an example of this type of constructive climate. Recalling the chores it was her duty as a pledge to perform, she wrote with good humor, and one might add, practicality:

One of my duties was to lay fires in the fireplace, I believe we burned coal but had to start the blaze with paper and kindling wood. This experience proved valuable in later years, for my husband and I love grate fires and, at times when he has not been available, I have always been able to start a fire with ease.

Mrs. Lenz recalled pledging fondly as part of a highly positive sorority experience. Despite the drawbacks of pledging there is still the sense of belonging. For the freshman especially, averaging 18 years old, the attention of older sisters recreates the home environment she has just left.

Two external events recalled by Mrs. Lenz in her letter played an important role in the evolution of the sorority structure. One was the influenza epidemic of 1918, in which hospitals were so overcrowded beds were set up in a college building. The other event(s) were the War Bond drives held on campus during 1918-1919. The literature of the period was replete with activities of social reform and war work accomplished by undergraduate and alumnae members. It was the combination of external events of the period 1915-1920,

coupled with internal structural turmoil that led to the shifting of goals and the next step in the sorority's evolution.

The Shift in Goals

The focus could no longer be on protection; in those tumultuous years that would have amounted to wrapping oneself in a cocoon. Now the focus must be directed outward for the women's fraternity system to survive. Not all sororities adapted well. The demise of the Greek system at Barnard was the result of social movements that sprung up around it, and perhaps the sorority's failure to accommodate new ideas. Those that adapted thrived during this era of Women's Suffrage. An all-women's organization was no longer seen as a refuge from the spectre of male disdain, but provided a source of real pride and opportunity. Through the sorority structure women could accomplish social reform; they could work for the war effort. Upon graduation they had access to vocational networks that might otherwise be closed. Thus, the promise of sorority life became as inviting for the emancipated woman of 1915-1920 as it had been for her earlier sisters.

If the sorority still served as a protective unit, it was in the specifics of housing. Contemporary sources maintain that living accommodations furnished by sororities are often preferable to those of men's fraternities, "because of initial quality, maintenance and supervision" (Johnson, p. 63). Despite the overcrowding often bemoaned in the literature of the years 1910-1930, there is no question

that these three characteristics played an essential part in the development of chapter housing. An article appearing in Banta's in 1929 emphasized the importance of the chaperon, including the results of a questionnaire on the subject. The presence of the house mother no doubt assuaged the fears of apprehensive parents whose daughter was leaving them for the first time. The chapter house provided a surrogate family for the young woman herself.

In population ecology each population occupies a distinct niche. The college woman of the 1920s, generally emerging from a prosperous home, could well find her niche in the sorority system. Sorority chapters were thriving financially as well as in numbers. Through the sorority she could own property and learn the skills of its management. She could share news of fashion and music and popular books. The solemnity of the war years was replaced by an aura of gaiety and enjoyment. Social opportunities abounded. However, in this flourishing atmosphere, there was some question as to whether sororities were even necessary.

One critic was Dean Mary Yost of Stanford. A member of Kappa Alpha Theta, she had also attended a university where there were no Greek societies. Speaking at the Conference of Deans of Women, she expressed her feeling that at that time (1925), "The ideals of sororities at their best, are not more than those of the university for all of its girls" (Harshman, 1925, p. 259). Yet at the same time, she still maintained membership in her own sorority. Dean Yost recommended a program of careful study to determine whether

sororities should be asked to withdraw from college campuses or whether they should remain and solve the sorority problems.

Her speech immediately prompted Dean Priddy of the University of Missouri to exclaim that there was no question as to the value of sororities, and nothing to warrant the "wide-spread questioning" of such. It was the will of Dean Priddy that prevailed.

The Panhellenic House formally opened its doors on 1 October, 1928. The house in Manhattan was an impressive example of Art Deco architecture and design. Royal was one word used to describe it. The sumptuous environment reflected the era in which it was created. It reflected the direction of the sorority system as well. The Panhellenic House marked an attempt to found a cosmopolitan club of diversified interests; one which would appeal to younger members and alumnae alike. It was also said in the "Description of the Panhellenic" (1929), that

without an active city Panhellenic functioning in the new house, the building will become merely a woman's hotel with no Panhellenic character or identity except the name, which considering the United Panhellenic endeavor which built it would be a deplorable situation.

