AN OVERLOOKED PIONEER:

BLANCHE EVANS HAZARD,

CORNELL UNIVERSITY'S FIRST PROFESSOR OF WOMEN'S STUDIES,

1914-1922

Dean's Fellowship in the History of Home Economics

College of Human Ecology

Cornell University

by

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ABSTRACT

A pioneering historian, educator, author, and civic leader, Blanche Evans Hazard taught in the Department of Home Economics at Cornell University from 1914 to 1922. Although her name is unknown to many modern historians, Hazard's achievements include early development of innovative courses on industrial economics, labor management, and women's studies. She authored numerous historical works, including the definitive history of the boot and shoe industry, earning her the honor of being one of the first woman published by Harvard University Press. Additionally, her influence during the women's suffrage movement in New York State helped prepare countless women for their new responsibilities as voting citizens. She is perhaps one of the most overlooked accomplished women of the early twentieth century.

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I. EARLY LIFE, EDUCATION, AND TEACHING

Blanche Evans Hazard was born in Randolph, Massachusetts, south of Boston, to William T. Hazard and Mary Ellen Hazard in January of 1873. Excepting her years at Cornell University, she would spend nearly all of her life within a twenty mile radius of Boston. Blanche's father, born in Rhode Island in April 1933, worked as a bookkeeper and store clerk. Her mother, born in July 1844 in Massachusetts, tended to the home and Blanche's two older siblings. The eldest sibling, Helen E. Hazard, was born in January 1870. Blanche's older brother, William H. Hazard, was born in August 1871. Little information is available about their family history or situation outside of the U.S. Census records.

After attending a local school with her siblings, Blanche entered Thayer Academy at the age of fifteen in 1888. Located in Braintree, MA, the academy was founded as a private, coeducational preparatory school in 1877 and remains so today. Up until 1920, students from neighboring towns, including Randolph, were given free tuition at the school, easing the burden on Hazard's family. At Thayer, Hazard studied under Anna Boynton Thompson, the head of the history department. Thompson taught at Thayer for over forty years, and it is likely that she strongly influenced Hazard towards a career in history and teaching. The two women continued a correspondence even after Hazard left the school. Thompson was very supportive of her women students, encouraging them to make their mark on the world. Her insight

¹ *History of Thayer*, http://www.thayer.org/glance/default.asp?L2=3.

on Hazard's destiny was almost prophetic: "I expect a brilliant future for you."² Hazard earned her diploma from Thayer in 1892. It is unknown if her siblings attended Thayer, but no one else in her immediate family attended college.³

In 1892, after being recommended by her instructors at Thayer Academy as an "advanced and specially qualified" student, Hazard began taking courses in history and economics as a "special student" through the Society for the Collegiate Education of Women at Harvard University, also known as the Harvard Annex. ⁴ The Annex had opened in 1879 for the instruction of women by regular members of the Harvard faculty. However, for whatever reason, Hazard was not interested in staying long at the Annex, and Anna Boynton Thompson wrote to convince her to stay a second year. ⁵ During her first year of study there, Hazard taught "current history" part-time to students at Thayer Academy, likely working with Thompson. But unable to earn a degree from the Annex, she departed in 1894 in order to spend the next decade teaching at a variety of schools. ⁶

Hazard briefly taught history and English literature at a high school in Maynard, MA before spending a year in Louisville, KY at Hampton College, a now-

² Anna Boynton Thompson, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, August 24, 1894. Thompson passed away in 1923. Interestingly, Hazard was the one who deposited her papers at Radcliffe College. The Thompson papers also include a eulogy given by Hazard and much of their correspondence. For more on Thompson, see the early chapters in Joan C. Tonn, *Mary P. Follett: Creating Democracy, Transforming Management* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

³ Blanche Evans Hazard, Radcliffe Alumnae Information Questionnaire, March 18, 1928.

⁴ Brockton Enterprise, "Perennially Active," September 7, 1957.

⁵ Anna Boynton Thompson, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, June 27, 1893.

⁶ One of Hazard's contemporaries was Mary Parker Follett, who studied with Anna Boynton Thompson at Thayer and entered the Harvard Annex in 1888, four years ahead of Hazard. Both Follett and Hazard were interested in history and economics, and both studied with the same professors, such as Albert Bushnell Hart. Like Hazard, Follett graduated summa cum laude from Radcliffe (in 1898) after studying there irregularly. Follett went on to become a noted social worker, author, and pioneer in industrial management. The similarity of interests and education between the two women is considerable, though no record of any interaction between the two is known.

defunct preparatory school for girls. She returned to Massachusetts in 1896, teaching history and economics at a high school in Concord until 1899. While at Concord, Hazard published her first book, a historical narrative of prehistoric and colonial times. Her publications will be discussed in a later section. Because of the success of the book in classrooms throughout the country, she was invited to be head of the history department at the Rhode Island Normal School, staying from 1899 to 1904. In Rhode Island, Hazard was now teaching future teachers. Her passion for making history accessible and interesting to all students was surely passed on to her pupils. While in Rhode Island, she also published her second book, a collaboration with Harvard Professor Albert Bushnell Hart on colonial children. Thayer teacher Anna Thompson had encouraged Hazard to work with Hart years earlier. Thompson had previously studied with Hart, and an 1893 letter from Thompson to Hazard states: "Dr. Hart continually asks me to write articles for publication upon my ideas of teaching History, but I have no time. When you take Sophomore themes you can do it for me, and publish in Educational Journals, and become famous, and get a fine position."

In 1904, Hazard returned to the Annex, now called Radcliffe College. The college had been incorporated after Hazard left in 1894, and diplomas for both the A.B. and A.M. degree were now offered. Radcliffe's first president was Elizabeth Agassiz, wife of Harvard professor Louis Agassiz, who had served as one of Cornell University's first non-resident lecturers. Meanwhile, Hazard's family had also moved to Cambridge, MA. According to the 1900 United States Census, the entire family resided together in a rented home. Her father was now retired and her brother was a

⁷ Anna Boynton Thompson, letter to Blache Evans Hazard, June 25, 1893.

typewriter "drummer," or salesman. Blanche's sister, Helen, was also a school teacher in Cambridge.

From 1904 to 1907, Hazard was enrolled as a regular student at Radcliffe, although she taught part-time at a private girl's school in Boston until 1906. The private school, opened in 1902 by Mary E. Haskell, gave students a liberal education through innovative teaching methods such as field trips to factories, hospitals, and museums, as well as bringing in guest professionals to the classroom.⁸ It is likely that Hazard's later teaching at Cornell was influenced by Haskell's methods.

At Radcliffe, Hazard's primary interests focused on constitutional and economic history, and she was elected to the Radcliffe History Club in fall 1906. Her college tuition was funded by scholarships. She was the first recipient of the Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Scholarship, and she also received the Edward Austin Scholarship, which was given to "needy meritorious students and teachers to assist them in payment of their studies." In 1907, Hazard demonstrated her historical writing abilities by winning \$50 in a national essay competition sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Her essay, "Beaumarchais and the American Revolution," was later published in Boston in 1910.

In June 1907, Hazard graduated with an A.B. degree at the age of thirty-six, although she officially associated herself with the class of 1895 due to her early years at the Annex. Her class consisted of seventy-eight women, and Hazard was one of

⁸ Tania Simmons, "At the End of the Valley: The Yosemite Adventures of Mary Haskell" in *Confluences 2001* (Savannah: Armstrong Atlantic State University, 2001).

⁹ Radcliffe Magazine, December 1906, 48.

¹⁰ Radcliffe College, *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Radcliffe College 1906-1907* (Cambridge: Radcliffe College, 1907), 21, 64.

only two to graduate summa cum laude. She also was recognized with "highest honors in history and government." One of her classmates was noted novelist, Elsie Singmaster, who had previously studied for one year at Cornell University.¹¹

Census records reveal that by 1910 Hazard's family was no longer living together. Her parents do not appear in the census that year, likely having passed away. Both were certainly deceased by 1921, as a publication by Hazard is dedicated "to the memory of my father and mother." In 1910, Hazard was living north of Cambridge with her brother, William, in Somerville, MA. Also in the household were her brother's wife, Marion, and their son, William G. Hazard. The elder William made a living as a "stationer" (seller of stationery products) for his own business. Blanche Hazard's sister, Helen, was confined to Danvers State Hospital in Essex, MA. She remained there through at least 1930. The nature of her illness and date of her death are both unknown.

After earning her degree, Hazard was invited to develop a course in industrial (or labor) history at a high school in Brockton, MA. By this point, she had developed an interest in the boot and shoe industry, readily accepting the position in Brockton because of the city's noted shoe industry. While at Brockton, a member of the Boston school board invited her to join the faculty of the fledging High School of Practical Arts in Boston.

Established in 1907, the Boston school was dedicated to vocational training for girls in dressmaking and millinery, as well as domestic science and domestic art.

¹¹ Radcliffe College, *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Radcliffe College 1906-1907* (Cambridge: Radcliffe College, 1907), 16-19.

Offering a four-year course, the school also included a high school level education in subjects like math, history, and English. Hazard was appointed Head of the History Department in 1910, developing a four-year course in history and economics. According to the school's catalogue, its courses were designed for "those who do not intend to become self-supporting, but who desire the best possible training for homemaking" and "those who must become—at least for a time—self-supporting." Some scholars of women's education believe that the school "anticipated many features of the home economics movement." Hazard was appointed Head of the History and economics.

During these years at Brockton and Boston from 1907 to 1914, Hazard continued to study irregularly at Radcliffe College. However, it should be noted that Radcliffe did not actually offer any graduate courses. The courses were regular Harvard University graduate courses that had been opened to Radcliffe women. This subtle distinction resulted in Hazard's degree occasionally being listed as a master's degree from Harvard, although it was technically from Radcliffe.

While teaching in Boston, Hazard completed her master's degree under Thomas Nixon Carver, Professor of Political Economy. Carver, who had earned his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1894, was a noted scholar whose primary fields of interest included labor, distribution of wealth, immigration, and rural economics. Hazard worked with Carver on what she called "the negro problem and economic theory," referring to the struggle between races largely in the American south. Judging from his publications, Carver's stance was that conflict between races was an

¹² U.S. Bureau of Labor, *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor: Industrial Education* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911), 299.

¹³ John L. Rury, *Education and Women's Work* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), 189.

economic matter, caused by the struggle over scarce goods and unequal distribution of wealth creating class systems. He was outspoken on the issue of low wages due to labor abundance, advocating an improved system of popular education to increase the amount of professional and managerial labor. Hazard's work under Carver possibly contributed to her later work regarding the struggle of equality for women. She received the degree of A.M. from Radcliffe in 1913 in the field of economic history. A total of twenty-one A.M. degrees were granted by Radcliffe that year. 15

Even prior to her work with Carver, Hazard began studying under Edwin Francis Gay, the first dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Gay oversaw what would become Hazard's doctoral thesis, a study on the boot and shoe industry and its evolution, focusing on the economic and labor aspects. A portion of her thesis was published in the Harvard Economic Review in spring 1913. She even lectured on her research in 1912 at a "Seminary in Economics" in Harvard's Upper Dane Hall. She continued research on the topic even after leaving Radcliffe, publishing the final paper in 1921. Strangely, Hazard never did receive her Ph.D., although she frequently mentions that the paper was for her doctoral degree. A Radcliffe alumnae questionnaire from 1936 stated that her thesis had been completed, but she had "not taken final exams for Ph.D." As a woman with a strong interest in education, it is odd that she would not take the final step to complete her Ph.D. One possibility is that she planned on completing the exams after publication of

¹⁴ Alvin H. Hansen, "The Economics of Unionism," *The Journal of Political Economy* 30, no. 4 (Aug. 1922): 519

¹⁵ Radcliffe College, *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Radcliffe College 1912-1914* (Cambridge: Radcliffe College, 1914), 12-13.

¹⁶ Harvard Crimson, "What is Going on Today," March 18, 1912.

her final thesis in 1921, but her plans changed with her marriage. Or perhaps she felt that her career was suitably developed and that actual receipt of the Ph.D. was unnecessary. It is also possible that she ran into difficulties as a woman pursuing an advanced degree in a predominantly male field.

During these years divided between graduate work, research, and teaching, Hazard remained involved in the Radcliffe student community. The February 1909 issue of *Radcliffe Magazine* published a history of the Radcliffe Library by Hazard.¹⁷ In fall of 1912, she was elected president of the Graduate Club, although another president was later selected because she was "unable to serve," likely due to her teaching responsibilities elsewhere.¹⁸

It is interesting to note the caliber of the individuals with whom Hazard primarily studied or collaborated. A questionnaire submitted to Cornell University's Department of Home Economics years later listed six men as references: Thomas Nixon Carver, Edward Perkins Channing, Edwin Francis Gay, Albert Bushnell Hart, and James Harvey Robinson. ¹⁹ Carver, Channing, Gay, and Hart were all faculty members at Harvard with whom Hazard likely studied. Carver and Gay were both largely responsibly for her graduate work. Channing, a noted historian and author, had previously collaborated on publications with Anna Thompson. Robinson, a professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University and editor of the *American Historical Review*, worked with Hazard on the Committee of Social Studies

¹⁷ Radcliffe Magazine, February 1909, 84-85.

¹⁸ Radcliffe Magazine, December 1912, 39.

¹⁹ Cornell University Department of Home Economics, *Record of Training and Experience of Members of the Staff*, October 23, 1918.

in 1916, to be discussed shortly. After working with Hazard, two of these men were elected president of the American Historical Association (AHA), two were elected president of the American Economic Association (AEA), and one received the Pulitzer Prize in history.²⁰

Hazard had become involved with the American Historical Association (AHA) around 1904, as well as its publication, American Historical Review.²¹ In 1904, she authored a review of a book on historical costumes, which was published in the Review. Concurrent with her work for the AHA, Hazard became an officer in the New England Association of Teachers of History in Colleges and Secondary Schools, joining the organization in 1896 early in her teaching career. The AHA worked with the National Education Association (NEA) to form a Committee of Seven in the late 1890s to help revise and improve curriculum for teaching history. Albert B. Hart, one of Hazard's mentors, participated on the committee, as did H. Morse Stephens, a Cornell University professor. Their report, published in 1899, made a series of recommendations for teaching history in schools.²² One decade later, Hazard chaired a special committee within the New England Association that made further suggestions and modifications to the 1899 report. Their suggestions included "more definite divisions and limitations of courses" on Medieval, Modern, and English Histories, as well as a "separation of American history and of American civil government."

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²⁰ Hart was elected president of the American Historical Association (AHA) in 1909 and the American Political Science Association (APSA) in 1912. Carver was elected president of the American Economic Association (AEA) in 1916 after serving as secretary-treasurer from 1909 to 1913. Channing won the Pulitzer Prize in history in 1926. Gay was elected president of the American Economic Association (AEA) in 1929. Robinson was elected president of the American Historical Association (AHA) in 1929. ²¹ Cornell University's first two presidents both served as president of the AHA, with Andrew Dickson White serving as the founding president in 1884.

²² Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in Schools* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1899).

Notably, Hazard's committee's final point was that a new type of history education be developed for the newly emerging vocational schools. Hazard's experiences in Boston were likely a strong influence on this point.²³

In 1905, the AHA appointed a Committee of Eight to develop a course of study in history specifically for elementary teachers. Their final report, published in 1910, contained one specific contribution attributed to Hazard: an outline for teaching the history of the birth of the German nation to eighth grade students. ²⁴ Three years later, in 1912, she was appointed to an editorial committee by the AHA to oversee the revival and publication of *History Teacher's Magazine*. The magazine, which changed names twice before severing its connection to the AHA, was the association's way of staying in close contact with history teachers in secondary schools. ²⁵

Hazard's influence on educational policy committees continued even into her time at Cornell University. She was one of twenty-one members and two women on the NEA's 1916 Committee of Social Studies, which published the work that has been called the "foundation for social studies education" and is often credited with the popularity of the term "social studies." According to one author, "use of the term 'social studies' was given official approval and wide currency in the report of the

²³ David Warren Saxe, *Social Studies in Schools: A History of The Early Years* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 88.

²⁴ James Alton James and others, *The Study of History in Elementary Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 110-114.

²⁵ Arthur S. Link, "The American Historical Association, 1884-1984: Retrospect and Prospect," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (1985): 14.

²⁶ Michael Whelan, "James Harvey Robinson, the New History, and the 1916 Social Studies Report," *The History Teacher* 24, no. 2 (1991): 191.

Committee on Social Studies."²⁷ In its report, the committee proposed a new direction for social studies education, calling for an emphasis on current issues, social problems, and recent history, with emphasis on the needs and interests of students. Hazard's work in the Boston High School of Practical Arts is specifically referenced in the section about teaching relevant history. The example given discusses how Hazard taught labor industry by having students learn about the occupations of their parents, connecting history of an industry to the present. Also included in the report were curriculum suggestions and additions, the most radical of which were programs in community civics and problems of democracy.²⁸ Hazard's interests in civics will be elaborated on further in the discussion of her courses at Cornell.

²⁷ Edgar B. Wesley, *Teaching the Social Studies: Theory and Practice* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co.,

²⁸ Edited by Murry R. Nelson, The Social Studies in Secondary Education: A Reprint of the Seminal 1916 Report with Annotations and Commentaries (Bloomington: ERIC, 1994).

II. AT CORNELL: WOMEN ON THE FACULTY

In 1913, Hazard was approached by Martha Van Rensselaer and Flora Rose, the co-directors of the fledging home economics program at Cornell University. Van Rensselaer and Rose likely recognized the importance of Hazard's work incorporating history and industrial economics into a curriculum developed for women in Boston.²⁹ In Hazard's own words, "they wanted me to put a cultural background into the home economics courses being taught."³⁰ With her education and experience, Hazard seemed the perfect fit to help expand Cornell's Department of Home Economics into a broad and practical education for women.

Hazard's appointment to the faculty at Cornell University was a significant accomplishment in itself. Although pioneering in the acceptance of women students, the administration at Cornell was less enthusiastic about women on the faculty. In 1897, Louise S. Brownell became the first woman to have her name proposed to the Board of Trustees for an assistant professorship at Cornell. Holding a Ph.D. from Bryn Mawr, Brownell taught as a lecturer in English while serving as warden of the Sage College for women. In June 1897, the trustees deferred the proposal to their fall meeting; however, Brownell withdrew her name in September, resigning from Cornell entirely in spring of 1898. The loss of Brownell seems to have alerted the trustees to their mistake, and that following November, Cornell appointed its first woman to the faculty. Noted naturalist and illustrator, Anna Botsford Comstock, was appointed assistant professor of nature study for the summer school term. As a Cornell alumna

²⁹ It seems that the term "industrial economics" is used by Hazard to refer to the economics of labor and industry, including the history of manufacturing, markets, and competition.

³⁰ Brockton Enterprise, "Perennially Active," September 7, 1957.

and the wife of popular entomology professor, John Henry Comstock, it is likely that her appointment was an easier decision for the trustees. However, trustee opposition to women on the faculty remained strong enough that Comstock was reappointed as only a lecturer at the conclusion of the summer term.³¹

The study of home economics finally opened the door for women faculty members, as was the case at many universities. In 1900, Martha Van Rensselaer was hired as an assistant in extension to handle the publication of bulletins to farmers' wives. Courses began to be offered within the College of Agriculture, and Flora Rose arrived in 1906 to help. This led to home economics becoming its own department in 1907, but it remained a department with no professors; Van Rensselaer and Rose were appointed only as "lecturers." It was not until October 1911, nearly one hundred years ago, that the faculty reluctantly voted that "while not favoring in general the appointment of women to professorships, it would interpose no objection to their appointment in the Department of Home Economics." Thus, the two became the first female full professors at Cornell University.³²

On January 10, 1914, Blanche Hazard was appointed Assistant Professor of Home Economics effective as of the second term by the Board of Trustees, although her appointment had been approved by the president of the university and the acting director of the college in late 1913.³³ At this point, Van Rensselaer and Rose were still the only female full professors at the university. There were only three other female assistant professors at the time. Helen Binkerd Young had worked part-time as

³¹ Morris Bishop, A History of Cornell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), 337-338.

³² Ibid., 379-380.

³³ Martha Van Rensselaer, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, December 3, 1913.

Assistant Professor of Domestic Art in the Department of Home Economics since 1911 after beginning as instructor the year before. Anna Botsford Comstock had been appointed as Assistant Professor of Nature Study (for the second time) in 1913 after teaching for over a decade at Cornell. Annette J. Warner, specializing in household art, became the first full-time assistant professor in the Department of Home Economics after her appointment in 1913.³⁴ Of all these early women at Cornell, Hazard was one of only two with post-graduate degrees: Flora Rose had earned an M.A. in Food and Nutrition from Columbia University. However, although Annette Warner did not have any university degree, she had studied at a variety of schools of art, giving her an impressive background for the teaching of household art and design at Cornell. A photo of the entire university faculty in 1916 includes only three women: Blanche Hazard, Flora Rose, and Annette Warner.