A social program has been launched which offers something of interest to nearly everyone. A fund has been started so that a scholarship may be offered next year to some fraternity woman. (p. 35)

The goals had shifted successfully and the organization survived and flourished. The sorority that emerged during the 1920s had accomplished the synthesis of earlier goals with a new direction. Ultimately the result was a strong and sophisticated social culture that never lost sight of its original objectives: intellectual

excellence and vocational independence.

Conclusion

The literature of the three women's fraternities and Panhellenism details their evolution both in terms of their internal structure and their reflections of the external realities of their times. All three indicate a supportive, encouraging environment and a focus on intellectual and vocational strength. Positive character and moral development are emphasized. Interest in social reform and civic responsibility play a significant role in each sorority and the Panhellenic movement, albeit to a greater or lesser degree. Changes in the organizational structure are detailed in successive journal issues. Explanations are imparted as to why such change was necessary at a given time. Suggestions are put forth as to why certain behaviors may no longer be viable and why others should take their place. Through the journal literature available from 1885-1930, aspects of sorority life are delineated as the cultural organization and its members made their place on the college campus and in the greater society.

In "The Mission of the Sorority" (1907), Ida Shaw Martin repeatedly used the word self-confidence. From this simple word, self-confidence, emerges "enthusiasm to inspire," "courage to dare," "strength to fulfill" (p. 52). Far from encouraging conformity, the literature of the period 1870-1930 portrays a culture in which the values of Ms. Shaw were repeatedly nurtured and advanced.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

As determined by this report, the effectiveness of an organization is based upon its ability to attain its goal. The actions formulated by the organization as a whole must be appropriate to the environment in which they are carried out. The focus of this study is the changes made by the sororities to ensure their survival. The sorority system that evolved over the 60 year period had to be adaptive to an ever-changing social environment in order to survive. The needs of the young women attending college with the prospect of the vastly expanded job market post-World War I were no longer the requirements of the few courageous women in need of female support and encouragement in an indifferent--if not hostile--male environment. Had the sorority failed to adapt, it would have ceased to exist, to be viewed by later generations as an historical curiosity.

Later sorority histories may or may not reflect early beginnings. In order to justify existence, ensure accomplishment, and warrant continuance, sororities, like all organizations, have had to evolve. The process may have been smooth and even, a reflection of changing times; or it may have occurred as a result of a major upheaval within the organization. For example, early conflicts within the organization may have led to a shift in goals. This conflict may have been central to the future direction of the sorority. Later histories, however, may have mentioned the conflict only in passing,

while attributing the changes to other factors. The purpose of this study is to examine adjustments and modifications in behavior, evoking a sense of history and the way history can be changed. Shifts in membership criteria and organizational were reviewed in an attempt to understand how sororities met the challenges of their environment.

During this time period sororities changed their behavior to meet the challenges of rapid and slow membership growth. The Kappa Alpha Theta convention of 1891 provides an example of how this behavior changed. It was at this convention that the challenges presented by rapid growth were addressed with the outcome being a focus on improving existing chapters, such that no new chapters were added from 1893-1895. In so doing Kappa Alpha Theta was well positioned to weather periods of slow membership growth and thus, ensure the survival of the organization.

There is evidence of shifts in membership criteria. As the organizations grew and gained legitimacy within the academic community, there was a heightened emphasis upon scholarship. At the 1901 Convention Kappa Alpha Theta broadened its admission requirements to permit the initiation of other than liberal arts students. The reporting and comparison of the individual chapter GPA to the all women's G.P.A. became a requirement of Kappa Alpha Theta. Each chapter's academic standing and comparison is reported in the Scholarship Report, published in their magazine.

The formal organization which consists of active and alum sorority membership laid the groundwork for the informal organization to

network with administration and faculty to accomplish the organization's goals. Once a chapter had decided a house of their own was needed, members set about the task of acquiring the necessary resources to build such a structure. As previously discussed, the Kappa Alpha Theta chapter house in Nashville is an example of the formal and informal organization working towards a common goal. The house was furnished "partly through the kindnesses of our alumnae, patronesses, and friends, and partly through our own efforts" (Kappa Alpha Theta, 1912, March).