On September 19, 1919, Cornell's Board of Trustees recognized the contributions to the community and university from home economics education and voted to designate the Department of Home Economics as the School of Home Economics, although still within the College of Agriculture.³⁵ The previous May, both Hazard and Annette Warner had been promoted to Acting Professor of Home Economics.³⁶ At the same time, Acting Assistant Professor Lulu Grace Graves, who had been appointed only a year earlier in 1918, received the first full professorship

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³⁴ Cornell University, *The Register of Cornell University 1915-1916* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1916).

³⁵ Flora Rose, "Forty Years of Home Economics at Cornell University," in *A Growing College: Home Economics at Cornell University* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 62. It would not become the New York State College of Home Economics until 1925.

³⁶ The implication of an "acting" title was generally that it was a temporary position, typically filling in for a recently resigned faculty member before a replacement was found.

since Van Rensselaer and Rose in 1911.³⁷ It was not until a year later that women professors began to be more common. On June 21, 1920, the College of Agriculture promoted five women to full professor effective July 1, 1920: Assistant Professors Anna Comstock, Helen Monsch, and Helen Young, and Acting Professors Blanche Hazard and Annette Warner.³⁸

Although women faculty members at Cornell University were now a reality, opposition to their expansion outside of home economics was evident. Even with the appointment of Van Rensselaer and Rose as full professors, Director of the College of Agriculture Liberty Hyde Bailey suggested that they refrain from attending faculty meetings, advising them to "let memory of opposition be forgotten." The hostile climate towards women professors is further evidenced by the fact that the College of Arts and Sciences did not appoint its first female assistant professor until 1947 and its first female full professor in 1960.40

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³⁷ Cornell University, *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Cornell University 1918-1919* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1919), 582.

³⁸ Cornell University, *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Cornell University 1919-1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1920).

³⁹ Flora Rose, "Forty Years of Home Economics at Cornell University," in *A Growing College: Home Economics at Cornell University* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 37.

⁴⁰ Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 128.

III. AT CORNELL: COURSES AND ACTIVITIES

Arriving in Ithaca in early 1914, Hazard moved into 811 East State Street, a building owned and rented by Leland D. Van Rensselaer, brother of Martha Van Rensselaer. Both Martha and Flora had previously lived there, but left around 1913 to operate an inn near Forest Home adjacent to Cornell's campus. The building on State Street was home to an ever-changing population of faculty members. For the 1915-1916 school year, Hazard's fellow lodgers included three other members of the home economics faculty (Miriam Birdseye, Beulah Blackmore, and Helen Canon), two stenographers for the College of Agriculture, and an assistant professor of mathematics. The 1920 U.S. Census lists residents as Leland Van Rensselaer, Hazard, James A. Bizzell (professor of soil technology), Mary Isabel Potter (landscape architect), and Eva Shalter (nurse). Hazard remained at 811 East State Street until her last year in Ithaca.

The topics of Hazard's course at Cornell were new to the university, as was much of the coursework offered in the fledgling Department of Home Economics. A historian and economist, Hazard joined a department with classes on nutrition, dressmaking, and household design, but she quickly found her niche. In her first two full semesters at Cornell, Hazard co-taught "Woman and the Family" with Martha Van Rensselaer, a three-credit course intended for seniors. Van Rensselaer remained the sole faculty member listed with the course in university publications, with the exception of the 1918-1919 year when both Van Rensselaer and Hazard are once again

⁴¹ Cornell University, *Directory: Cornell University*, *First Term 1915-16* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1915).

included. Although course listings included "Woman and the Family" each year, the 1920-1921 Annual Report states that the course was not given in either 1919-1920 or 1920-1921. This may have been because of Van Rensselaer's increased duties beginning in 1919 as the School of Home Economics began efforts to become its own separate college. The first bill reached the New York legislature on January 3, 1920.⁴²

The published course description remained almost unchanged from 1916 to 1922. Topics included "opening of occupations and professions to women; laws governing the family; the family [as] a basis of civilization; a study of modern problems of women and the home, suffrage, education, [and] economic function of woman and the family."⁴³ The extremely broad subject matter of the course appears to be the equivalent of a modern gender studies course, with historical analysis of woman's place in all aspects of life from the family to economics. Notably, suffrage is included as a topic of study even before either New York State or the United States approved women's suffrage.⁴⁴

Though only listed as teaching "Woman and the Family" in 1914-1915 and 1918-1919, Hazard taught the course during the spring 1918 semester as well when Van Rensselaer was in Washington, D.C. serving as Director of the Home Conservation Division of the United States Food Administration. A letter from Hazard

⁴² Flora Rose, "Forty Years of Home Economics at Cornell University," in *A Growing College: Home Economics at Cornell University* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 64.

⁴³ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1916-1917* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1916), 55.

⁴⁴ New York adopted a constitutional amendment in 1917 following its defeat in 1915. The United States granted women the right to vote with the signing of the 19th Amendment on August 26, 1920.

to Van Rensselaer in 1918 discusses concerns over course material and gives further details about the material covered:

The girls in Woman in the Family have had lectures on the political and social phases on Thursdays and Fridays, and on Tuesdays we have discussed two chapters of Goodsell⁴⁵ for each week, following your charted outline. This week we discuss Mrs. Richards's⁴⁶ life work and personality; then Mrs. Palmer's⁴⁷ causes. I rather think I'll wait before I say more to them about sex and society till you can send me words of advice. As long as Mr. Thomas is making such a scandal and is appearing in all our newspapers just now, I wonder if it would be just as well not to require the girls to read his book just now – simply let it slide along as an extra they can do if they wish. If this seems an unnecessary or unwise precaution for now to take, let me know. That work is scheduled for the last week of April.

Prof. Bailey⁴⁸ gave an interesting lecture Friday on Women in Poetry, tying his choice of types and facts to the Goodsell reading and discussions. Miss Glover speaks this Thursday and Miss Phelan⁴⁹ the next, on Woman in Journalism. This will complete the plans you made for the class when you were leaving. I am eager for the girls to have your every plan at least, since they cannot have you. Let me know of any new suggestions for H.E. 12 and I will carry them out as far as I can.⁵⁰

The letter reveals how the course content was especially liberal and progressive, educating Cornell students about the most prominent feminists of the time. Also worth noting is the progressive inclusion of course material on "sex and society" so early in the twentieth century. "Mr. Thomas" is Professor William I. Thomas, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago. In April of 1918, he was charged with disorderly conduct for leaving a hotel with the young wife of an army

⁴⁵ Willystine Goodsell (1870-1962) was a professor of education at Columbia College and author of *A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution* (1915), *Problems of the Family* (1928), and *Pioneers of Women's Education in America* (1931).

⁴⁶ Ellen Swallow Richards (1842-1911) is considered by many to be the founder of home economics as the organizer as the Lake Placid conference in 1899 and first president of the American Home Economics Association.

⁴⁷ Alice Freeman Palmer (1855-1902), a president of Wellesley College and active promoter of women's education.

⁴⁸ Liberty Hyde Bailey (1858-1954) was director of Cornell University's College of Agriculture. His interest in poetry is evidenced by the publication of his own collected poems as *Wind and Weather* (New York: Cornell Publishing Co., 1916).

⁽New York: Cornell Publishing Co., 1916).

49 Likely refers to Katherine Glover and Marion Phelan, staff members in the Department of Home Economics at Cornell in 1918. Glover went on to be editor of publications for the White House Conference on Child Health in 1930, of which Martha Van Rensselaer was Assistant Director.

⁵⁰ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Martha Van Rensselaer, [April 14, 1918].

officer. Although he was suspended from the faculty at Chicago, his defense attorney, Clarence Darrow, had the charges dismissed.⁵¹

The book by Thomas mentioned by Hazard was *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex* (1907), which covers a wide range of material. Chapters titles include "Sex and Primitive Social Control," "Sex and Social Feelings," "Sex and Primitive Morality," "The Adventitious Character of Woman," and "The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races." Discussion of human sexual behavior and relationships throughout history is presented in the book. In an era when equal rights were largely nonexistent, many of Thomas's conclusions about gender and race stand out as especially radical:

There is certainly great difference in the mental ability of individuals ... but difference in natural ability is, in the main, a characteristic of the individual, not of race or of sex. It is probable that brain efficiency (speaking from the biological standpoint) has been, on the average, approximately the same in all races and in both sexes since nature first made up a good working-model, and that differences in intellectual expression are mainly social rather than biological, dependent on the fact that different stages of culture present different experiences to the mind, and adventitious circumstances direct the attention to different fields of interest. ⁵²

As a woman of advanced education, Hazard probably identified with Thomas's statement that "There is also no ground for the assumption that the brain of woman is inferior to that of man." Thomas had previously authored an article that was extremely supportive of women's suffrage, another reason that Van Rensselaer and Hazard may have promoted his work in their course. 54

⁵¹ New York Times, "Thomas and Woman Freed," April 20, 1918, 13.

⁵² William I. Thomas, *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 257-258.

⁵³ William I. Thomas, *Sex and Society: Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 255.

⁵⁴ William I. Thomas, "Votes for Women," *American Magazine*, July 1909, 292-301.

Hazard's concern over teaching Thomas's material during the scandal surrounding him is likely a preemptive move to prevent criticism of her course material and readings. Van Rensselaer's response further illustrates their concerns: "I think you are quite right in not presenting the work in connection with Professor Thomas's book, not alone because of the notoriety which he has had of late, but because we have had this work presented by a biologist and I think that is the best way." Van Rensselaer's reference to having the work presented by a biologist instead of sociologist is possibly a reflection of the general disapproval from academics directed towards the social sciences, especially the work in home economics. Having the topic of "sex and society" presented by a biologist may have been an effort to present the controversial aspects of the course regarding gender differences and relationships in a more "scientific" way. 56

Other course content included the study of women's organizations and movements, an area of which Hazard had "particular knowledge" according to Van Rensselaer. Specific organizations mentioned in a 1919 letter include the Land Army, formed in 1917 in Great Britain to provide an agricultural workforce during World War I, and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (known as the American

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⁵⁵ Martha Van Rensselaer, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, May 2, 1918.

⁵⁶ The progressive nature of the "Woman and the Family" course is evidenced by the criticisms faced by its successor at Cornell more than a quarter-century later. In the 1930s, Professor Lemo Rockwood began teaching what was popularly known as "The Marriage Course," which covered topics such as courtship, engagement, marital adjustment, and parenthood. The sexual content of the course resulted in complaints from both the Dean of Women and undergraduate president of the Women's Self-Government Association. However, development of the feminist movement in later years resulted in the course being viewed as stereotyping women as homemakers in the field of home economics. Division of Rare & Manuscript Collections, "Lemo Rockwood and The Marriage Course," *From Domesticity to Modernity: What was Home Economics?*, Cornell University Library, http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/homeEc/cases/marriage.html.