By the 1920s the organization leadership of the fraternities changed to meet the demands of the growing organization. Direction no longer came from the Mother or first chapter, as it did in the beginning, but was shared with a board on which each chapter was represented. A Council was formed with the typical parliamentary offices filled by alumnae, regardless of chapter affiliation. As new challenges arose, new offices evolved to meet them, until the Council became so large as to be unwieldy. The Council then reduced its size with the smallest National Council having four members and the largest fourteen. The problems were handled by standing committees and staff. This organizational structure with a small National Council assisted by subsidiary officers and committees provided the sororities with the guidance needed to ensure their survival and growth.

Similar patterns of organizational change can be seen in Kappa Alpha Theta, Chi Omega, and Pi Beta Phi. Each used their conventions

to strengthen the organization, establishing goals and making policies, as well as renewing friendships and sharing news about their own local chapters. All three placed a heavy emphasis upon academic excellence and established scholarship funds for members. The magazines of each discussed similar concerns, although the Eleusis of Chi Omega had a more outward focus in terms of women's changing role and society. Kappa Alpha Theta published more articles dealing with its own organizational culture, the Arrow is somewhere in between the Eleusis and Kappa Alpha Theta, striking a balance with its articles.

Housing became a goal for these three sororities and the 1920s saw an expansion in housing. Chi Omega, Pi Beta Phi and Kappa Alpha Theta constructed sorority houses for its active members. These houses became a source of pride and wealth for the organizations.

As woman's roles changed and opportunities opened, the collegiate women were educated to take their place in the expanded job market. In all three sororities, Alums, who were already doing work, which was once restricted to men, were role models for the Actives. Career networks arose to provide encouragement and support in obtaining and succeeding in a job.

Financial support, housing, and career networking are changes sororities made to meet the challenges of their environment. Even with the acceptance of adaptive changes, an organization may cease to exist if nothing is done to ensure its future survival. Organizational efficiency demands that the structure be able to secure and maintain the resources necessary to goal attainment. In the case of

sororities, this means contributions of time and energy from alumnae as well as active members. Of course, there are rules in the organizational framework that specify dues, fees for living quarters, and number of hours that must be spent in community work. However, these rules would be impossible to enforce if the organization did not serve the needs of its members. The organization must offer effective inducements to its members to keep them willing participants in its survival. This is particularly true for alumnae, whose continuing dedication to sustaining the sorority is based on the richness awarded them by their own experiences, and their perceptions that the organization will continue to evolve to meet the needs of future generations of women.

Until recently society did not view higher education for women as important or normal. As noted earlier, Daniel Chandler asked the Georgia legislature to establish an institution of higher education for women because none existed in the world. Georgia Female College was chartered in 1836, but it was not until after the Civil War that the doors to higher education began to open for women. Deviant is defined as one who departs markedly from the norm. With this definition women seeking higher education in the late 19th century were certainly deviant, as few women attended colleges or universities. The courageous ones, who sought further education, were encouraged by and inspired by their sororities to continue their quest and contribute their knowledge to the betterment of society.

As seen through the literature, alumnae did voluntarily take an

active continuing role in the organization, as they continue to do so today. The officers of the Grand Council were elected from alumnae groups. Many innovations in the internal and external sorority structure were the ideas of alumnae. Because of the age restriction, alumnae played the most dynamic role in the War Service of 1917-1918. Reporting back to their sisters at home, they served as a great inspiration to those who were knitting or rolling bandages in the classroom. Appearing at Conventions as the professional women they had become was also a means of providing a strong positive role model.

As noted by the historical issues of the Eleusis, as well as those of Kappa Alpha Theta and the Arrow, contemporary sorority women have no lack of interest in the many generations of women who have preceded them. The fact that the Archives are so well preserved and cared for attests to the importance of these secret societies as organs of social development. The vast literature, past and present, points to the fact that sororities have been and will continue to be a valuable social structure. The young women, who become part of their network, achieve a sense of belonging and individuality at the same time. The period covered by this report spans only the first 60 years. Since then sororities have endured through the Great Depression, the years of World War II, the beginning of the Atomic Age and the social upheaval of the 1960s. They continue to flourish on the vast campuses of the 1990s. What changes they will have to make in the 21st century cannot be answered today. Based on analysis

of their development during the period 1870-1930 sororities do indeed merit attention as a significant form of social organizational culture.

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