Association of University Women after 1921), of which Hazard was elected a director of the Ithaca branch in 1918. ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ Hazard's knowledge of such movements likely stemmed from presentation of similar content in her other course, "Women in Industry."

In the fall of 1915, Hazard's second year at Cornell, she began teaching "Woman in Industry," a course that she taught for six semesters until her resignation. This course would eventually become the focus of a department devoted entirely to Hazard's courses, known as Civic and Industrial Relations of Women. Course content focused on "study of woman's gainful occupations, conditions, and problems of labor in town and country from the fifteenth to the twentieth century." It included a laboratory period in which students would take field trips to factories, stores, and farm homes to observe working women. Examples of trips taken included the Endicott-Johnson Shoe Factory in Johnson City and Endicott, the Wickwire Mill in Cortland, and the David Harum Canning Company in Homer. Students would evaluate each factory using an outline of questions regarding elements like sanitary arrangements, heating, light, danger and monotony of labor, discipline, etc. 60

"Woman in Industry" (later changed slightly to "Women in Industry" beginning in 1918-1919) was a combination of Hazard's interests and life research. Described as covering six centuries of economic history, the course offered Hazard the opportunity to present material about which she was truly passionate. A scholar of

⁵⁷ Martha Van Rensselaer, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, February 21, 1919.

⁵⁸ Cornell Alumni News, June 1918.

⁵⁹ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1919-1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1919), 59.

⁶⁰ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1920), 27.

history and economics, Hazard's earlier research on the boot and shoe industry also included a study of gender and was surely applicable to the course content.

The pressure of World War I forced the Department of Home Economics to adapt its efforts to support the war on a local and national stage. Resources were focused on food rationing and conservation, nutrition, and family health, all areas very separate from Hazard's coursework. However, Hazard chose to focus "Woman in Industry" on the significant changes in all facets of women's work due to war conditions. She described the changes in a memo to Flora Rose: "We spent about one third of our term time in consideration of women as war workers and the inevitable vital changes in relations of men and women, of trade unions and public opinion, to women in production and transportation." The annual report for 1917-1918 elaborates further.

"In this course devoted to the history and present day conditions and problems of women in industry, the question of conservation of woman's and children's strength and vitality, have [sic] naturally been emphasized since the nation and the world at large must even in the stress of the great war safeguard this source of its future manhood. A study of machinery, of factory surroundings, of tenement conditions, of lack of recreation facilities, of undue exposure to dangerous machinery, and causes of occupational diseases, have also been emphasized. 63

In that year, a course curriculum outline appeared to divide the course into three main segments: Women as War Workers, History of Women in Industry, and Present Day Factory Conditions and Problems. Emphasis clearly appears to be on the changing environment of women employees due to the war, as well as the other contributions of women in the war effort. (See Appendix C for a list of readings used

⁶¹ Flora Rose, "Forty Years of Home Economics at Cornell University," in *A Growing College: Home Economics at Cornell University* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 62.

⁶² Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Flora Rose, May 7, 1918.

⁶³ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1918).

in the course.) The focus on the war work of women was certainly relevant: between 1910 and 1920, around 400,000 women became employed in semiskilled manufacturing labor while about 500,000 left the home and domestic work.⁶⁴ Even after the war's close, Hazard's course continued to focus more on the modern situation of women in industry and less on the historical. By 1920, the course was seen as a "prevocational course" leading to a vocational follow-up course for seniors and graduate students.⁶⁵

The follow-up course, also taught by Hazard, began in spring 1919 as "Welfare Supervision of Women in Industry." The term welfare supervisor referred to a type of human resources manager in the early twentieth century. Welfare supervisors were typically responsible for such duties as obtaining and maintaining a healthy staff, supervision of working conditions, and keeping employee records. The need for such a course due to the influx of women into previously male-dominated jobs after the war is discussed in Hazard's annual report to Flora Rose in 1918: "Conditions in this country in the present and near future warrant and demand training of women as welfare supervisors for the thousands of women working under war strain and war conditions (make-shift factories). I wish we might do part of this training work." Targeted towards "institutional management students who intend to be welfare supervisors or factory inspectors," the course involved "intensive study of conditions and problems with proposed remedies in industries where women and children are

⁶⁴ Robert H. Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 144.

⁶⁵ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1921), 19.

⁶⁶ Helen Fraser. Women and War Work (New York: G. Arnold Shaw, 1918).

⁶⁷ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Flora Rose, May 7, 1918.

concerned." The vocational nature of the course was emphasized, and students were expected to serve as an assistant to a welfare supervisor or as a factory worker during the summer. Interestingly, the course attempted to tie together all the required coursework of home economics students by correlating "the student's previous courses in sanitation, physics, physiology, chemistry, dietetics and nutrition, household and institutional management, with the new problems and facts presented by the vocation of welfare supervision." ⁶⁸

In 1919-1920, the course was renamed to "Employees' Service Supervision," broadening the focus from that of just welfare supervision. The course was again renamed the next year, this time to "Industrial Administration Problems and Practices." The annual report states a threefold purpose: "to give training in industrial relationships, in the proper attitude and mental qualifications of factory inspectors and as research students for field and office work in industrial conditions." The course listed a trip to Buffalo or Rochester "as centers of industry activity." After Hazard's departure from Cornell, it is unlikely that any similar course on human resources or labor management was offered until the opening of Cornell's School of Industrial Labor Relations in 1945. Hazard taught the course a total of three semesters.

Related to her teaching on women in industry, Hazard had direct experience with the subject during World War I. Aware of her expertise, the U.S. government hired Hazard to work as an undercover spy in the General Electric plant in

⁶⁸ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1919-1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1919), 57.

⁶⁹ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1921), 19.

⁷⁰ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1921-1922* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1922), 66.

Schenectady, NY. The government feared that the influx of women workers in defense plants was resulting in inefficiency, so Hazard was brought in as an employee in the summer to observe coworkers and make recommendations to the plant. Her conclusions were that morale among women was low due to poor uniforms and fear of operating machinery that should have been assigned to men. Although articles about Hazard in her later life date the work to 1916, a letter from summer 1918 discusses her continuing work at General Electric.⁷¹ This employment was ended when coworkers became suspicious at the notes she was taking at the plant; she had claimed only a "grammar school" education to get the job, but her writing was apparently at a much higher level. She claims that many of her recommendations were implemented at the plant.⁷²

Another course started in Hazard's second year at Cornell was "Primitive Woman," a three-credit spring course for juniors and seniors. She continued teaching the course for three springs before removing it for the 1918-1919 year, likely due to the addition of new courses to her schedule (see Appendix B). The course was not limited to only Native Americans, but included "a survey of primitive woman of all countries as housekeeper, wife, and mother, and as a member of her tribe or social group; the details of her daily work and her development along social, economic, intellectual, and spiritual lines." Relating the historical to the present day, the course also explored the "inheritance in arts, crafts, myths, and religious ideas, which primitive woman has bequeathed to civilized woman, and the duty of the latter to the

⁷¹ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Clara Sykes, July 3, 1918.

⁷² Brockton Enterprise, "Perennially Active," September 7, 1957.

present-day primitive women who are the wards of the Nation, whether they are Filipinas, Negroes in the Black Belt, or Indians on New York Reservations." Based on the description, this course moves away from the industrial and economic interests of Hazard, instead combining her historical interests with sociology and anthropology. An inspection of the course registers shows little other instruction in anthropology at Cornell University before this point. Although the course wasn't offered after spring 1918, the 1919-1920 annual report mentions that "it is planned in the near future to revive ... "Primitive Women", to be re-named "Indian Homes and Traditions on the Reservations," apparently refocusing the course solely on Native Americans and not other cultures. Hazard's interest in native cultures is evidenced by her publications to be discussed in a later section.

The third course that Hazard developed shortly after arriving at Cornell was "Seminary in the History of Housekeeping." Complementing the other household management courses being offered, this one credit course consisted of a lecture once a week plus an individual conference each week between student and professor. The course examined "historical methods of housekeeping, the daily rounds, the resources, and the conditions of housekeepers from earliest times to the present. This includes the use of foods, furniture and clothing, utensils, and recipes, by women of Egypt and Rome, of medieval England, of colonial America, and of twentieth century New

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⁷³ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1916-1917* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1916), 57.

⁷⁴ The 1896-1897 President's Report mentions the addition of a course on "anthropology and ethnology", and the course registers in the first decade of the 1900s list a course with titled "Anthropology and Ethnology" in the Department of Political Science. The 1906-1907 description details its focus as the "origin of primitive social and cultural institutions and of the development of material civilization with especial reference to the native races in the American dependencies."

⁷⁵ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1920), 28.

York."⁷⁶ Later course descriptions expanded to include family customs, ceremonies, and entertainments. Like "Primitive Woman," the course was dropped for 1918-1919 because of the addition of two other new courses to Hazard's teaching. However, this course returned for 1919-1920. Because of new status as a School of Home Economics, the course listings for that year were reorganized and divided into separate divisions, although they were not officially recognized as departments by Cornell's Board of Trustees until the school became a college in 1925. 77 The housekeeping course was expanded to two credits, titled simply "History of Housekeeping," and offered in the Household Management division. The new description stated "the object of this course is to furnish a background of historical interest for students in home economics." In the annual report for 1919-1920, Hazard proposed that the course be combined with her "Supervised Study" course as a valuable freshman course supplied "a proper historical background for home economics work." The recommendation was not applied for the next year; instead, the course evolved into a prevocational course "for the future activities of social and industrial workers," adding to the description "consideration of racial heritages, beliefs, and customs, which affect the food habits, health, and social observances of foreigners in this country."⁷⁹ Hazard was again teaching a subject very different from anything previously offered in home

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⁷⁶ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1916-1917* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1916), 57.

⁷⁷ Flora Rose, "Forty Years of Home Economics at Cornell University," in *A Growing College: Home Economics at Cornell University* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 68.

⁷⁸ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1920), 27.

⁷⁹ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1921-1922* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1922), 64.

An Overlooked Pioneer: Blanche Evans Hazard

economics or elsewhere at Cornell, adding further breadth to the department. When she resigned, Hazard had taught some iteration of the course a total of five semesters.

Hazard's regular term classes were identical in her second and third years at Cornell, but in fall 1917, she added another new course to home economics. "Supervised Study" was required of freshmen, acting as an introductory course to the department and academics at the university. Unlike her other courses, "Supervised Study" had little basis in history, economics, or home economics. Instead, it taught "principles and methods of study for the guidance of students." This included "efficient note-taking from lectures and books; filing and cross-reference work; rapid reading; preparation for examinations and way of profiting from them; making and using individual study schedules; the use of libraries ...; and the ethics of classroom and laboratory." Time management was a primary focus since freshmen students at Cornell were suddenly free "from secondary supervision and constructive suggestion" of which they had previously been accustomed. A lengthy description of course content was given in the 1919 Annual Report, stating that "The aim is not only to teach the student how to study but to study the student and find her particular qualities and advise her to ascertain as early in her course as possible in what line she should specialize." Through this course, Hazard served as an advisor and mentor to all freshmen in the department.⁸¹

The final regular course that Hazard developed was "Woman and the State," started in the spring of 1918-1919. This was an extension of her lectures in "Woman

⁸⁰ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1919-1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1919), 59.

⁸¹ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1920).

and the Family" regarding suffrage, political organizations, and the responsibilities of voting citizens. Women's suffrage had become a national issue in the previous years, especially with women being called to work in previously all-male occupations during the war. In 1917, the U.S. officially declared war, and the state of New York finally passed legislation to give women the right to vote. These two events convinced Hazard that something must be done to educate the women of the state to be responsible and knowledgeable voters. Her response to the granting of voting rights to women in New York State was immediate. The suffrage vote was won on November 6, 1917, and Hazard articulated her interest in creating a new course in a memo to Van Rensselaer dated November 28, 1917, only three weeks later. The brief memo listed three questions to be answered by the course:

- (1) How shall the New York housekeeper know about her new political duties?
- (2) How can our Home Economics Department help her to vote intelligently?
- (3) Can we give a course to our students to prepare them, when they go out as county agents or extension workers, to use the opportunities they meet for influencing and teaching women as voters?⁸²

At the end of the year, Hazard evaluated the 1917-1918 terms by stating "my work has been changed or rather increased by the voting question which is made doubly important by the necessary education of women voters in New York State." During the previous year, she had authored the bulletin, "Civic Duties of Women," lectured for study clubs and at extension meetings in upstate New York, and corresponded with many regarding the suffrage issue. In a later letter, she spoke of the

⁸² Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Martha Van Rensselaer, November 28, 1917.

"war time need for voting by intelligent women" and her frustration at the "tendency for women to 'wait till after the war' to even care about voting." 83

Her solution to the problem was "Woman and the State," a three-credit course she taught each spring beginning in 1919, a total of three semesters. "Designed to prepare students for their future interests and responsibilities as voting citizens," the course also studied "political organizations and groups through which the students will have to work in order to obtain legislation and administrative action necessary to establish better living conditions for town, city, state, and nation." The course also included a trip to Albany "to supplement the opportunities for studying political institutions in Ithaca." ⁸⁴ In its final year, the course was divided into four areas of study: public institutions and their problems related to women, qualifications for women in administration positions, methods that women can influence and better society, and how women's work in these fields can be improved and standardized. ⁸⁵ The course was closely tied to Hazard's extension work discussed later, and likely followed the course outlines found in her "Civic Duties of Women" bulletin.

Between semesters, Hazard developed courses for the winter term, often taught to special students not regularly enrolled or working towards a degree. The winter term at Cornell ran from November to mid-February each year, overlapping with the last half of the fall term for regular students. This is likely the reason why Hazard typically taught fewer courses in the fall than spring. She taught at least one winter

⁸³ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Flora Rose, May 7, 1918.

⁸⁴ Cornell University, *New York State College of Agriculture Announcement 1919-1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1919), 60.

⁸⁵ Department of Home Economics, *Annual Report* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1921).

course each semester, beginning with a course in dramatics and a course on farm home industries during her first year. Separate from her work in home economics, the dramatics course was part of a "Rural Recreation" course of study for leaders in rural communities. The eclectic topics in the "Rural Recreation" course also included music, military drill, and folk-dancing. ⁸⁶ Hazard had previously directed a senior play on the American Revolution at the High School of Practical Arts in Boston, MA. Using her historical knowledge, she was responsible for "details of historical costume, furnishing, speech and manner of Revolutionary days." Later at Cornell, she arranged for a pageant for the university's semi-centennial celebrations, as well as a reenactment of Native American life.

The course titled "By-Industries for the Farm Home" was renamed the next year to "Home Industries for Farm Women." The lectures suggested possible industries that could be carried out in the home by wives and daughters, covering information on marketing, accounting, and methods of making home industries into commercial successes. As with most of Hazard's courses, it also included a survey of other cultures and their home industries.⁸⁸

The next two winters, Hazard taught "Supervised Study" for winter students.

Unlike the regular term "Supervised Study," this course was not required, but instead offered as an option for winter students in need of extra help studying. It consisted of a

⁸⁶ Cornell Daily Sun, "Rural Recreation Course to be Given for First Time," December 5, 1914.

⁸⁷ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Martha Van Rensselaer and Flora Rose, [November or December 1913]

⁸⁸ Cornell University, *Announcement of Winter Courses*, *New York State College of Agriculture 1916-1917* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1916), 30.

once-a-week conference period when Hazard could offer suggestions and aid to students in need.⁸⁹

In the 1918-1919, Hazard also began "Women in the Community," a winter term predecessor to "Woman and the State." Designed for women community leaders, the course was first offered immediately after the publication of the "Civic Duties of Women" publication, and likely followed the outline within the publication closely. In its second winter, the course was actually renamed to "Civic Responsibilities of Women." The new description stated that course was planned for "volunteer civic group leaders." Besides educating women as voting citizens, the winter course was more focused on encouraging its students to promote such education in others. By teaching community leaders from throughout the state, Hazard was indirectly influencing many more women. Interestingly, the "Civic Responsibilities" course appeared in the 1922-1923 course register after Hazard's resignation, but with no faculty member connected to it. It seems unlikely that a professor was able to replace Hazard's knowledge of the subject, and it is doubtful that the course was actually offered.

Glimpses of Hazard's non-academic life at Cornell appear in a variety of sources. In her first year on the faculty, she was elected to the executive committee of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the only female member. 90 She also attended meetings of the undergraduate women's agricultural society, Frigga Fylgae 91, and served on the

⁸⁹ Cornell University, *Announcement of Winter Courses*, *New York State College of Agriculture 1918-1919* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1918), 30.

⁹⁰ Cornell Daily Sun, "Phi Beta Kappa Society Elects 1914-15 Officers," October 29, 1914, 8.

⁹¹ Cornell Daily Sun, "Frigga Fylgae to Hold Open Meeting Tonight," October 6, 1914, 2.

advisory board of the Y.W.C.A. with the Dean of Women and wives of Cornell faculty. ⁹² Her popularity with students was further evidenced by a request to be house chaperone of the Kappa Delta sorority, necessitating her moving into the Kappa Delta house for her final year at Cornell. At the time, the concept of house chaperones was still considered an "experiment" by the university, and Hazard was possibly one of the first. ⁹³ Van Rensselaer, although supporting the interaction between faculty and students, worried about the time commitment, stating "there are few women who can endure this in addition to teaching." ⁹⁴ Hazard also spent time auditing courses while on the faculty, taking courses in zoology, botany, biology, photography, sociology, and economics, "but not for credit – just for pleasure" in her words. ⁹⁵ She was continually interested in increasing her own personal knowledge.

A theme in Hazard's tenure at Cornell is her genuine interest in the welfare of her students. By teaching "Supervised Study" each year, she was able to know each freshman personally and guide their development at Cornell. Her involvement with and support of student organizations showed her commitment to undergraduates as well. Perhaps most telling of this interest in students was the invitation from Kappa Delta sorority to live at their house, and her acceptance of this offer during her last year at Cornell. Even at faculty meetings of the Department of Home Economics, Hazard was a champion of the students. In both 1914 and 1921, Hazard brought up the issue of fairness in grading. She spoke of the "injustice frequently done in giving a

⁹² Richard Henry Edwards, *Cooperative Religion at Cornell University* (Ithaca: Cornell Cooperative Society, 1939), 130.

⁹³ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Martha Van Rensselaer, May 28, 1920.

⁹⁴ Martha Van Rensselaer, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, May 31, 1920.

⁹⁵ Blanche Evans Hazard, Radcliffe Alumnae Information Questionnaire, March 18, 1928.

student a failure in a required course which it was impossible to take because of lack of room. ... The term failure is often used when an "incomplete" is meant." Hazard's strong belief in fairness likely fueled her involvement in the movement for women's suffrage.

The faculty meeting minutes during Hazard's years at Cornell illustrate her unique placement as a historian and industrial economist among home economists. Faculty meetings often revolved around committees for dinners or events, assigning faculty members to be responsible for cooking, decorations, invitations, place-settings, etc. Hazard's frequent absence from committees for these events is perhaps indicative of her lack of interest in these stereotypical female roles. Hazard instead appears on the Library Committee and Records Committee where her skills and interests could be better utilized.

Despite her heavy load of courses and activities, Hazard found time to travel away from Ithaca for research, extension work, and personal reasons. In 1917, she gave at least two lectures titled "Everyday Sacrifices of Other Great Wars" in New York City high schools. ⁹⁷ In 1918, a letter from Hazard was written while staying in the Wiawaka Lodge on Lake George in northern New York. Still in existence today, its website gives the following description:

Wiawaka is one of the oldest and longest continuously operated retreats for women in America. Mary Wiltsie Fuller established Wiawaka in 1903. A progressive activist for women's rights, she saw the need for an affordable respite for female immigrants working in the shirt-collar factories, mills and laundries of her native Troy, and Cohoes. 98

⁹⁶ Department of Home Economics, Faculty Meeting Minutes, June 5, 1914 and February 1, 1921.

⁹⁷ New York Times, "The Week's Free Lectures," October 7, 1917.

⁹⁸ Wiawaka Holiday House, "Welcome to Wiawaka," http://www.wiawaka.org.

Hazard's letter calls the lodge a "sort of rest-vacation-home for working women." Although no indication is given of the purpose of her visit, it sounds as if she was merely passing through briefly. However, it is likely that she was also using the opportunity to learn from working women in industry about their experiences as it was directly related to her courses.

⁹⁹ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Clara Sykes, September 30, 1918.

IV. AT CORNELL: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Hazard was publicly involved in the fight for women's suffrage from the start of her Cornell career. On January 20, 1915, the Cornell Equal Suffrage Club hosted seven speakers at Sibley Dome on campus, including Cornell President Jacob Gould Schurman and Flora Rose. Also among the speakers was Blanche Hazard, who argued that "Woman has entered the economic and social world, why should she be kept out of the political world?" The statement was to shape the direction of her teaching at Cornell, covering the involvement of women in both industry and politics. President Schurman's support of the suffrage movement was surely encouraging to the women in home economics as he had previously been reluctant to accept their presence on the faculty. Three years later, the suffrage movement in New York State achieved victory.

In August 1918, the College of Agriculture published "Civic Duties of Women" by Blanche Evans Hazard, Lesson 120 in its Cornell Reading Course for the Farm Home. The reading course, begun by Martha Van Rensselaer for farmers' wives in 1901, typically sent out five pamphlets, or bulletins, a year to thousands of women throughout the state. Topics included home sanitation, canning and preserving, cost of food, and insect pests. The bulletins would frequently include outlines of study to be presented by an extension agent to groups of women or for women to explore the topics on their own. ¹⁰¹

The publication of "Civic Duties of Women" was somewhat controversial because it could be seen as involving the New York State College of Agriculture in

¹⁰⁰ Cornell Daily Sun, "Schurman to Speak for Equal Suffrage Tonight," January 20, 1915.

¹⁰¹ Flora Rose, "Forty Years of Home Economics at Cornell University," in *A Growing College: Home Economics at Cornell University* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 24.

political discussion of a sensitive issue. A letter prior to the bulletin's publication discusses the efforts to "make it safe" in Hazard's words. Three other faculty members read over the content and made suggestions according to their fields of expertise. Professor Samuel P. Orth of Political Science, a former Cleveland lawyer, checked the manuscript for legal content. Robert A. Campbell, a lecturer in economics, read for the "economic and practical politics side." Finally, Dr. Harold L. Reed, professor of economics and finance, read the manuscript as someone "who has been born and brought up in the state." 102

In the bulletin, Hazard asserts that "there are three phases of public thought and action to be considered by the New York State woman in preparation for voting: (1) the political, (2) the industrial and social, (3) the world, or international." The bulletin includes an outline of study for women to carefully examine each aspect of federal, state, and local government with relevant resources and reading material. Within the forty-page bulletin are lessons on elections, taxes, school systems, international trade, poverty, and the Great War. It concludes with two lists of books to compile a civics library, one list costing approximately \$5 and the other costing \$15.

Legislation granting women the right to vote nationally was finally proposed in the form of the Nineteenth Amendment. As the amendment passed through Congress in May and June of 1919, women's suffrage depended on the ratification by thirty-six states. In the fall, a reprint of "Civic Duties of Women" was deemed worthwhile. However, this time Maurice C. Burritt, Vice-Director of Extension and State Farm Bureau Director, expressed concerns about the publication, which Hazard countered

¹⁰² Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Martha Van Rensselaer, [April 14, 1918].

once again by stating that the manuscript had been read over by both Orth and Campbell, both of whom she considered "personal friends." She also mentions that the manuscript was read by the State Comptroller in Albany for legal details and figures. To allay Burritt's fears, she states that after the first publication, she "never heard any other adverse criticism."

This letter addressing Burritt's concerns is perhaps most significant in that Hazard attempts to summarize the attitude and work of the Department of Home Economics regarding the suffrage issue. The Nineteenth Amendment would not be ratified until August 18, 1920, nearly a year later. Hazard's six points were:

- 1. Our department did pioneer emergency work through its staff and the extension agents when the right to vote was first suddenly put into the lives of N.Y. State women, knowing, as we did, that the average farm woman had not had access to many suffragist or political speeches or books and would want to be and need to be an intelligent voter [and] worker in public life.
- 2. The bulletin on Civic Duties, used by agents and by local leaders in 85 clubs in N.Y. State last year, was put out in the way of information, hoping to lead primarily to a broad vision of the voter's duties. It has no suffragist echo nor any partisan note in it. This is true of all we have spoken or published to date.
- 3. Yet this is a more or less dangerous ground. I can never be sure of what our agents or volunteer leaders may say or do to harm us unwittingly and indirectly. We may be misunderstood as "being in party politics."
- 4. The Woman's League of Voters which is Mrs. [Carrie Chapman] Catt's reorganized Suffrage party can be and I think ought to be depended upon to arouse, stimulate, and educate women as voters. I believe it to be the duty also of the state just as much as Americanization is. But that ought to come through some other well defined agency.
- 5. There is still an opportunity and a need, I think, through courses given to our students in both regular and winter terms, and in occasional Farmer's Week addresses, for our department to make a vigorous open plea for broad visioned, whole hearted public service, carefully prepared for and participated in by women of our state. We undertake to help make housekeepers and homemakers fit for their duties in their homes and also in their communities and nation. This is as far as it seems wise for us to go into civic propaganda. It is a question of education [and] not of recruiting of voters.

¹⁰³ Campbell taught a course titled "Labor Problems," which covered topics similar to Hazard's work, such as labor unions, industrial education, welfare work, and woman and child labor.

6. If, however, we are to do project work in the state [and] have no money for hiring fully qualified workers, I see no better way than the volunteer leaders course given in the Winter School. 104

In her observations, Hazard recognizes the truly pioneering work that the department did, largely through her efforts, to help educate women of the state in regard to civics. Her worries regarding having a "suffragist echo" or "partisan note" are telling of the department's attitude, as is her mention of "civic propaganda." As faculty members in a state-supported college, it was imperative that Hazard and her colleagues not be seen as feminists or suffragists, but merely as educators about women's rights. They were not telling women to vote or to campaign for suffrage, but merely advising them on what they could do if they were granted the right to vote. Hazard's point about the need for courses on public service explains the addition of the "Woman and the State" course, which was first taught during the previous semester.

Authoring the "Civic Duties" bulletin was only part of Hazard's participation in extension work. The 1920 annual report summarizes her work as "suggestion and encouragement to Home Demonstration agents and Cornell Study Club leaders in carrying on work in Civics," and the 1918 report discussed the increase in her workload due to lecturing to extension agents and study clubs. In November 1918, she traveled to Cattaraugus County in western New York to lecture on civics, but she considered the trip "hardly worth its cost in time" because of the disorganization and lack of publicity by the groups to which she spoke. Her primary purpose in making the trip was to launch the "Civics Project" in the small towns she visited. Since the "Civic

¹⁰⁴ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Martha Van Rensselaer, September 12, 1919.

Duties" bulletin had been published only months previously, the goals of her trips appear to have been to convince women leaders in each visited town to present the outline of civics study in the bulletin and purchase a library of books for education of women on the topic. Like the bulletin, this extension work necessitated that the Department of Home Economics be careful. In fall 1919, Martha Van Rensselaer writes Hazard suggesting that they not use arguments in favor of women assuming civic responsibilities because "we would be open less to criticism." Once again, a need to remain on the defensive and away from charges of defying the status quo is evident.

The effort to separate involvement in education and involvement in politics was a common theme. Hazard attended a New Hampshire school for voters in 1919 to decide whether New York should have a similar event, but she concluded "state politics were pretty well mixed up in it behind the scenes." She criticized one of the women organizers for being "out for office" and using the event as a "card ... to play." Hazard emphasized that the Department of Home Economics courses "be kept clear of politics ... and give the people only the materials and suggestions which they need." This was her attitude towards the development of the winter courses for local women not regularly enrolled as students at Cornell.

¹⁰⁵ Blanche Evans Hazard, memorandum to Flora Rose, November 29, 1918.

¹⁰⁶ Martha Van Rensselaer, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, September 7, 1919.

¹⁰⁷ Blanche Evans Hazard, letter to Martha Van Rensselaer, July 29, 1919.

V. LIFE AFTER CORNELL

On April 1, 1921, the Cornell University Board of Trustees approved a sabbatical leave of absence for Blanche Hazard for the second term of 1921-1922. Curiously, at the next meeting, the decision was modified to a sabbatical leave for the fall term and leave without pay in the spring. Her plan was to travel to England for her research interests, likely continuing the study of the boot and shoe industry. However, she never returned to Cornell University, and the Home Economics faculty received a letter in October announcing her abrupt withdrawal from Cornell and her impending marriage. Her resignation was officially approved at the June 19, 1922 Board of Trustees meeting.

The reasons for her leave are not discussed in the minutes of the faculty, minutes of the trustees, or in any available correspondence. The only possible indication that she was considering leaving her faculty position appears in spring 1920 when Van Rensselaer refers to her considering taking a job with the Red Cross, saying that "Miss Rose and I hope that it will not seem to you more alluring than your present position."

Hazard's sudden and unexpected marriage was likely the primary contributor to her permanent departure from Cornell. On October 19, 1921, she was married to George Walter Sprague. Hazard was 48 years old; Sprague was 57 or 58, divorced, and with an adult son. Few of the other women in the Department of Home Economics were married during this time period. Martha Van Rensselaer and Flora Rose never

¹⁰⁸ Department of Home Economics, Faculty Meeting Minutes, October 11, 1921.

¹⁰⁹ Martha Van Rensselaer, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, March 23, 1920.

married, and although Helen Binkerd Young was married to an architecture professor when she joined the department, she remained a part-time faculty member throughout her employment. It seems likely that marriage was problematic for a full-time female academic at the time, and it is possible that Hazard felt it was necessary to leave the department.

Hazard's husband, Sprague, remains a mystery; his name never appears in any available correspondence before his marriage to Hazard. The two possibly met between 1907 and 1910 while Hazard was teaching high school in Brockton and researching the city's shoe industry. Sprague had been a resident of Brockton since at least 1910 and at the time was employed by a shoe company.

George was the son of Walter and Harriet Sprague, both natives of Massachusetts. According to U.S. Census records, George's father was a machinist, while George himself worked as a printer as a young man, both living in Bristol, MA in 1880. He went on to marry a woman named Susie in either 1885 or 1886, having a son, Harold W., in 1888. Living in Brockton, MA and still married as of 1910, the Census listed George as the treasurer of a shoe manufacturing company. However, by 1920 George had moved to a new home in Brockton, was the owner of a box factory, and was living only with his son. The fate of Susie is unknown, though it seems likely that she passed away; she does not appear in the 1920 U.S. Census. In a Radcliffe questionnaire from the 1950s, Hazards lists Sprague's occupations as "manufacturer, owner + head of the Nesmith Shoe Co., Nelson Paper Box Co."

Interestingly, Sprague seems a non-entity in Hazard's life. He does not seem to be nearly as educated or involved in the community as Hazard. On a Radcliffe questionnaire, filled out in 1928, Hazard says that her husband had "musical and business education," declining to list any schools or degrees. The two immediately moved in together at Sprague's home in Brockton, MA, later moving to a new home in the area and remaining there until George Sprague's death on November 26, 1950.

Brockton, Massachusetts, part of the Old Colony area where Plymouth Colony was originally located, had become the largest shoe-producing center in America during the Civil War. The shoe and leather industry remained strong when Hazard moved there, with sixty shoe factories and more than thirty thousand workers in the shoe industry as of 1929.¹¹⁰

After her marriage and departure from Cornell, Hazard no longer held any full-time job and did not return to teaching. Her abrupt change of lifestyle is startling for someone who had previously fought for women's rights and non-stereotypical female roles in industry and politics. However, although it appears she sacrificed her teaching career for marriage, she never gave up her interests. She remained very active as a leader in community and academic organizations. After only a few years there, she was elected president of the local Y.W.C.A. in 1923 and president of the Thursday Club, a women's social organization, in 1924. At the suggestion of Radcliffe's president in the late 1920s, Hazard founded and became first president of the Old Colony Radcliffe Alumnae Club for alumnae throughout southeastern Massachusetts. Through the club, she traveled to alumnae conferences, frequently attended reunions, and was eventually elected to a three year term as director of the Radcliffe College

¹¹⁰ City of Brockton, "About the City," Welcome to the City of Brockton, http://www.brockton.ma.us/Section_About/History.cfm.

Alumnae Association in 1945. She also founded the Old Colony Phi Beta Kappa Association in the early 1930s, which she claims was the first of its kind in the country. Hazard held membership and often leadership roles in the Brockton Garden Club, Brockton College Club, Brockton Women's Club, Brockton Visiting Nurses Association, Brockton Hospital Guild, Porter Congregational Church Guild, and Brockton Civic Federation.

Following her husband's death, Hazard moved to a home less than a mile away, where she stayed until moving into a Braintree, MA nursing home in the early 1960s. Blanche Hazard Sprague passed away on January 27, 1966 at 93 years old. In her last few years, her nephew's family cared for her. Her death came after a long illness; a letter from spring 1964 states that she was "almost completely senile" and unable to attend events anymore. Her obituary in the *Brockton Daily Enterprise* heralded her as a "dynamic scholar and organizer," dedicating a full column of text to her teaching career and publications. She was interred in the Mount Pleasant Cemetery in Taunton, MA. 112

Upon her death, the Blanche Hazard Sprague Grant-in-Aid Fund was created in her honor at Radcliffe College available to either undergraduate or graduate students in need. With only \$425.56 in the fund as of the 1960 Radcliffe financial statements, the amount had exceeded \$3,000 by 1988. After the official merging of Harvard University and Radcliffe College in 1999, the status of the fund is unknown.

¹¹¹ Marjorie J. Hazard, letter to Mrs. Hanlon, April 11, 1964.

Brockton Daily Enterprise, "Mrs. George W. Sprague, Teacher, Historian, Dies," January 27, 1966.
 Radcliffe College, Official Register of Radcliffe College Vol. XXVI, (Cambridge: Radcliffe College, 1960), 85 and Radcliffe College, Radcliffe College Financial Statements for the years ended June 30, 1988 and 1987 (Cambridge, Radcliffe College, 1988), 33.

It is likely that scholarships for Radcliffe College students carried over to Harvard University and are now offered to either female Harvard students or all Harvard students.

VI. PUBLICATIONS

Hazard's first book was published in 1897 while she was teaching in Concord, MA. *The Earliest Days in America* was written in collaboration with Samuel Train Dutton, a Yale graduate who was very involved in education and school management in Massachusetts. Dutton likely met Hazard at Harvard University, where he lectured on school supervision and the organization and management of schools. ¹¹⁴ Their book, subtitled as "an historical reader for the young," was meant to educate school children about the colonial period in America. The book was republished shortly thereafter as *Indians and Pioneers*. As a popular school book, it went through at least four editions, with the third published in 1899 and the fourth published in 1902.

In 1901, a second book was published while Hazard was teaching in Rhode Island. The book was the first of four "source readers in American history" compiled by Albert Bushnell Hart, although Hazard's name was not associated with the other three. Hart was a proponent of education through primary source material, stating in the preface that "the freshest and most direct writings are those which most appeal to children of every age." The book contained stories about the discovery of America by early explorers, tales of Native Americans by colonists and Native Americans themselves, and stories from the British colonies. However, to make the material more understandable and readable to young children, he rewrote the original documents in a modern style.

¹¹⁴ Harvard University, *Historical Register of Harvard University 1636-1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1937).

An "Introduction for Teachers" began the book, authored solely by Hazard, in which she defines "the characteristics of a good modern reading-book." She stated that the book is targeted towards fifth grade classrooms of children between ten and twelve years old. Hazard's introduction argued that teachers can use the concept of "anticipation and correlation" by using quality reading books in their teaching. A reading book with "valuable matter that is worth remembering for its own sake" will help teach young children more than just the mechanical skill of reading, but also about history, therefore correlating the work between grade levels. The popularity and staying power of the source reader was impressive; it was reprinted frequently until at least 1930, the most recent known edition by the original publisher. A 2004 edition by a different publisher can currently be purchased on Amazon.com.

Back at Radcliffe as a full-time student, Hazard's work on major publications ceased, although she did author her prize-winning essay on the involvement of Pierre Beaumarchais in obtaining French aid during the American Revolution. Like her work with Hart, this was based largely on primary sources. With the essay's publication in 1910, Hazard's acclaim increased further, and the work was frequently cited over the next two decades. Some examples include Edward S. Corwin's *French Policy and the American Alliance of 1717* (1916), Francois-Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* (1920), and Charles E. Hill's *Leading American Treaties* (1922).

In 1913, Hazard published the first portion of her magnum opus: "The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts Before 1875." Her research on the boot and shoe industry had begun around 1907 when she moved to Brockton, MA. It is possible that her interest in the subject stemmed from her birth in

Randolph, MA, a town that had once been an important center of the industry. The topic also combined her studies of economics and industrial history, and as discussed previously, Dean Edwin F. Gay of Harvard oversaw the research as part of Hazard's doctoral thesis. The research made extensive use of interviews with elderly local shoemakers, original documents and account books of shoemakers, and town reports on industry and occupations. The primary content of this first twenty-seven page article was the discussion and delineation of "the evolution of industrial organization" through four distinct phases: Home, Handicraft, Domestic, and Factory.¹¹⁵

The article was published in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* at Harvard University. In her later years, Hazard frequently recalled that this article made her the first woman to be published by Harvard University Press. However, Harvard University Press did not exist in name until January of 1913, the month before Hazard's article was published. Even so, the journal with her article only stated "Published by Harvard University." Although articles in the journal that were authored by women were certainly rare, the November 1912 issue published immediately prior to the one with Hazard's article contains an article by Minnie Throop England, another female economist. With the actual formation of Harvard University Press in January 1913, Hazard may have been the first woman to be published by this new entity, but simply because her article appeared the month after the formation of the press.

¹¹⁵ Blanche Evans Hazard, "The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts Before 1875," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 27, no. 2 (1913): 236-262.

¹¹⁶ Minnie Throop England, "Fisher's Theory of Crises: A Criticism," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 27, no. 1 (1912): 95-106.

More likely, Hazard was the first woman to have a full book, not merely an article, published by Harvard University Press. Hazard had continued her research and work on the shoe industry during her years at Cornell University, and the complete 293-page volume was published in 1921 by the Harvard University Press as Volume XXIII in the *Harvard Economic Studies*. A look through the Harvard University Press's previous releases back to 1913 does not appear to show any other women authors. A significant economic work authored by a woman and published by a prestigious university press in 1921 was certainly a notable accomplishment, and Hazard looked on the feat with pride: "In later days, other Radcliffe students taking doctorate degrees found the door opened to them with the hope the Harvard University Press would publish their thesis."

The book expanded on her previous article, covering the phases of production in greater depth. Discussion on locations, tools, markets, and noted shoemakers was included. Over half of the book was in the appendices, containing excerpts from primary source materials and explanatory sections on topics such as shoe repair and manufacturing processes in modern shoe factories.

The influence of Hazard's mentors at Harvard was acknowledged in her preface. Edwin F. Gay, the Harvard Dean, was thanked for his "constant and unstinted aid" and inspiration, while Albert B. Hart was thanked for providing the "fundamental training in the use of historical sources." Her collaboration with Hart on the *Colonial Children* source reader likely provided Hazard with the needed experience in that area.

¹¹⁷ Brockton Enterprise, "Perennially Active," September 7, 1957.

The book quickly became the definitive history of the shoe industry and has been called "the most commonly cited study of the shoe industry." From Thames Williamson's *Readings in Democracy* (1922) to Mark R. Wilson's *The Business of Civil War: Military Mobilization and the State, 1861-1865* (2006), Hazard's research is referenced for its descriptions of industrial phases, the manufacturing process, and labor history. According to one author, "This monograph is without equal as a study of a specialized industry in a more or less specialized industrial area." Another described it as "the most important history of the shoe industry (in the early twentieth century)." Even in her later years, Hazard was still referred to as "the outstanding authority on early shoemaking in this region."

While finishing the shoe history and teaching at Cornell, Hazard authored articles for Cornell campus publications such as the College of Agriculture's *Cornell Countryman*, as well as the *Cornell Women's Review*, a magazine first published in early 1915. These articles typically dealt with historical topics ranging from "The Pilgrim Thanksgiving Dinners" to "Mediaeval Women." As a faculty member in the College of Agriculture, she also became involved in the extension work and publication of bulletins in the Cornell Reading Courses mailed to farmer's wives

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¹¹⁸ Jill Mudgett, ""By Work in Shop": Boot and Shoe Production in Calais, Vermont, 1829-1850," *Vermont History* 69, supplement (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 2000), 105-115.

Harvey A. Wooster, "A Forgotten Factor in American Industrial History," *The American Economic Review* 16, no. 1 (1926), 22.

¹²⁰ Ellen Fitzpatrick, "Caroline Ware and the Cultural Approach to History," *American Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1991), 197. Thee are a surprising number of similarities between Hazard and Ware. A student of Edwin F. Gay, Ware became a professor of history at American University and edited the influential book *The Cultural Approach to History* (1940). Interestingly, her doctoral thesis was similar to Hazard's, titled "The Industrial Revolution in the New England Cotton Industry." Unlike Hazard, Ware successfully received her Ph.D. from Radcliffe.

Bulletin of the Business Historical Society, "A Seventeenth Century Shoemaker's Account Book," 21, no. 3 (1947), 75.

throughout the state. Her topics ranged from "Farmhouse Amusements for Girls and Boys" to "The Life of Primitive Woman." Whatever the topic, Hazard was able to tie in primary sources and focus on the historical aspects. Her bulletin titled "Attic Dusts and Treasures" asked readers to take note of important documents they may find when doing spring-cleaning, and went on to discuss famous examples of historical letters that were found in attics and elsewhere. She even tied in her previous work on Beaumarchais, quoting letters that helped reconstruct his involvement in the American Revolution. The "Farmhouse Amusements for Girls and Boys" bulletin demonstrated Hazard's interest in drama, as it contained plays for children about ancient Rome, the Middle Ages, and the American Revolutionary War. Her bulletin on "primitive woman" was primarily meant as a preparation tool for study clubs or programs on the topic. Although the main focus was on Native Americans, mention was also made of ancient Greeks and Romans, African tribes, and other cultures. A large portion of the bulletin was a detailed list of references on the subject of primitive cultures.

After the publication of her doctoral thesis in 1921, Hazard departed Cornell, married, and moved to Brockton, MA, separating herself from the writing and researching of academic life. Her next major publication was eleven years later when Harvard University Press released a volume in tribute to Edwin F. Gay and his years of teaching economic history. The book, *Facts and Figures in Economic History*, included contributions by thirty-four of his former students. Hazard's article discussed the influence of Thomas Bata, the shoe manufacturer who brought "mass production

¹²² One of the books included in her list of references is William I. Thomas's *Sex and Society* (1907), the same book referred to earlier in the paper that was later removed from her course curriculum when Thomas was involved in a public scandal.

to the shoe industry of Czechoslovakia" and "set the pace in the organization of the world's shoe industry." ¹²³

Hazard was not the only female scholar of economic history to be influenced by Gay. At least four other women studied economics at Harvard around the same time as Hazard and had articles published in the volume. They included his daughter, Margaret Randolph Gay, who was listed as a tutor in history and economics at Radcliffe College. Eleanor Lansing Dulles, the sister of U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Director of the CIA Allen Welsh Dulles, was another of Gay's students. She became a noted author on economics and foreign policy, working for a variety of U.S. government boards and agencies. A third woman, Elizabeth Waterman Gilboy, was listed as the Secretary of the Committee on Economic Research at Harvard University, and published much on economic history. The fourth woman published in the commemorative volume was Anne Bezanson, professor of industry at the University of Pennsylvania, who published significant work on labor and pricing. It is interesting to note that Hazard is not identified with the Department of Home Economics, but is listed as a former professor of economics. Most other contributors to the volume had academic appointments in either history or economics.

Hazard's later publications were only brief articles on the shoe industry. She authored two entries on leather industries and products in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* in 1933, reviewed two books on the shoe industry in *The New England Quarterly*, and published an article on the account books of a shoemaker

¹²³ Blanche Hazard Sprague, "Bata, Chief Figure in the World's Shoe Industry," *Facts and Figures in Economic History: Articles by Former Students of Edwin Francis Gay* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 276.

from the seventeenth century in the *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*. In her community, she stayed involved in research and writing by authoring small works for local organizations, including a 25-year history of the Garden Club and a 100-year history of the Porter Congregational Church. For a complete list of her publications, see Appendix D.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

In the context of courses about women, Hazard's work at Cornell University was far ahead of its time, although overlooked by the modern women's studies movement. Ironically, Cornell would receive recognition for its pioneering work in women's studies a half-century later in 1969 with the organization of the Cornell Conference on Women. As women's studies courses appeared at universities across the United States in the 1970s, descriptions of their content frequently sounded analogous to Hazard's much earlier courses. A course titled "Women in the American Democracy" at Syracuse University was described as "a historical background of the women's rights movement and an examination of the status and problems of women today." At SUNY Buffalo, a course titled "Women in Contemporary Society" focused on "the roles, functions, and consciousness of women in American society, considering ... the relationship of women to fundamental economic and social institutions." 125

Although it has been claimed that the first course on women offered at Cornell did not appear until 1969, Hazard's courses clearly anticipated the Women's Studies Program, established in 1972. The interdisciplinary program has since expanded and changed its title to Feminist, Gender, & Sexuality Studies (FGSS), but many of the courses bear a resemblance to Hazard's work nearly a century earlier. Courses

¹²⁴ Martin Gruberg, "Women's Studies in America," *International Review of Education* 19, no. 1 (1973): 130.

¹²⁵ Christine Grahl, Elizabeth Kennedy, Lillian S. Robinson, and Bonnie Zimmerman, "Women's Studies: A Case in Point," *Feminist Studies* 1, no. 2 (1972): 113.

¹²⁶ Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 147.

offered in 2006-2007 include "Women in the Economy," "Women in the Middle Ages," and "Women and Politics." A course offered in the School of Industrial and Labor Relations in collaboration with FGSS is titled "Comparative History of Women and Work," offering what sounds like the modern equivalent of Hazard's "Women in Industry." ¹²⁷

The primary conclusion that can be drawn from Hazard's work at Cornell is that she was an innovative and pioneering teacher in a broad range of subjects, including history, economics, industrial and labor relations, civics, gender studies, sociology, and anthropology. The content in almost all of her courses was being presented for the first time at Cornell, and in many cases, was not presented after her departure for many decades. Her course subjects do not even appear to have been presented at other major universities with early home economics programs. Hazard's position in the Department of Home Economics alongside topics of nutrition, textiles, and household design is noteworthy. Her invitation to join the department shows the efforts made by Van Rensselaer and Rose to broaden the field of home economics beyond the stereotypical roles of women. Even Hazard's domestic-sounding "History of Housekeeping" course went beyond the conventional by focusing more on a study in comparative history and other cultures and less on preparation for future housekeepers. A student who took Hazard's courses was offered

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¹²⁷ Cornell University, *Courses of Study* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2006).

¹²⁸ The University of California, Berkeley is an example of an early home economics program at a major university. However, courses there tended to focus more on nutrition and dietetics, with no evidence of women's studies or women in industry outside of a summer course by guest lecturer Ellen Swallow Richards. See Maresi Nerad, *The Academic Kitchen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 35.

a glimpse outside of the traditional "women's work" of early home economics courses, and was instead taught how to succeed in a male-dominated world as more than just a wife and mother. 129

Home economics has been described by some as a "female ghetto," and the academic community frequently looked down upon the field. 130 Hazard herself chose not to associate herself with the field, even later in her life. She is listed as a Professor of Economics in the 1932 volume compiled for Edwin Gay. On her application for inclusion in the 1956 Radcliffe Directory, she stated that she was formerly a Professor of Economic History at Cornell University. Whether this is because she viewed her particular academic work as separate from home economics or whether she did not wish to have the stigma associated with such stereotypical women's work is unknown.

Martha Van Rensselaer summed up Hazard's work at Cornell best when commenting on her request for a sabbatical year: "You have built up a fine piece of work which fits admirably into our Home Economics course of study. This has been a problem more difficult than where the subject matter is that of food, shelter or clothing, therefore the achievement is greater."¹³¹

¹²⁹ Although uncommon, men did attend home economics courses. The novelty of such an occurrence is evidenced by an article from the time: New York Times, "Cornell Men as Cooks," May 5, 1913, 4.

¹³⁰ Margaret W. Rossiter, Women Scientists in America: Before Affirmative Action 1940-1972 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 164.

¹³¹ Martha Van Rensselaer, letter to Blanche Evans Hazard, April 23, 1920.

APPENDIX A: TEACHING POSITIONS

Years	School	Location	Position	Subjects
1893-94	Thayer Academy	Braintree, MA	Instructor (part-time)	current history
1894-95	Maynard High School	Maynard, MA	Instructor	history, English literature, French, Latin, drawing
1895-96	Hampton College	Louisville, KY	Instructor	history, English literature
1896-99	Concord High School	Concord, MA	Instructor	history, economics
1899-04	Rhode Island State Normal School	Providence, RI	Head of History Dept.	history, historical method
1904-06	Mary Haskell Private School	Boston, MA	Instructor	history, economics
1907-10	Brockton High School	Brockton, MA	Instructor	history, economics
1910-14	Boston High School of Practical Arts	Boston, MA	Head of History Dept.	history, economics
1914-19	Cornell University	Ithaca, NY	Assistant Professor	industrial economics
1919-20	Cornell University	Ithaca, NY	Acting Professor	industrial economics
1920-21	Cornell University	Ithaca, NY	Professor	industrial economics
1921-22	Cornell University	Ithaca, NY	Professor (sabbatical leave)	industrial economics

APPENDIX B. COURSES TAUGHT AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Year	Fall Term	Winter Term	Spring Term
1914-15	Woman and the Family	Dramatics ¹³² By-Industries for the Farm House	Woman and the Family
1915-16	Woman in Industry	Home Industries for Farm Women	Primitive Woman Seminary in the History of Housekeeping
1916-17	Woman in Industry	Home Industries for Farm Women [listed as "not given" in course register]	Primitive Woman Seminary in the History of Housekeeping
1917-18	Supervised Study Woman in Industry	Supervised Study	Supervised Study Primitive Woman Seminary in the History of Housekeeping
1918-19	Supervised Study Women in Industry	Supervised Study Women in the Community	Woman and the Family Welfare Supervision of Women in Industry Woman and the State
1919-20	History of Housekeeping Women in Industry	Civic Responsibilities of Women	Supervised Study Welfare Supervision of Woman in Industry Woman and the State
1920-21	Women in Industry Supervised Study	Civic Responsibilities of Women	History of Housekeeping Employees' Service Supervision Woman and the State
1921-22 ¹³³	Women in Industry Supervised Study		History of Housekeeping Industrial Administration Problems and Practices Woman and the State

¹³² Not listed in course register, but discussed in *Cornell Daily Sun*, "Rural Recreation Course to be Given for First Time," December 5, 1914.

¹³³ Due to Blanche Hazard's sabbatical leave, courses were listed in the register with the note "Not given in 1921-22."

APPENDIX C. SELECTED READINGS BLANCHE HAZARD'S "WOMEN IN INDUSTRY" COURSE

Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life (1848) by Elizabeth Gaskell

North and South (1854) by Elizabeth Gaskell

New England Girlhood: Outline from Memory (1889) by Lucy Larcom

Woman in industry; a study in American economic history (1910) by Edith Abbott

The Modern Factory (1914) by George Price

The Hilltop on the Marne (1915) by Mildred Aldrich

My Home in the Field of Honor (1916) by Frances Wilson Huard

Behind the German Veil; a record of a journalistic war pilgrimage (1917) by J. M. de

Beaufort

The Land of the Deepening Shadow (1917) by D. Thomas Curtin

Carry On: Letters in War-Time (1917) by Coningsby Dawson

Women of Belgium: Turning Tragedy to Triumph (1917) by Charlotte Kellogg

Letters and Diary of Allen Seeger (1917) by Allen Seeger

Poems by Allen Seeger (1917) by Allen Seeger

The Flaming Sword in Serbia and Elsewhere (1917) by St. Clair Stobart

Women War Workers; accounts contributed by representative workers of the work
done by women in the more important branches of war employment (1917)
edited by Gilbert Stone

APPENDIX D. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PUBLICATIONS BY BLANCHE HAZARD

- Dutton, Samuel T. *Earliest Days in America*. New York: The Morse Company, 1897. (later reprinted as *Indians and Pioneers*)
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